

## June 7 & 14 actions point way forward

June 16 will be a big day in South Africa for opponents of apartheid, and the same is true of June 14 in this country.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has called a general strike June 16 to mark the 10th anniversary of the 1976 police massacre of anti-apartheid protesters in the city of Soweto.

Joining the call for the one-day stoppage is the United Democratic Front and the National Education Crisis Committee, both foes of apartheid.

For the first time, the 600,000-strong

## EDITORIAL

COSATU and the other two groups have called on whites to join the strike action.

In this country on June 14 a mass demonstration in New York will be the main focus of what promises to be a powerful contribution to bringing down the Pretoria regime.

Of special importance in this protest is a contingent being built by a range of organizations opposing the U.S.-organized war drive in Central America. The contingent will march under the banner, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua!"

The demand summarizes the reality that these are two fronts in a common struggle. Every blow struck against South African apartheid is a blow against U.S.-run aggression in Central America, and vice versa.

A slated June 7 demonstration in Washington against congressional funding to the Nicaraguan *contras* will surely prove a building block for June 14. And June 14 in turn will provide fresh forces and new inspiration for the opposition to the U.S. government's drive against Nicaragua.

Such opposition is urgently needed. While the government of Nicaragua has demonstrated a total readiness to negotiate an end to the conflict, Washington remains adamant in its determination to press the aggression with the aim of overthrowing the Sandinista government.

There is a growing opposition among working people to U.S. government and corporate ties to the South African regime, as well as Washington's war drive in Central America. Demonstrations such as June 7 and June 14 point the way forward for mobilizing and broadening this opposition, and organizing massive national antiwar and anti-apartheid protests.

## Striking Canadian meatpackers resist union-busting attack

BY FRED FELDMAN

More than 1,000 striking meatpackers in Edmonton in Canada's Alberta Province are waging a strong fight against an attempt by Gainers Inc. to bust their union.

The company, a major pork processor, is using cops, armed scabs, and court injunctions in an effort to break a strike that began May 31. The workers are members

**Federal judge in St. Paul, Minnesota, upholds United Food and Commercial Workers top officialdom's placing of Local P-9 in trusteeship. See story, page 10.**

of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280P, the same international union that striking Hormel workers in Austin, Minnesota, belong to.

More than 130 workers have been arrested for picketing in opposition to the

## Rally against apartheid on June 14 in N.Y.!

BY MEL MASON  
AND RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — Building activities organized by supporters of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council will produce "the greatest outpouring at the June 14 demonstration to show our disdain for the system that is dehumanizing our brothers and sisters" in South Africa, says Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65.

Robinson, who is the chairman of the anti-apartheid coordinating council (NYAACC), and other leaders of the organization believe the June 14 march and rally will be the largest anti-apartheid protest in the history of the United States. From all indications, this is very likely.

The event 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 mass rebellion in Soweto, South Africa.

The action coincides with three days of protest in South Africa itself called by the United Democratic Front and the National Education Crisis Committee, anti-apartheid forces in that country. This protest is backed by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest union federation.

The day after a very successful New York news conference May 27, which featured South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu and more than 100 supporters of NYAACC, office coordinators report that more than 125 organizations came in and took 10,000 leaflets for the march and rally.

At a June 3 council meeting Jim Bell, president of the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and coordinator of the action, reported that 30-40 buses were coming from Philadelphia and that people were also participating from Atlanta, Detroit, Boston, Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, and many other cities and states.

He explained that three or more rallies will be held before the main rally on the Great Lawn in Central Park. They will take place at the Harlem State Office Building, in El Barrio in the Puerto Rican community, and at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza.

New York Central Labor Council President Thomas Van Arsdale sent letters to all the city's unions urging a big turn-out.

The national American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

scab-herding operation.

On June 2 busloads of scabs armed with wrenches and clubs were driven back after attempting to crash through a union picket line of 500. "Go home, scab," the unionists shouted.

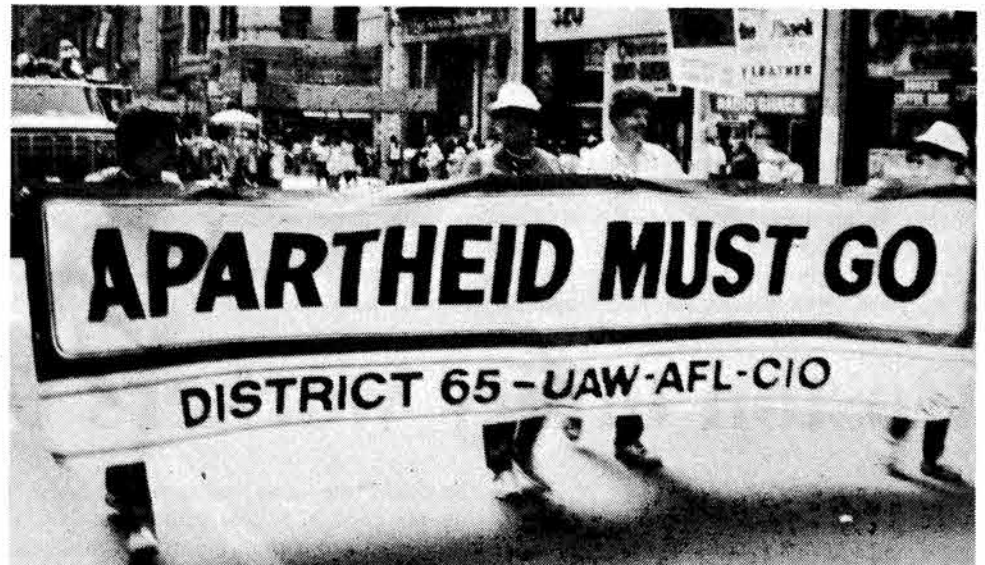
The next day a flying wedge of riot police brought five busloads of scabs through the plant gate, after arresting more than 125 strikers and their supporters.

The mass arrests — often of strikers standing more than 1,500 feet from the plant gate — followed.

Eight more workers were arrested for picketing when scores of cops brought the scabs to Gainers on June 4.

In addition to the cops, Gainers has court backing for its union-busting. An injunction has limited the number of pickets to 42, with no more than 12 at any one gate.

Continued on Page 3



Militant/Fred Murphy  
1985 New York City Labor Day parade. United Auto Workers District 65 took lead in formation of anti-apartheid coordinating council, which is organizing June 14 actions.

(AFSCME) union donated \$5,000 to help build the action, as did District Council 37, which took 5,000 buttons to sell to its membership.

Teamsters' leader Bill Nuchow, who will be in charge of security for the march and rally, reported that the Teamsters were going to donate \$10,000 to NYAACC.

One International Association of Machinists local in Long Island decided to pay the fares of its members who wanted to go to the demonstration by train. They also plan to hold an anti-apartheid event at their union hall before the action.

Some of the area's union papers have printed building articles for the march.

Reports from Harlem, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, where large concentrations of this city's Black population live, show that the rally is being built well in these areas. Posters are displayed in storefronts and on poles; there is regular leafleting of subway stops.

Black newspapers have either carried articles on the protest or editorials urging a big turn out.

Jesse Jackson has done a public service

Continued on Page 12

## New Nelson Mandela book published by Pathfinder

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — *The Struggle Is My Life*, a new book of writings and speeches by and about Nelson Mandela, will be published here June 14 by Pathfinder Press. Mandela is a central leader of the African National Congress — the organization leading the fight for an end to apartheid rule in South Africa. He has been imprisoned since 1962 by the South African regime, despite worldwide demands for his release.

At the same time, Pathfinder is publishing *Habla Nelson Mandela*, a book containing Spanish translations of "Black man in a white court" — Mandela's first statement in court after his 1962 arrest — and his 1964 speech, given at his trial in Rivonia, South Africa, in the face of a possible death sentence.

*Habla Nelson Mandela* also includes the Freedom Charter, the 1955 document that issued the call for a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa — the goal of the fighters who are challenging the apartheid regime today.

These three documents also appear in *The Struggle Is My Life*.

The new publications make the writings and speeches of Mandela widely available for the first time in North America.

*Habla Nelson Mandela* and *The Struggle Is My Life* were rushed into print to make them available to the many thousands of people who will be participating in the June 14 anti-apartheid protest in New York City and in nationwide protests in Canada against U.S. aid to the *contras* attacking Nicaragua.

*The Struggle Is My Life* consists of 249 pages of speeches, articles, documents of

the African National Congress, prison memoirs, and other items covering Mandela's participation in the freedom struggle from 1944, when he joined the ANC and helped found the ANC Youth League, to the present.

There are also 24 pages of photographs of Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela (a leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, who is married to Nelson Mandela), and protest activities in South Africa.

Among the items previously unavailable in this country in book form are Mandela's reply to South African President Pieter Botha's 1985 offer to release Mandela from jail if he "unconditionally rejected violence as a political weapon."

"Let him [Botha] renounce violence," responded Mandela in a statement read by his daughter Zinzi to a mass rally in the Black township of Soweto. "Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished, or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. . . . But I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. . . .

"Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. . . . I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free.

"Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

A special supplement contains accounts by his fellow prisoners of Mandela's role in prison, highlighting his leadership in their fight for political prisoner status and against racist discrimination.

Continued on Page 7



# Good sales of the 'Militant' at Boston picket lines

BY MARK EMANATIAN

BOSTON — The employers' attack on wages and working conditions has forced workers in four Boston-area unions out on strike. Rail workers of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees from Boston-area and Maine railroads, nurses of the Massachusetts Nurses Association at the Carney Hospital, power work-

give-and-take about issues facing the labor movement and working people in general.

Solidarity has been the center of these discussions among the strikers. How do you win support for your strike? How do you use the power of the labor movement to win? The example of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers on strike against the Hor-

TWA, rail, and Carney nurses' strike articles.

We have found an excellent response to the paper with an interest in Nicaragua, the Philippines, and South Africa, as well as U.S. labor struggles. Strikers have also been very receptive to the campaign of Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 8th Congressional District, and Ellen Berman, the SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

At a rally of 250 workers for the Carney nurses on May 15, a sales team sold 13 single issues and one subscription to the *Militant*, the subscription going to a striking TWA worker. The paper was sold on the Hormel strike coverage and on an article describing the May Day strike in South Africa.

Terry Arens of Local P-9 got the biggest applause at the rally, and strikers were eager to buy a workers' paper with articles on the struggle in Austin. The subscription sold to the TWA striker was the result of a discussion about the

TWA strike, P-9, and Nicaragua and how the regular reading of a paper that tells the truth and helps organize a fightback was well worth the striker's money.

That subscription was one of the many sold to TWA strikers in the Boston area. The others were sold on the picket lines. Much of what was talked about with the strikers dealt with the fight for women's liberation, affirmative action, and abortion rights.

The TWA bosses have justified their attack on the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants by saying that since most of the flight attendants are women, they earn "secondary" incomes. This has led to some deep thinking on the part of these workers. One woman put it this way to our salesperson. "We've been taking it and taking it. And we're sick of it. I'm ready for some militant reading and some militant action. I'm changing my opinion on everything."

On May 18 there was a demonstration here of 600 trade unionists

in support of the striking rail workers. Workers from many unions participated in the demonstration, marching behind contingents of striking rail, TWA, Carney, Edison, and Colt workers. The Colt workers — who have struck the small-arms manufacturer in Hartford, Connecticut, are in a battle for their union. A team of five *Militant* supporters sold 35 *Militants* and five *Perspectiva Mundials* to the strikers. Once again, interest in P-9 was what led to the sale.

Sales have also taken place at the Edison workers' picket line, at two TWA support rallies, at a second rally for the Carney nurses, and at a demonstration demanding jobs for laid-off International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members whose plant has closed.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are getting to be well-known at these events. Sales there complement our regular plant-gate sales and put us in touch with these fighting workers and what they are thinking.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

ers at Edison Power, and TWA flight attendants of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants have all gone out.

Several solidarity rallies have been held with the various unions on strike, attracting workers from these unions as well as working people from many other workplaces and unions. All the rallies have been spirited and angry. They have been places for rich

mel Co. in Austin, Minnesota, has been a big part of the discussions.

Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language biweekly, have been regularly going to these rallies as well as to the picket lines to show solidarity, participate in the discussions with these workers, and sell our press with its regular coverage of Local P-9's fight against Hormel, as well as the

## Boston utility workers fight for health, safety

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Some 1,800 utility workers employed by Boston Edison put up picket lines here May 15 in a battle for health, safety, and pension rights. Edison services 600,000 customers in the greater Boston area.

The strike, called by Utility Workers Union of America Local 369, had been authorized by a vote of 1,346 to 16 earlier in the month.

Boston Edison management, which refuses to talk to the media, has only bitter pills for the workers. The bosses want to eliminate disability pensions in this dangerous industry. And they refuse union demands for better job safety.

A union study found that 51 was the average age of death of union members who have died of job-related illnesses since 1978 — 11 years before retirement with full benefits.

Utility workers, union executive board member Bob Lesslie told the *Militant*, "work around high voltage, in nuclear plants around radiation, and are exposed in some jobs, still, to PCBs, and to asbestos."

Management, he said, "wants take-aways in health and safety," but since it began negotiations two months late, union members had hints a strike was in the offing "and began to prepare."

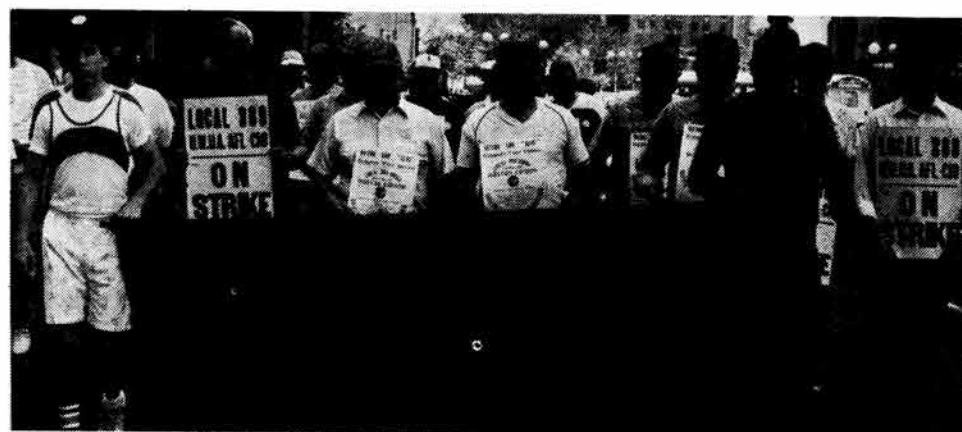
The employers, in a move made with calculated cynicism, also seek to put a cap on death benefits, slash pensions, and lower retiree insurance.

Boston Edison, which offered the union a 4.5 percent wage increase over

the next three years, made record-breaking net profits of \$94 million in 1985. This was a 6 percent jump from 1984 and a 28 percent leap from the previous year.

But wages are not the key issue in the strike. "We're not talking about money here," cable splicer Joseph Antonucci, 55, says. "It's health and safety issues and early retirement. I want to retire now. What good is money if you don't live to enjoy it?"

The company is using management personnel to do scab labor.



## Calif. socialist candidate joins AIDS march

BY PETER THIERJUNG

SAN FRANCISCO — Socialist candidate for governor, Matilde Zimmermann, joined 8,000 or more demonstrators here at an AIDS march and vigil May 26. Sponsored by the Mobilization Against AIDS, the march was a memorial to the 11,000 who have died of AIDS so far and a demand for more money for AIDS research and care.

The protest is an annual event, but this year took on a special emergency character when followers of Lyndon LaRouche submitted signatures to place a viciously anti-gay and antidemocratic initiative on the November California ballot.

The right-wing referendum would institute mandatory AIDS testing and the re-

porting of all those who test positive for the AIDS virus to the State Health Department, whether or not they actually have the disease. AIDS victims and virus carriers would be barred from all private and public schools, whether as teachers, employees, or students. They would be forbidden to work in establishments that process or serve food. They could be subject to quarantine and internment.

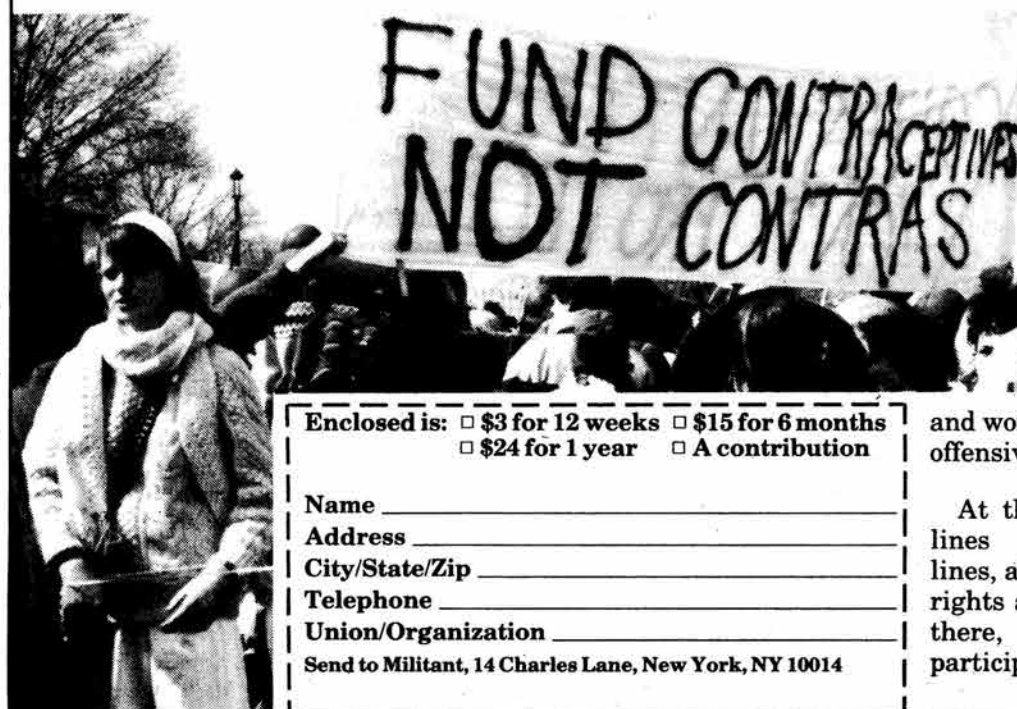
"It smacks of what Hitler did to Jews and trade unionists, or the internment of Japanese here during the war," Zimmermann said to a group of protesters. "I think that labor unions, civil rights organizations, and church and community groups should all get together to fight against this initiative."

One marcher told the candidate he had

worked on the campaign against the Briggs Initiative, an antigay referendum that was defeated in California in the early 1970s. He thought a similar united effort was needed against the LaRouche initiative. Zimmermann reported to another protester that the California National Organization for Women convention had passed a resolution calling on NOW chapters to campaign against the LaRouche initiative.

"Right on," "Thanks for coming," and "Good luck on your campaign," were typical responses to the socialist candidate when she promised to campaign against the antigay hysteria being whipped up by the LaRouchites and others, and for government funding of AIDS research and the treatment of AIDS victims.

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

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

### The Militant

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# Canada meatpackers

Continued from front page

Gainers' union-busting attack on Local 280P was planned well in advance. For weeks before, the company advertised for new hires at \$8 an hour. (A Canadian dollar equals U.S.\$72.) The advertisement included warnings that new hires might have to cross union picket lines.

Gainers forced the 1,080 workers to strike when it refused to sign a contract with terms similar to those in recent contracts with Intercon, Burns, and other leading Canadian meat processors. These contracts included a \$.51 an hour increase this year and \$.52 next year.

UFCW members at Fletcher's Fine Foods Ltd., in Red Deer, Alberta — another pork-processing plant — have also been forced out on strike by the company's refusal to accept the terms of the Canada Packers agreement.

Scabs have reportedly been brought into the Red Deer plant.

Between them, Gainers and Fletcher's process up to 8,000 hogs a day.

Two years ago workers at Gainers were forced to accept a two-tier wage scale that sharply lowered the starting pay of new hires. As a result pay scales at Gainers now range from \$6.99 an hour to \$11.99 an hour. The contract also eliminated vision care and reduced other medical benefits for those with less than five years on the job.

According to John Ewasiw, media spokesman for Local 280P, Gainers management had claimed that the concessions were needed to overcome a profit decline and promised to restore them when the situation turned around. "Now they're making plenty of money," he told the *Mil-*

itant in a telephone interview, "but instead of rewarding us, they are demanding more concessions. Many of the members of this union have not had a pay increase in three years. They are not willing to go along."

The Gainers workers are getting some active solidarity from the Alberta labor movement. Members of the pipefitters, letter carriers, nurses, and other unions have joined the picket lines.

Top officials of the Alberta Federation of Labor say that solidarity with the Edmonton meatpackers against union-busting will be a priority. Alberta Federation of Labor President David Werlin was among those arrested June 3.

Werlin charged that companies such as Gainers take advantage of unemployment and bring scabs in. The right to strike doesn't mean much if you can't picket and the bosses are allowed to hire scabs."

Asked why he had joined the Local 280P picket line, Werlin told the June 4 Toronto *Globe and Mail*, "You can't lead from the back. I've been on hundreds of pickets in my life and I've never seen a company promote violence the way this one has by placing ads for scabs. The government has given this company a blank check to do that."

Raymond Martin, Alberta leader of the New Democratic Party — Canada's labor party — said, "The laws are being used to bust the workers' union. The laws of Alberta always come down on the company's side."

Ewasiw said that messages of support from unions and other organizations can be sent to United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280P, 29588 111th Ave., Edmonton, Alberta T5 G0 A7, Canada.

## LaRouche fascists target NBC

BY MALIK MIAH

The fascist organization headed by Lyndon LaRouche has stepped up its reactionary campaign against NBC-TV.

On May 23 *New Solidarity*, the newspaper of LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), charged that an NBC cameraman attacked one of their photographers, Thomas Szymeko, while attending a press conference at the Dirksen Federal Building in Chicago on May 16.

Szymeko claimed that the cameraman hit him in the face, injuring his nose and eyes.

A week earlier, on May 11, another LaRouche member, William Ferguson, charged that NBC television talk show host Phil Donahue attacked him at New York's La Guardia Airport.

Ferguson filed charges of assault and harassment against Donahue. He dropped the charges on June 2, but said he was considering a civil suit against Donahue.

The victims in both of these attacks, however, were not the NDPC members. Witnesses report, for example, that as Donahue and actress Marlo Thomas, his wife, walked by an NDPC literature table, Ferguson began shouting obscenities and yelling, "Donahue and his wife ought to be murdered."

When Donahue went over to the table to respond, he was assaulted by Ferguson.

While Donahue was the victim of the assault, NBC was also a target. Ferguson said that Donahue had slandered LaRouche on his daily TV program shown on NBC.

After the alleged assault on the LaRouche photographer in Chicago, Szymeko told *New Solidarity*, "This is NBC, the Nothing But Cocaine station, this is the National Bolshevik Company."

The *New Solidarity* article went on to add: "NBC-TV has gained increased international notoriety recently for its courtship and protection of terrorists. On May 5 the network broadcast an interview with the Syrian-backed guerrilla leader Abu Abbas.... When U.S. government authorities requested information on the whereabouts of Abbas, NBC refused to cooperate."

*New Solidarity* has also claimed that NBC is a pawn in a Soviet conspiracy to unleash a terrorist war in the United States.

"Boycott NBC!" is the slogan written above the paper's masthead.

This reactionary campaign against NBC

is aimed at restricting the right to freedom of press as part of the NDPC assaults on the democratic rights of working people.

LaRouche's outfits have a long history of using verbal and physical thuggery to intimidate those they disagree with. In the 1970s members of LaRouche organizations physically attacked left groups, Black activists, and unionists. They offered to spy on progressive groups for the cops.

LaRouche himself, who was a member of the Socialist Workers Party for many years in the 1950s and through the mid-

Continued on Page 6

## Chernobyl disaster: symbol of nuclear destruction

BY HARRY RING

In late May, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held its Sixth World Congress at Cologne, West Germany. Last year, the widely respected organization won the Nobel peace award.

A principal agenda point at the Cologne congress was the Chernobyl nuclear disaster of April 26.

Tom Wicker, a *New York Times* columnist, attended and offered this account June 3.

There were two detailed medical reports on Chernobyl.

One given by Dr. Yevgeny Chazov, the other by Dr. Leonid Illyin.

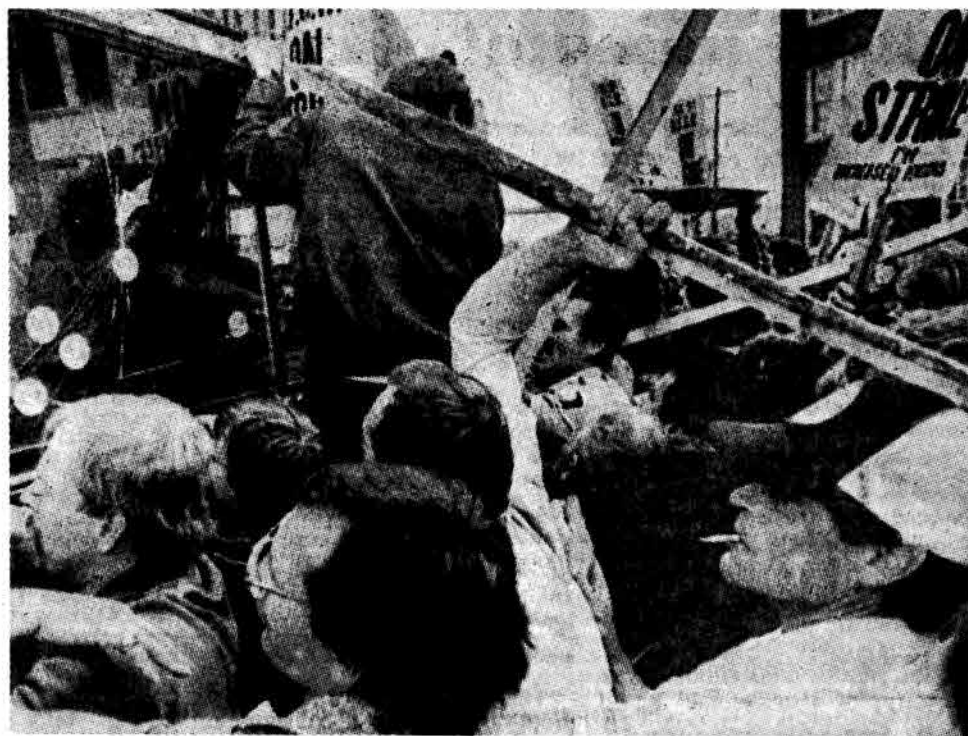
Chazov is copresident of the group and director of the Cardiovascular Institute of the USSR. Illyin, a surgeon, is chairman of the USSR Committee on Radiation Protection.

Wicker reported "small but telling shadows" of the Chernobyl incident to be seen in the Cologne area. A restaurant salad plate composed entirely of canned vegetables. Cows restricted to barns.

"But the longer, darker shadow," Wicker added, "is that of nuclear destruction, for which Chernobyl has become a symbol."

In their reports to the congress, Wicker said, both Soviet scientists attribute the delay in warning the world to "local authorities" who underestimated the scope of the accident.

They said that, after a 36-hour delay, 100,000 people, all within a 19-mile radius of Chernobyl, were evacuated in just three



Striking meatpackers from Gainers plant in Canada's Alberta Province fought June 2 attempt by busloads of armed scabs to smash through picket line set up by United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280P. Cops and courts are aiding company's union-busting operation.

## Meatpackers grab up papers from Midwest sales team

BY DIANA CANTU

SIoux CITY, Iowa — In our first week on the road the *Militant* Midwest regional sales team sold 579 papers, 478 of these to workers at plant gates.

At the Fremont, Nebraska, Hormel plant, where 50 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) were fired for exercising their contractual right to honor a UFCW Local P-9 picket line, we sold 78 *Militants* to workers in the plant in one afternoon.

These Hormel workers told us they were interested in the *Militant's* coverage on Nicaragua and the farm crisis and in the coverage of the Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers' fight against Hormel. The Fremont workers' contract will expire in August, and the fight against concessions was very much on their minds.

Many expressed support for P-9 while others felt that the strike is weakening the union. Several were angry at the International union for not supporting the Austin local.

One worker at the Fremont plant

explained that "when your leadership has led you across the picket line and basically told the company that the offer to P-9 was good enough, how can we expect to do any better?"

At other UFCW-organized plants we also received a good response from the workers. One example is the Iowa beef-packing plant in Dakota City, Nebraska, where we sold 157 *Militants* in one afternoon. A worker grabbed the paper and said, "Militant — that's me!"

Workers at the Oscar Mayer plant in Perry, Iowa, where we sold 66 *Militants*, have recently returned to work with a new contract after a seven-week layoff. They told us how the company laid them off within a week of the last contract's expiration to avoid the "bad publicity" of a strike and called them back as soon as a new contract was settled.

One older woman worker told the *Militant*, "Many of us weren't ready to strike, but most of the young people were. The cuts have to stop somewhere. We have to draw the line."

When asked about P-9, another worker told us, "Let me put it this way, I don't buy anything with the name Hormel on it," referring to the boycott.

At the Wilson packing plant in Cherokee, Iowa, there is ongoing discussion about the P-9 strike. Several workers came out of the plant on their breaks ready to buy the *Militant* after seeing it inside. Altogether we sold 65 papers there.

We also visited UFCW Local 147 in Cherokee, where Local 147 Secretary Marion Bakker said that she appreciated the *Militant's* coverage of a threatened plant closing there a few years ago.

We also sold several single *Militants* and a subscription at Alff, a garment factory in Sioux City organized by the United Garment Workers Union.

At the Winnebago Indian reservation in Nebraska we distributed 11 *Militants* and talked with community leaders. Most of the 1,200 members of the tribe who live on the reservation are farmers or work in nearby Sioux City. Unemployment on the reservation is very high and conditions poor.

In the next week we will be meeting with farm activists, as well as traveling to the White Earth Indian reservation and the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota.

## 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.



# Town meetings debate Nicaragua draft constitution

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

Broad public debate on Nicaragua's proposed new constitution opened in Managua May 18 when 400 journalists and artists participated in the first town-meeting style constitutional discussion. Carlos Núñez, president of the National Assembly, stressed the importance of these meetings to "draft, edit, debate, and approve a constitution that will have the seal of all political parties and of the people."

The draft constitution was drawn up by a subcommission of

ernment's historical roots. Speakers from the People's Social Christian Party and Independent Liberal Party, on the other hand, criticized the identification of the government as "Sandinista." Several speakers stressed the importance of unconditional freedom of the press.

Some participants proposed that the constitution explicitly recognize the mass organizations created by workers and peasants since the 1979 revolution. Many wanted a stronger defense of the right to secular education — including an end to compulsory religious education in private schools.

The crowd strongly supported proposals to make the constitution more explicit in defending equal rights for women and women's right to abortion. Abortion is illegal in Nicaragua.

## NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

the National Assembly, representing six of the seven parties in the assembly. (The Independent Liberals refused to take part.) On February 21 the assembly approved the draft for broad discussion and it was published in full in local papers.

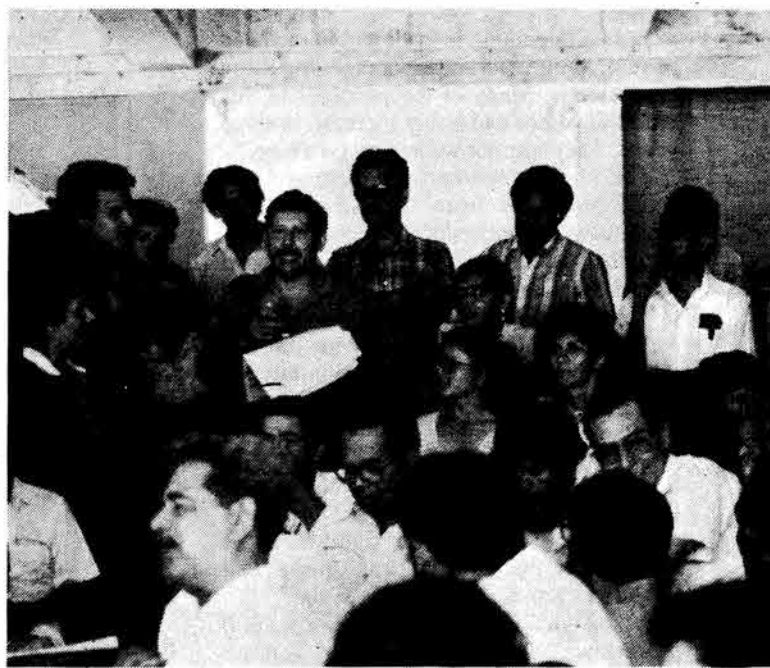
Nearly 80 such town meetings, organized by sectors of the population — workers, peasants, women, students, professionals, soldiers, etc. — will take place throughout the country.

Most speakers at the May 18 meeting raised criticisms or suggested changes in the constitution. Some proposed that the preamble include the Sandinista National Liberation Front's struggle against the Somoza dictatorship as part of the Nicaraguan gov-

Over 250 workers from the El Eskimo ice cream factory in Managua took part May 23 in a new factory defense exercise. This was the first of many such exercises designed to prepare the workers' militias to defend their factories in the event of a U.S. invasion.

Thirty workers dressed in blue uniforms labeled "U.S. Army" simulated a surprise attack, "wounding" one of the security guards at the plant. Militia members — both men and women — dropped their work, seized rifles, and carried out a spirited defense. Reinforcement militias from nearby plants joined them after the first shots were fired.

Both the director of El Eskimo and Commander Carlos Brenes Sánchez, the army's second in command in the capital city of Managua, characterized the exer-



May 18 meeting of artists and journalists in Managua kicked off nationwide discussion on constitution.

cise as successful. Brenes said this was actually a refresher course since many workers had combat experience from the 1979 insurrection that ousted Somoza.

Brenes pointed to the significance of beginning the new exercises at El Eskimo, a nationalized company. "If we had anything to defend," he said, "it would be the revolutionary power represented by a factory at the service of the people."

In an earlier column, we reported the death of the award-winning Nicaraguan painter June Beer. A prominent figure in the Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields, Beer was also a poet. Below we reprint a poem in Creole by Beer on a theme familiar to working farmers throughout the world —

the battle to save one's land and dignity from the clutches of the bankers. The poem is taken from the March issue of *Sunrise*, the revolutionary newspaper in Bluefields.

Mango, roseapple, cashu,  
lime, plum, breadfruit,  
casava, coco, dashin,  
yampi, coconut, plantin,  
a little a dis a little a dat  
we go from year to year so, di  
picinny gettin big  
dem shud go to school.  
Book, pencil, pants, shut,  
SHOES.  
oh laad how we gon mek it.  
Maybe we cuda baro money from  
di bank  
John sey to Mary on de chunku  
farm up black wata crick.  
John, me fraid we no anastan dem  
ting

out when a look at dese picinny  
a haf tu try fa dem  
so les go town wit we regista pepa  
John and Mary visit di banka—  
a ducko man with a slipry smile  
who talk like paña playing yanky  
zes, we have a program faar  
pipple like you — estep over  
to Mr. Wilson he will attend you.

Wilson ass dis and eh ass dat  
den eh tel me sunday  
eh goin visit weh paan de faam,  
an eh did.  
He sed di loan sure  
in 15 days we mus go to di bank.  
But when we gone to de bank  
only half wat we ass, we get.  
I tek it and I try, laad in heven  
know I try—  
I try fa dem little picinny  
fa dem to go to school  
but dat banka wit di slipry smile  
give me jus  
enough money to put me in  
di hole and tak me faam.

Note from the poet: In 1960 or so the National Bank of Bluefields won first prize for confiscating properties from small farmers. This prize was on a national level.

The Sons of the Blues/Chi Town Hustlers, a popular Chicago blues band, performed for hundreds of Nicaraguans May 25 in the Ruins of the Grand Hotel, a Managua theater. Despite heavy rains and a brief blackout as the performance began, the group was cheered on with enthusiasm and called back for two encores.

Group leader Billy Branch, speaking in Spanish, told the crowd that band members were delighted to be performing in Nicaragua. In addition to three concerts in Managua, the band held a jam session in Masaya with the Nicaraguan group Praxis.

# Ortega evaluates meeting of Central American leaders

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA — The May 24-25 meeting of Central American presidents in Esquipulas, Guatemala, marked an advance in confronting the problems of war and the economic crisis affecting the region, according to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

"In more than four years of crisis maintained by the U.S. government, we the leaders of the Central American countries had not managed to meet," Ortega told a May 26 press conference here.

The private meetings held by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua in Esquipulas were thus an important "first step" that "showed the desires of the peoples and governments of Central America for peace and dialogue," Ortega said. "Not all the problems could be resolved," he added, "but it was the beginning of a dialogue that helps us find a way out of this situation."

The five presidents signed a joint declaration in which they agreed to "formalize the presidential meetings as a necessary and useful means to analyze . . . and seek solutions" to the problems of the area. They agreed to create a Central American parliament, to be elected by citizens of the five nations. They affirmed their desire to "review, update, and stimulate" the economic integration of the region. They called for joint efforts to confront the problems of foreign debt, deteriorating terms of trade, and need for more advanced technology in the region.

The Esquipulas declaration states that peace can "only be the fruit of an authentic democratic, pluralistic, and participatory process, which implies the promotion of social justice, respect for human rights, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nations." Ortega reported that, despite much discussion of these points, there was no agreement on the forms that democracy

and political pluralism should take.

In the declaration, the five presidents also affirmed their willingness to sign the Contadora treaty, but pointed out that there were "unresolved aspects such as military maneuvers, arms control, and verification procedures." Ortega reported that the presidents agreed not to be held to a June 6 deadline for signing the Contadora agreement, as had been proposed by the president of Colombia, but would continue negotiations "to exhaust discussions on the pending points." In the Esquipulas meetings, Ortega pointed out that ending U.S. government support to the *contras* was "fundamental" to establishing peace in the region.

At the May 26 press conference, Ortega explained a new Nicaraguan proposal to advance the Contadora discussions by

starting negotiations on offensive weapons. This demonstrated Nicaragua's continued willingness to seek a negotiated end to the fighting in Central America, he said.

Nicaragua's proposal includes a list of 14 categories of offensive weapons that it is prepared to "reduce, limit, control, and eliminate in the framework of the current political negotiations to achieve peace." Any limits would have to apply to all Central American countries simultaneously, Ortega stressed. All countries also had the right to defensive weapons to protect against any aggression, he added.

The arms Nicaragua proposed discussing are: military aircraft, military helicopters, military airfields, battle tanks, heavy mortars larger than 120mm, self-propelled anti-aircraft artillery, multiple rocket launch-

ers larger than 122mm, heavy artillery larger than 160mm, self-propelled artillery, surface-to-surface missiles mounted on warships, and naval vessels of more than 100 metric tons displacement or 40 meters length. Nicaragua also proposed discussing international military maneuvers, foreign military bases, and foreign military advisers.

In response to questions by journalists, Ortega explained that Nicaragua would not discuss rifles or other weapons that have been distributed to Nicaragua's workers and peasants to defend their country. "When we talk of 200,000 or 300,000 armed people in Nicaragua," he explained, "this is not an army that can invade another country, but simply an entire people armed and ready to defend their land from imperialist aggression."

## Nicaraguan priest denounces contra aid

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

NEW YORK — In an interview during a recent visit to the United States, Father Uriel Molina Oliú of Nicaragua strongly condemned the counterrevolutionary war Washington is waging against his homeland.

Father Molina, pastor of Santa María de Los Angeles church and director of the Antonio Valdivieso Ecumenical Center in Managua, was making a brief tour of this country. He was invited to the United States to participate in a conference on liberation theology in Amherst, Massachusetts.

Referring to the debate in the U.S. Congress on the Reagan administration's proposal to give \$100 million in aid to the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, known as *contras*, Molina said, "Nicaragua has the right to self-determination." The debate in

Congress, he charged, "is a violation of this international right."

The U.S. government has been waging a mercenary war against Nicaragua since 1980. From 1980 to January of this year, some 12,000 Nicaraguans have died because of the war. It has also caused a tremendous drain on the national economy, forcing the government to spend 50 percent of its budget on defense. Father Molina stated that the moment the U.S. government ended its aid to the *contras*, "the economy would be able to take off."

As part of its propaganda campaign against Nicaragua, Washington has charged that the Sandinista government persecutes the church. Father Molina dismissed this allegation. Pointing to the participation of four priests in the government, he said, "I do not believe that you would see this in a country where the church is repressed. Nevertheless," he said, "the

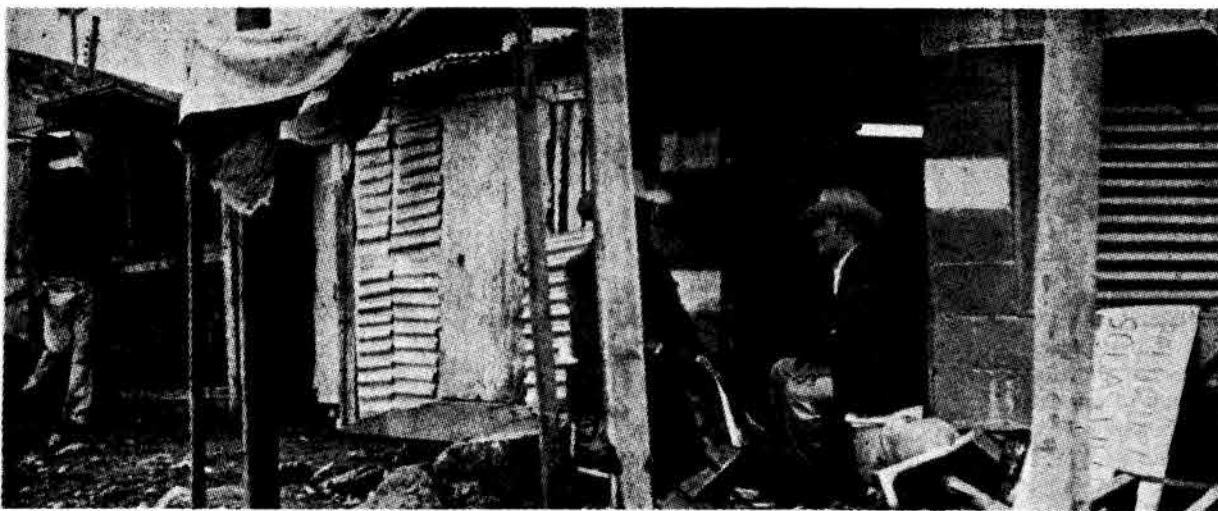
revolution is not going to allow the church to be used by the counterrevolution."

The priest explained that the Catholic church in Nicaragua is divided. On one side is the upper echelons of the hierarchy, which identify with the privileged classes and the U.S. mercenary war. On the other side, he said, is the church that "is committed to social change for the people, revolutionary changes that have benefited the vast majority."

Molina explained that there were large demonstrations in Nicaragua against the U.S. bombing of Libya. "The people are not stupid," he said. They know that this bombing was "a rehearsal so that later they [U.S. rulers] could do a similar thing in Nicaragua."

"But in Nicaragua, the people are prepared," he said. "The traditional enemy has been U.S. intervention, and we are not willing to stand for it again."





Mexicans who live in slums like this and thousands left homeless by recent earthquakes are among those who must "sacrifice" so Mexico can make payments on \$100 billion foreign debt to imperialist banks, \$26 billion of which is owed to U.S. banks.



## Behind U.S. government's Mexico-bashing

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

"Just wrong." That's how a U.S. drug enforcement official described drug trafficking charges against Mexican government officials made during a congressional hearing.

With imperial arrogance, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee organized hearings May 13 on drug trafficking and corruption in Mexico.

During the hearings, William von Raab, head of the U.S. Customs Service, charged that the "governor of Sonora is alleged to own four ranches . . . on which is grown marijuana or opium poppies. We believe these ranches are currently or occasionally guarded by the [Mexican] Federal Judicial Police and the Mexican army."

The charges, based on information from an unnamed source, made the front page of the *New York Times*. For two weeks, newspapers carried stories of the Mexican government's alleged drug-related corruption.

In a story datelined May 21, the *New York Times* reported that there was no basis for these charges. The story explained that the official charged by von Raab, Rodolfo Félix Valdez, owned no ranches whatsoever. It appears that von Raab's source had confused the current governor with his predecessor, who owns two ranches in Sonora. Nor, the *Times* reported, is there any indication that the former governor used his ranches for cultivating drugs.

### Charges corruption

During the hearings, von Raab also charged that Mexican government officials were "inept and corrupt." He told the committee that there was "massive" corruption "up and down the ladder. Until I'm shown that an individual [in the Mexican government] is not corrupt . . . my presumption is that he is," von Raab added.

The committee also heard from Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. Reiterating von Raab's charges, Abrams testified, "We [the U.S. government] have told the Mexicans in no uncertain terms that we are deeply troubled by widespread drug-related corruption."

Following the hearings, according to the *New York Times*, "60,000 people marched in Mexico City to protest."

The Mexican government issued a sharp protest to the U.S. government. The statements in the hearings, the Mexican government charged, had an "interventionist character" and were "a clear and unacceptable violation of Mexico's sovereignty."

The Mexican government, the protest declared, "strongly rejects the accusations and calumnies. . . . It is surprising, the capacity for slander and the political irresponsibility implied by these statements."

Hitting at the arrogance of the U.S. government to even organize such hearings, it continued, "The government of Mexico does not accept that U.S. officials take upon themselves to make statements on Mexico's internal affairs. . . ."

Mexican Attorney General Sergio García Ramírez asked the U.S. embassy to turn over all evidence Washington allegedly had on corruption among Mexican officials so that he could take action. More than a week later, he reported, no evidence was forthcoming. "Apparently," he told the press, "they don't have any."

This type of slander campaign against Mexico is not new. Beginning in October

1984, Washington began accusing the Mexican government of inaction in cases of charges of criminal activity against U.S. citizens. The U.S. government also charged, at that time, that Mexican officials were corrupt and that they condoned drug trafficking.

This campaign escalated in February 1985, when Washington seized on the disappearance in Mexico of Enrique Camarena, a cop from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, to organize a slowdown at the border. U.S. border cops stopped all cars with Mexican and Chicano passengers, supposedly to search for Camarena or clues to his whereabouts, backing up traffic at the border for up to seven hours.

These campaigns are aimed at disrupting the Mexican economy, particularly the tourism industry, Mexico's second-largest source of foreign exchange.

The goal of these campaigns is to use U.S. economic clout to pressure Mexico to toe the line, including supporting U.S. policies in Central America. The May 25 *New York Times* quoted a former CIA official as saying that CIA Director William Casey "felt the Mexicans were not team players on Central America."

Washington seeks to try to force Mexico to take all the measures the imperialist banks demand to guarantee payments on the foreign debt as well.

Currently, Mexico's debt stands at \$100 billion, with \$26 billion owed to U.S. banks. The Mexican government has instituted austerity plans just to pay the interest on the debt. These plans have met with resistance from Mexican workers and peasants, who are increasingly demanding that

the government refuse to pay the debt.

Mexico's economic crisis has worsened since two earthquakes devastated large parts of the country last September. Instead of the massive aid Mexico needed to rebuild, Washington gave only \$1 million. The U.S. government later offered to negotiate yet another \$4 billion in loans.

The recent drop in world oil prices has deepened the economic crisis, since oil is Mexico's largest source of foreign exchange.

The imperialist bankers are pressuring Mexico to take even more severe steps, similar to those taken by Argentina and Brazil, to assure payment of the debt at the expense of workers and farmers.

The sharp reaction from the Mexican government to this last round of slanders caused divisions within the Reagan administration over using this tactic to pressure Mexico. As one Justice Department official warned: "The danger is that we might bash them so hard they'll tell us to pick up our marbles and go home."

U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese called his Mexican counterpart May 22 to distance the administration from von Raab's charges. Meese, while never repudiating the U.S. government's right to investigate the internal affairs of another country, said he "deplored the comments made in hearings of a Senate subcommittee of the United States that do not reflect, in any way, the opinion of President Ronald Reagan or the point of view of the Justice Department."

When Meese's call to Mexico was made public May 24, Dennis Murphy, U.S. Customs director of public affairs, told the press that "the Customs Service stands by

the commissioner's [von Raab's] statement."

A spokesperson for the State Department said he had no idea what Meese was talking about. The White House declined to comment.

That same day, the CIA issued its report on Mexico to the press. The report states that Mexico's political and economic problems have grown so severe, it could become the most important problem facing the United States in 1986.

After the report was issued, a State Department official, referring to the drug-related corruption, told the press: "Yes, there are problems; no, we are not certain they'll [Mexicans] be able to pull out of them this time. But we have to work with them, and continuing to bash them is not going to do any good."

By May 27, however, the administration had reached agreement. A senior Justice Department spokesperson told the press that von Raab's statements implied that the entire Mexican government "is involved in drug trafficking." American officials, he said, "do not believe the entire Mexican Government is involved in drug trafficking. We do recognize that there are serious problems," including "drug trafficking and corruption."

The Customs Service then told the press that they "never contended that the entire Government of Mexico is in league with drug traffickers."

By the time the *New York Times* reported that there was no basis for the charges, only Senator Jesse Helms, who headed the subcommittee hearings, continued to contend that the allegations were "well substantiated."

## Mass. garment workers forced to strike

BY JON HILLSON

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Finally forced to strike after working a year without a contract, garment workers here are holding firm. On May 27 picket lines mounted by Local 24 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) entered their fourth week at Tileston and Cambridge Coat. These two firms employ 107 workers here.

The firms' parent company, New England Mackintosh, is also being struck by 125 ILGWU workers in New Bedford and by 200 in Fall River, Massachusetts.

The central issue in the strike is job security. New York-based ILGWU staff organizer David Munck told the *Militant*.

New England Mackintosh's owner, Bernard Mollier, is out to get "rid of the union," Munck said, "because he computes he can make \$2 million more in two years without it."

Workers in the Cambridge shops decided to strike, said ILGWU Northern New England Business Agent Judy McCallister, because they realized the year's time that had elapsed since the last contract expired, was "just a stall."

Mollier is trying, McCallister said, to assert the "right" to contract out work to nonunion shops, which would exempt him from paying into the ILGWU's health and welfare fund. This fund covers retirement benefits, eyeglasses, Blue Cross/Blue Shield, and vacation pay.

The strike began May 6 and, says Olga

Ferris, a member of Local 24's executive board and a striking worker, "it's completely solid" — in Cambridge, New Bedford, and Fall River.

This unity has forced Mollier to "scurry around looking for contractors to do the work," she said. The boss has been putting want ads in local papers to find these cockroach bosses, who in Boston and around the country maintain operations that pay subminimum wages.

"We're not striking for money," Ferris explains, "but to keep our jobs and to keep our union."

## Black farmers and farm crisis

Continued from back page

justice projects, including the vindication of Eddie Carthan. This sabotage of needed funds for the defense of Carthan took place at the height of the frame-up campaign against him.

Kinsman goes on to explain that Barrett and his brother were "founding members of the white Citizens Council."

"Prior to his election to Congress," notes Kinsman, "Webb Franklin served as district judge in Holmes County." Tchula is in Holmes County. "He presided over the infamous trial of the 'Tchula 7'" and "was instrumental in manipulating the conviction of Mayor Carthan."

Efforts to help the Carthans not lose their land and "to draw public support, funding,

Picket lines, up at 6 a.m. and marching until 3 p.m. in front of the building where the shops are housed, "involve every worker on strike," Ferris said.

Strikers speak Portuguese, Italian, English, and Chinese, and range in age from those in their 20s to those in their 60s.

"If we stay out here and stick together, I think we have a chance to win," Ferris said.

Jon Hillson is a member of ILGWU Local 311 at Malden Mills and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Massachusetts' 8th C.D.

and media attention" to their cause has been organized by the Madison, Wisconsin Support Committee for Mayor Eddie Carthan and others.

After months of fact-finding by the committee, Kinsman reports, "a congressional investigation into the racially discriminatory policies of FmHA authorities in three states," led to "evidence of widespread discrimination by the FmHA against Eddie Carthan and other Black farmers in Holmes County. The investigation continues."

To make clear that this is not an isolated case, the *North American Farmer* cites the case of 66-year-old David Delaney from Bolivar County, Mississippi. "He too has been denied FmHA operating loans," writes Kinsman.



# Freedom struggle divides S. Africa whites

BY FRED FELDMAN

Thousands of white supporters of the ultraracist, Nazi-like Afrikaner Resistance Movement broke up a meeting in Pietersburg, South Africa, on May 22. The meeting was to be addressed by the country's foreign minister.

The Afrikaner Resistance Movement is commonly known as AWB, the initials of its name in the Afrikaans language spoken by Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch colonial settlers in South Africa.

AWB, which uses an emblem based on the swastika, claims that the government's attempts to modify apartheid are undermining white supremacy. It is headed by Eugene Terre Blanche, a former member of the elite police unit that guards top South African officials.

On May 31, four ultraright groups, including AWB, staged a rally in Pretoria, reportedly attended by 10,000 people, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the white rulers' proclamation of an apartheid republic.

The U.S. capitalist media says these incidents are part of an ever-growing white backlash in opposition to an anti-apartheid struggle that is pushing too hard. The May 25 *Washington Post* even prettied up the neo-Nazi AWB by claiming that it carries out "white violence responding to Black violence." This frames up the Black victims of apartheid's massive bloodshed as the cause of violence in South Africa.

The capitalist media seeks to convey the image of the nearly 5 million whites in South Africa as a solid bloc devoted to apartheid, an unconquerable obstacle to the victory of the anti-apartheid forces. This is the mythology propagated by the apartheid regime itself.

## No white monolith

This white monolith does not exist. The myth hides basic class, social, and political divisions.

Under the impact of the advancing freedom struggle, these divisions are coming to the surface. The belief of whites in the future of apartheid has been shaken, and a deepening polarization is taking place among them.

On one side, the pro-apartheid base of the regime is becoming more divided. Some, driven to desperation by the government's inability to roll back the upsurge, are attracted to AWB's terrorism and calls for more Nazi-style repression. More widely supported and influential parliamentary groups like the Conservative Party and the Herstigte (Reconstituted) Nasionale Party also challenge the regime's attempts to modify apartheid.

All have their roots in splits from the National Party, which has governed South Africa since 1948. And these ultraright-wing outfits have many members and sympathizers among cops and among the officialdom.

## Use of extralegal violence

In addition to highly publicized actions like the disruption of a progovernment meeting, AWB and other groups participate in the regime's war of terror against the Black townships. They stage vigilante attacks, beating and killing Blacks. Cops are often among the vigilantes. This government-backed terror reflects the white rulers' growing reliance on extralegal violence to supplement the official violence that has failed to end the upsurge.

The other side of the polarization is the participation of a small but increasing number of whites in the anti-apartheid struggle — exposing the regime's claim to represent a united "white nation" in opposition to Blacks.

On May 30 a predominantly white group

## LaRouche fascists

Continued from Page 3

'60s, explained to the *New York Times* that he remained a member of the SWP only because an agent of the FBI "wanted me to work for them under cover" and "inform for them." He added, "I would not inform, but I said I would look at this thing, as a good citizen."

Supporters of democratic rights should protest the assaults against NBC and the NDPC's other provocative and violent actions.

of 1,500 students and teachers at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg staged an open air rally, in defiance of the regime's ban on such meetings, to protest the arrest of a Black student who had demanded that troops be pulled out of Black townships.

Later, several hundred students, most of them Black, staged a sit-down in protest.

The regime's response was rather different than its kid-glove handling of protests by the neo-Nazi AWB and other supporters of apartheid. Riot police attacked them with whips, clubs, tear gas, and dogs. Later, 47 were arrested when they attempted to march on a police station.

A white woman was whipped as she lay screaming on the ground.

## Protest regime's raids

On May 20, some 4,000 students at Witwatersrand participated in a mass meeting to protest the regime's raids against Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

About 2,000 whites packed into Johannesburg's City Hall April 9 to participate in a rally called by the United Democratic Front (UDF) — the anti-apartheid coalition that has organized many of the massive Black protests.

This was the first major public action in a "call to whites" campaign mapped out by the front early this year.

The rally occurred under a banner proclaiming, "Release Mandela" — a reference to imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The keynote speaker was Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who had resigned a few weeks earlier as parliamentary leader of the Progressive Federal Party, the main white liberal opposition party. He cited as his reason disillusionment with efforts to bring about reform through parliament.

Murphy Morobe, national publicity secretary of the UDF, told the audience that the participation of whites was vital in the struggle against apartheid. He said the UDF welcomed white support even if "by doing so we open ourselves to criticism that we are embracing the sons and daughters of our oppressors."

## Thousands refuse conscription

One of the apartheid regime's policies that touches many whites directly is conscription into the military. Beginning at the age of 18, all able-bodied white males are obliged to serve two years in the South African Defense Force (SADF). Each year several thousand refuse to do so.

In 1984 more than 40 groups founded the End Conscription Campaign. The founding groups included Black Sash, a predominantly white women's group, and the predominantly white National Union of South African Students.

A July 1985 "Peace Festival" in Johannesburg called by the End Conscription Campaign drew 2,000 people.

And 4,000 people — mostly white —

joined an October 7 demonstration in Cape Town that demanded, "troops out of the townships."

In February 1986 the End Conscription Committee held a conference to map out further actions.

"After my time in the army," one speaker told the meeting, "I wonder who the enemy really is. We should really get out of Angola, Namibia, the townships, and wherever else the SADF is waging apartheid wars."

## 'Negative attitudes'

These sentiments are also reflected in the army itself, although censorship makes it hard to determine their extent. A 1984 meeting of South African military intelligence officers in Namibia, where the army is combating an independence movement, complained about "the negative attitudes of certain national servicemen." The officers blamed a fire at the Walvis Bay military base in Namibia on several soldiers "incited by a 'White ANC-inclined national serviceman.'"

Some whites have joined the ANC either in exile or within South Africa. One indication of this has been a series of trials in recent years in which several white ANC activists, who had functioned as part of the liberation movement's clandestine organization inside the country, were sentenced to prison terms.

The increasing participation of whites in the anti-apartheid struggle is a sign of the weakening of the apartheid regime. So, for that matter, are the growing splits and conflicts among apartheid's supporters.

Last March, leaders of the National



Eugene Terre Blanche, South African former cop, who heads neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement. Divisions among pro-apartheid forces are sign of weakening of regime.

Union of South African Students met with leaders of the African National Congress in Harare, Zimbabwe. Their joint communiqué stated a fact that more whites are realizing: "The real interests of the majority of white South Africans do not lie in the system of racial domination and national oppression. White South Africans have an important role to play now in the endeavor to achieve a nonracial and democratic society."

# Issues in AT&T strike

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

About 155,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) went on strike June 1 against American Telephone & Telegraph Company.

The workers are resisting company demands for concessions including an end to cost-of-living adjustments (COLA), elimination of incentive pay for factory workers, and reclassification of systems technicians to reduce wage scales.

On June 3, a company official announced that 2,000 scab telephone operators had been hired and at least 1,000 more would be hired as "temporary people."

The executive board of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which represents 40,000 AT&T employees, announced June 1 that it had approved a new contract with the company.

The strike began with the expiration of the contract reached in 1983 after a 21-day strike.

Deregulation of the industry and the 1984 breakup of the Bell System into regional companies set the stage for stepped up attacks on unions, living standards, jobs, and working conditions. Nonunion firms now play a role in long-distance service and phone-equipment manufacturing.

AT&T profits last year were \$1.56 billion, a 13 percent increase over 1984. Profits for the first quarter of 1986 were \$530 million.

CWA President Morton Bahr stated that the cost-of-living adjustment is the main issue in the strike. "We would not be in agreement with any wage that is a substitute for COLA," he told the *New York Times* June 1. "We would refuse to take COLA out of the contract." AT&T workers won the cost-of-living adjustment in 1972.

# Speech by South African unionist in 'IP'

Since it was formed in late 1985, the 600,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has emerged as one of the key pillars of the struggle against South Africa's apartheid system.

The June 16 *Intercontinental Press* features the text of a speech given in March by COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo.

COSATU, Naidoo stressed, does not confine itself to factory issues. "Nonpolitical unionism is not only undesirable," he said, "it is impossible." Therefore, COSATU believes that it has "a responsibility to voice the political interests and aspirations of the organized workers and also more broadly of the working class."

It is also necessary, Naidoo went on, for workers to ally with other sectors of the population, such as "the landless, peasants, and farmworkers" and "all those people oppressed by racism, i.e., the entire black people; as well as all democratic forces amongst the white

population."

COSATU, Naidoo said, also had much in common with the African National Congress, "a movement whose stature and influence is growing daily in South Africa." For that reason, Naidoo and other COSATU leaders held discussions with representatives of the ANC and its allied South African Congress of Trade Unions.

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### SOUTH AFRICA

- Pretoria's Terror Raids
- Speech by COSATU Leader: Jay Naidoo Explains Union Policies

Apartheid regime's commerce attacked the ANC office in Harare, Zimbabwe when helicopter-borne troops raided Botswana and expatriate militant village camp in Zambia.

Pakistan Millions Demand End of Zia Dictatorship

Libya A Country Transformed by Revolution and Oil

New Attacks on Tamil Minority in Sri Lanka



## Duke students win divestment victory

BY ROSE HENRY

GREENSBORO, N.C. — A victory for the anti-apartheid movement was scored in Durham on May 2 when Duke University's Board of Trustees committed itself to total divestment of university funds from companies doing business in South Africa. Duke has some \$12.5 million invested in such companies, with IBM heading the list.

This decision is to be implemented beginning January 1987 unless the apartheid system is dismantled. In addition, it was agreed to establish four scholarships for South African students in the names of prominent South African Blacks.

The divestment decision came in the wake of months of discussion and protest by Duke students, faculty, and activists in the city of Durham, where Duke is located.

Last fall, 53 percent of undergraduates voted "yes" in a referendum on total, immediate divestment. The Duke South Africa Coalition carried out an educational campaign and protest activities including the construction of a shantytown on campus. A week before the vote, five students were arrested for trespassing after the university's president ordered the shanties removed. Black university workers refused to participate in dismantling the shanties. A local judge dismissed the charges against the students. The shanties went back up the day before the trustees' meeting.

Most recently, the Academic Council — the faculty senate — voted overwhelmingly in favor of full divestment over a policy of selective divestment, the one favored by the university president.

Ben Chavis, a civil rights leader, nailed his diploma from Duke to the walls of the shanties in solidarity with the students' actions. And seniors had threatened to protest the university's investments at graduation.

In nearby Chapel Hill, students at the University of North Carolina have also been fighting for divestment. UNC-Chapel Hill invests about \$6 million in over 30 companies doing business in South Africa.

A shantytown on campus has been the focus of anti-apartheid activity in recent weeks. After university cops tore their shanties down, students called the press, rebuilt the town, and held almost daily rallies, street theater dramatizing apartheid, and marches to explain their demands. The activities at UNC have involved students from Central

America solidarity groups, the Black student association, the UNC Labor Support Committee, and others.

The UNC Board of Trustees opposed full divestment at its final meeting of the spring semester.

## Right-wing gang attacks antiwar activist

BY MIKE WOODS

ATLANTA — A concert held in Atlanta to raise money for a child-care center in Nicaragua was attacked by a right-wing gang known as the Skinheads on April 19.

One person was hospitalized after being viciously beaten by the Skins during the attack. No arrests have been made.

The concert featured punk and reggae music and raised over \$800 from the crowd of mostly high-school-aged youth.

The trouble started when the Skinheads walked into a hallway where various political groups had set up literature tables. The Skins verbally threatened one woman at an anti-apartheid table, forcing her to leave. The Skins then attacked another table set up by a coalition of groups called "No Business As Usual."

They tore up literature and posters and savagely beat a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and several others who came to his aid. The RCYB member was hospitalized for his injuries, and observers stated that he might have been killed if activists hadn't come to his aid.

The Skins are a racist and right-wing youth gang who are seeking to intimidate young people who are coming around the Nicaragua solidarity movement and other progressive political causes. They openly sport swastikas and emulate white-supremacist doctrines.

This was not the first attack by the Skins. On April 18 they attacked two public demonstrations against the U.S. bombing of Libya. They also vandalized a community center after harassing people attending a slideshow on a Nicaraguan work brigade.

Skinheads originated in Britain and became part of the rightist British National Front, which launched many attacks on minorities and immigrant workers in that country. In the U.S. they draw their influence from such organizations as the Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and other rightist outfits.

A defense committee has been formed to defend democratic rights and protest the attacks by the Skins. Those taking part in the committee include the National Lawyers Guild, Center for Demo-

cratic Renewal (formerly the Anti-Klan Network), Atlanta Committee on Latin America, Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Anti-apartheid group formed in Puerto Rico

Puerto Ricans for Justice and Against Apartheid in South Africa is the name of a newly formed organization in Puerto Rico. In a press statement the committee declared that its purpose is to educate Puerto Ricans so that "together we can demand an end to the inhumane and racist system of apartheid."

The new group is currently building a Caribbean Conference in Solidarity With the Struggle of the Peoples of South Africa and Namibia, to be held in August in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The conference organizers expect anti-apartheid activists and leaders from the Caribbean, United States, and Africa to participate.

Recently, Ellen Musialela, a leader of the Women's Council of the South West Africa People's Organisation participated in a conference of Puerto Rican university professors, where she spoke about the freedom struggle in Namibia.

# Black unionists support anti-apartheid actions

Continued from back page

She said, "No set of codes have had any significant bearing on the situation of Blacks. These codes just perpetuate the slavery of Blacks." The principles — developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Black member of the General Motors board of directors — supposedly mandate equal treatment of Black workers in U.S.-owned plants in South Africa.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65 and first vice-president of the CBTU, pointed out that the June 14 action in New York was being coordinated with a three-day general strike in South Africa beginning June 16. "We must find ways to support strikes in South Africa," he said.

David Ndaba explained to cheers of the participants that on June 14-16 "we are going to make the South African economy feel the power of Black hands." He urged the CBTU to lead the fight for U.S. sanc-

tions against South Africa.

United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka was the guest speaker at this year's CBTU awards dinner-dance. He spent a good deal of his speech taking up South Africa. "As long as one child is in bondage in South Africa, the chains of oppression of industrial might would not be broken in this country," he said.

"Shell is a corporate outlaw" and is a key pillar of apartheid, Trumka said in explaining why the nationwide boycott of Shell Oil was launched recently.

The convention passed a major resolution on South Africa that called "upon the U.S. government to break all diplomatic, cultural, sporting, military, and economic relations with the South African government until the policies of apartheid are ended."

It also urged each CBTU chapter "to support the current Free South Africa Movement in cities where this movement exists" and urged material aid for the African National Congress "as a leading representative of the South African peoples struggle of national liberation and social justice."

Also, a resolution was adopted demanding the freedom and self-determination of Namibia from South Africa.

The convention rejected any notion that the question of Cuban troops in Angola is linked to South African control of Namibia. The convention was empowered to "establish a national CBTU southern Africa liberation support committee."

CBTU members were urged to support the Shell boycott and send delegates to the New York June 14 march and rally against apartheid.

The CBTU adopted an international policy statement that condemned Israeli ties with the apartheid regime, demanded that the U.S. cut off aid and oppose the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship in South Korea, and condemned the U.S. bombing of Libya.

The policy statement blasted the funding of the *contras* in both Angola and Nicaragua and urged the CBTU to adopt the slogan "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua!"

Union-busting and unemployment have had an impact on the labor movement.

Lucy noted that union membership peaked at 35 percent in 1955, nearly double the current percentage. But Black membership has risen. In 1960, he explained, only 6 percent of the membership of the AFL-CIO-affiliated unions was Black. By 1970, it was 15 percent. That

same year Black trade union membership totaled 2 million and in 1980, a decade later, nearly 3 million Black workers belong to unions. Twenty-four percent of all Black workers belong to unions compared to just 17 percent for whites. Nearly 25 percent of all Black workers are service employees.

At this convention, delegates got a chance to hear firsthand about the plight of Black farmers. Nathaniel Richey, a 34-year-old Black farmer, attended the convention. Richey owns land in Worth, Georgia. He faces immediate loss of his land if he fails to pay the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) \$57,000 in back loans.

The convention pledged to work with Richey in efforts to save his land. Delegates also passed a resolution that called for a moratorium on foreclosures, an immediate investigation of U.S. Department of Agriculture and FmHA policies and practices affecting minority farmers, and "the establishment of a private corporation to develop a Black farm and land trust fund."

William Lucy was reelected president of CBTU, and Cleveland Robinson became the newly elected executive vice-president, replacing Charles Hayes who is now a U.S. congressman.

## New Mandela book published by Pathfinder

Continued from front page

In addition to material on Mandela's uncompromising stand in court and in prison, *The Struggle Is My Life* contains sections on the Defiance Campaign of 1952, when thousands were jailed for defying apartheid legislation, and on the 1955 Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter. Material on Mandela's activities after being forced to go underground to continue the struggle and on the decision by Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress to launch Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and wage an armed struggle against the brutal violence of the apartheid regime is also included.

Mandela's writings are one of the best places to find out what apartheid is and how it began and developed. It is also a powerful argument for the imposition of economic sanctions on the apartheid regime and against Washington's support for that regime.

The special value of this book is that it presents Nelson Mandela in his own words. It presents the modern history of the African National Congress and how it became — under the leadership of Mandela and other fighters — the vanguard revolutionary organization of the South African people.

This collection was prepared by the International Defence and Aid Fund, a London-based group founded in the 1950s to defend victims of repression in South Africa. The IDAF's activities include publishing a wide range of books about apartheid and the struggle against it.

Pathfinder Press, which is publishing the new books, is dedicated to publishing and distributing books and pamphlets relating to the struggle of working people. These include the writings of Malcolm X, the Sandinista leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky; writings on historically important U.S.


labor struggles, such as four volumes by Farrell Dobbs on the Teamsters' struggles of the 1930s; and books about women's liberation, such as *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed.

Pathfinder Press has opened an energetic campaign to promote *The Struggle Is My Life* and *Habla Nelson Mandela*, with the first target date for major sales being the June 14 demonstrations.

At the New York demonstration, the two books will be featured on Pathfinder literature tables, and scores of volunteer salespeople will be getting them into the hands of foes of apartheid. *The Struggle Is My Life* will be offered at a special one-day price of \$5. The cover price in paperback is \$6.95.

Militant readers who would like to volunteer to sell *The Struggle Is My Life* and *Habla Nelson Mandela* should contact the Pathfinder Bookstore in New York City at 79 Leonard Street, (212) 226-8445.

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# Plight of agricultural workers in Phil

## A visit with sugar workers reveals how union fights for rights, l

This report, somewhat abridged, appeared in the May 5 issue of the biweekly news magazine *Intercontinental Press*. The authors spent several weeks in the Philippines following the overthrow of Marcos. Deb Shnookal is a member of the recently formed Socialist League in Australia. Russell Johnson is a leader of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International, a world Marxist organization.

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON  
AND DEB SHNOOKAL

**BACOLOD CITY, Negros** — On July 29, 1856, Nicholas Loney, a representative of the Manchester textile industry, sailed down the western coast of what he called "the gorgeous isle" of Negros toward the port of Iloilo, the prosperous textile center of the Philippines on neighboring Panay Island. The newly appointed British vice-consul in Iloilo pirated patterns used in the local hand-loom industry. These were used in Britain to mass-produce similar material in the Manchester cotton mills, which Loney then imported to the Philippines.

In this way, Loney destroyed the livelihoods of 80,000 Panay weavers in the space of a few years. But on the ruins of the textile industry the Englishmen built a new one — sugar.

Loney helped establish and finance a sugar plantation system on western Negros, supplying the new sugar mills with coal and machinery from England. Many former Iloilo textile merchants set themselves up as *hacenderos* (planters), after driving small farmers and tribespeople off the land. The displaced Panay weavers and their families followed their former masters to Negros to labor for them on the haciendas.

U.S. business interests also established themselves in the new industry, even while the Philippines was still a colony of backward Spain.

Through this process Negros Occidental emerged as the center of the Philippine sugar industry, involving as many as 450,000 wage workers with more than a million dependents. Most worked on the big haciendas and in the mills. Plantation workers lived on the hacienda and frequently became bound to their employers for life by incurring unpayable debts through borrowing from the *hacendero* to supplement their starvation-level wages.

While the sugar plantations constitute only about 1 percent of Philippine farms and less than 5 percent of all agricultural land (most small farmers grow rice, corn, and coconuts), sugar is central to the national economy. In fact, during the late 1970s it was the single largest export earner.

But today the sugar industry is in crisis and decline because of the world slump in sugar prices and the loss of a guaranteed quota for Philippine sugar on the U.S. market. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed and underemployed Negros sugar workers are existing in a state of total impoverishment and semistarvation, alongside

thousands of acres of fertile, uncultivated sugar lands.

The biggest *hacenderos*, the "sugar barons," play a pivotal role in Philippine politics. Two powerful cronies of ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Eduardo Cojuangco and Roberto Benedicto, for example, are both Negros sugar barons. Many organize private armies, often "legalized" as Civilian Home Defense Force militias, to maintain the subjugation of sugar workers and the toiling population as a whole. As provincial governors and town mayors, they control local patronage.

### National Federation of Sugar Workers

More recently, a new national force has emerged out of the sugar plantations in opposition to the sugar barons — the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW). Formed on Negros in 1971, largely on the initiative of activist Catholic clergy, the NFSW gave new organizational expression to a century-long tradition of struggle by sugar workers for justice on the land, democracy, and freedom from imperialist domination.

Now 80,000 strong and having spread its activities to Cebu, Luzon, and most other sugar-producing islands (with the exception of Mindanao), the NFSW was a central component in the founding of the militant May First Movement (KMU) national union federation in 1980. NFSW president Bobby Ortaliz is currently KMU general-secretary.

The NFSW has had to build itself in opposition to "yellow unionism" — organizations that were set up by, or that collaborated with, the Marcos dictatorship and the sugar bosses to try to block the independent organization of the workers. The largest of these, the Associated Labor Unions, affiliated to the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, claims 300,000 members. Others may consist only of a company union at a single sugar mill.

On Negros in particular, the NFSW has been central to the anti-Marcos struggle and the fight against military and landlord repression in the countryside through the broad, legal, anti-Marcos coalition, Bayan, and other organizations. And it has used its resources to help other groups of workers and peasants organize themselves to fight exploitation and repression.

The New People's Army guerrilla movement has also expanded rapidly on Negros since 1983, after the sugar barons unleashed their private armies, death squads, and the military in the countryside in an attempt to stop the organization of the sugar workers and peasants in face of a deepening economic crisis.

### Tour of Negros

We were able to spend three days on Negros as guests of the NFSW.

We learned about the experiences of the sugar workers at Hacienda Carmen, east of Bacolod City, toured much of the sugar lands in the south of the city, spoke with victims of military repression in the countryside, and interviewed NFSW Secretary-

General Serge Cherniguin and President Bobby Ortaliz, who accompanied us for part of our visit.

The Bacolod headquarters of the NFSW was a hive of activity when we arrived on March 17. Rented from an anti-Marcos political exile, the large two-story house is still being modified into a union headquarters. At the rear a group of workers were handcrafting office furniture from rough timber. The downstairs had already been converted into a bustling NFSW legal office, where sympathetic lawyers and legal advisers help union members facing the perpetual problems of police, military, and landlord harassment.

Upstairs in the union office, sugar workers and young student volunteers from Manila rub shoulders as they carry out the tasks of administering the union, assembling information for the foreign and local press, and welcoming a steady stream of visitors.

We met Bobby Ortaliz. Over a plate of boiled kamote (sweet potato) and bananas and a bottle of Pepsi, he told us something of the history of his union and the problems confronting sugar workers.

As many as 75 to 80 percent of these workers are undernourished and go to bed hungry at night. This has been exacerbated by the sugar crisis, he informed us. Plantation owners have been exempted from paying the government minimum daily wage of 32 pesos (\$1.50). Many sugar workers lucky enough to obtain work receive only half that.

In addition, the work is seasonal. The sugar season lasts about nine months, with most of the work finished after five. This means that sugar workers may have to fend for themselves without income for as much as six or seven months in a year.

The harvesting of the sugar cane was traditionally done by a separate group of workers — teams hired from the neighboring island of Panay by labor contractors. Known as "sacados," these cane cutters were not paid until the end of the season. Thus they had to borrow at exorbitant interest rates from the contractor just to survive, Ortaliz explained.

Combined with other forms of cheating, this meant that at the end of the season the *sacados* received only a fraction of the amount paid to the contractor by the *hacendero*. However, he added, the sugar crisis has largely ended the system of importing laborers for cane-cutting.

### Workers demand land

Because of the underemployment and low pay, we were told, the main concern of the sugar workers is land reform. They want access to sufficient land on the haciendas to enable them to grow enough rice and other food staples to feed themselves and their families the year round. In earlier years the union had initiated some efforts in Negros Occidental to establish food-growing cooperatives on unused lands. But they were driven off by landlord-instigated death squads.

These death squads, often taking the form of fanaticized religious sects, have massacred peasant activists in many parts of the Philippines. As part of their efforts to terrorize the rural population, many take names such as "Tadtad" (chop, chop) to signify their particular method of butchering their victims.

These death squads are a special target of the New People's Army guerrilla fighters. Today, they are mainly concentrated on Mindanao, the southernmost island, where the peasant rebellion has been the deepest.

The "salvaging" of NFSW organizers, that is, their kidnap, torture, and murder by the military and other agents of the sugar barons, is a constant danger. As recently as January, three NFSW organizers were "salvaged" in the Himamaylan area of southern Negros Occidental. Last September in Escalante, the military and the private thugs of warlord and top Marcos crony, Amando Gustilo, fired on a demonstration of starving sugar workers and their

supporters, killing 28.

We asked how the overthrow of Marcos through the "people power" uprising in Manila had affected conditions in the sugar lands. "Not very much yet," Ortaliz replied. The military repression has continued largely unabated in the countryside. The sugar industry is in a historic decline. Aquino has pledged only to continue those land reforms that were begun in the Marcos era, which excluded the big sugar plantations.

Under Marcos' "land reform," the ownership of the plantations became more and more concentrated in the hands of Benedicto, Cojuangco, and other Marcos cronies. This only deepened the exploitation of sugar workers, driving thousands off the land altogether.

Negros remains, as it was once described by Bishop Fortich of Bacolod, a "social volcano," Ortaliz noted.

The NFSW president suggested we spend the night at one of the haciendas organized by the union as the best way to learn about the life and conditions of the Negros sugar workers first hand.

### Hacienda Carmen

After about an hour's drive we arrived at Hacienda Carmen, two kilometers down a bumpy dirt road from the town of Murcia.

It was late afternoon when we reached the hacienda. There were only a few adults about. We were greeted by many friendly children, who emerged from the little wooden huts that stood on stilts along a narrow pathway. The children were noticeably small, frail, and undernourished. Even the youngest showed signs of serious tooth decay, the product of easing hunger pangs by chewing on sugar cane.

Shortly, a large truck pulled up at the plantation. About 30 men and women climbed out of the back. Rudy, one of the NFSW organizers at Hacienda Carmen, introduced himself. They had been into Bacolod, he explained, to participate in a rally outside the Ministry of Labor and Employment offices. The NFSW supports the demand by ministry employees that the regional director, Felisada Batebonia, be fired.

Similar demonstrations are taking place all over the Philippines, as workers respond in their own way to a call made by President Aquino to continue "people power" against pro-Marcos functionaries who are trying to hang on to their positions, especially in the provinces, despite the departure of their mentor. In this case in Bacolod the workers' action was successful. The regional director, an ally of the sugar bosses, was replaced a day or two later.

### Impact of Marcos' overthrow

We discussed the "snap revolution" of February 22-25, which overthrew Marcos. The NFSW, as an affiliate of the KMU and Bayan, supported their call for boycotting the presidential election. But the village itself was split 50-50 over the question, we were told. About half boycotted the election, while the other half voted for Aquino.

We asked whether they thought things would improve now that Marcos was gone. They weren't sure. The big problems sugar workers face are those of low salaries, militarization of the countryside, and landlessness. They do not know whether Aquino will do anything about these.

"Cory can't break the Marcos dictatorship without calling on the people," Rudy said, referring to the continuing influence of pro-Marcos elements within the military and in the provinces. "Cory can't do it. But the unions can."

The struggle of the Filipino people is against "imperialism, capitalism, and feudalism," Rudy stated. "We have to take these on, one by one."

"Taking on feudalism" to Rudy means the task of breaking the power of the big landowners who dominate rural economic and political life. Under colonial rule, strong central government never emerged in the Philippines. Instead, the country was



National Federation of Sugar Workers Secretary-General Serge Cherniguin (left) and its president, Bobby Ortaliz. NFSW struggles for justice on the land, democracy, and freedom from imperialist domination.



# ppines and reform

divided into virtually self-supporting fiefdoms in which landowners enriched themselves through claiming the lion's share of their tenant farmers' crops and demanding unpaid labor services from them. They enforced this with private armies. On the large capitalist sugar plantations employing wage labor, sugar workers were tied to their masters by a system of debt peonage.

In more recent years rents, mortgages, monopoly price-gouging, and wage labor have tended to replace debt peonage and sharecropping as the basis of landlord exploitation of the rural toilers. Much of Philippine industry and banking is owned by this landed oligarchy in conjunction with foreign capital.

A group of workers gathered at the home of Teresita, another NFSW organizer, was interested in learning about how workers live and organize elsewhere in the world. They were encouraged to hear that the national union federations in Australia and New Zealand have recognized their federation, the KMU. They were also aware that Marcos could not have survived so long without the backing of the U.S. government and its imperialist allies.

Dading, a young sugar worker, was assigned to take us back to Bacolod. We were joined by his sister, who works among the women on the haciendas and in the squatters' shantytowns about Murcia, giving advice about family planning and other health problems.

She escorted us into one of the shan-



Sugar workers of Hacienda Carmen, Negros Province.

Militant/Deb Shnookal

tytowns to show us the terrible conditions the squatters must live in. Most are the families of displaced sugar workers driven into the towns by the sugar depression to seek work or to escape military and warlord terror in areas where there is strong support for the NPA guerrillas.

Throughout our visit to Hacienda Carmen we had been struck by the role of women and their relative self-confidence. Women held all kinds of responsibilities in the union and in the village. Many participated in political discussions with us and articulated their views confidently. Conversely, it was not unusual to see men in the village helping with household chores like cooking and washing or looking after children.

In part, we felt, this reflected education by the NFSW on women's equality, as well as the political influence of the NPA and the Communist Party of the Philippines in the countryside. One-third of the NFSW's

90-odd organizers nationally are women, according to Bobby Ortaliz.

But this also reflects deep social changes affecting the role of women throughout Philippine society. It is a product of the hacienda system uprooting traditional life in the countryside, proletarianizing the working population, and drawing women into modern economic life and political struggle alongside men.

Of the 58 million Filipinos, about 6 million still maintain a tribal village existence on ancestral land, mostly in the mountain areas of Luzon, Negros, and other islands and in the Muslim areas of Mindanao. But the overwhelming majority are descendants of people who were uprooted from their tribal villages and subjected to direct and brutal exploitation during the centuries of Spanish colonial rule that began in the 1500s. This is reflected in the Spanish surnames borne by most urban and rural Filipinos today. U.S. imperialist domina-

tion since the beginning of this century and the penetration of agribusiness into the countryside have deepened this process.

Today, in contrast to many of the Philippines' Pacific and Asian neighbors, relations in rural villages here are not regulated by hereditary chiefly authority or by communal ties to the land. To the contrary, in hundreds of villages like that of the sugar workers of Hacienda Carmen, democratic organizations forged by the workers and peasants in struggle, like the NFSW, are the major influence over social and political life, a trend that the rural toilers are fighting to deepen and extend in the post-Marcos period.

As the fighting women and men of Hacienda Carmen exemplify, this is bringing the Filipino peasantry a new-found dignity and confidence and a growing determination to advance their fight for justice on the land as part of the struggle for a truly democratic and independent Philippines.

## Marcos implicated in Seattle murder of Filipinos

BY CHRIS HORNER

SEATTLE — The 1981 murders of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes are very much back in the news. The two men were trade union activists here and, in the Filipino community, leading opponents of the Marcos dictatorship.

Now, the overthrow of Marcos has opened the way for getting at the full truth about who was responsible for the killings.

For one thing, on May 6, a U.S. magistrate in Hawaii signed an order clearing the way for Marcos to be deposited in a \$30-million lawsuit filed against the Philippine government several years ago. The suit charges that his government was behind the murders. Plaintiffs in the suit also charge U.S. government complicity and cover-up in the assassinations.

Marcos is contesting the judge's order on grounds of alleged "sovereign immunity."

Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, both 29, were killed in June 1981. They were officers of cannery Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), as well as longtime anti-Marcos activists. Both were leaders of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KPD).

The federal civil rights suit, filed by the families of Domingo and Viernes, charges that the assassination of the two men was ordered by the Marcos government and that Philippine agents operating illegally in the United States harassed, victimized, and murdered anti-Marcos oppositionists here.

The suit also charges that U.S. government agencies actively cooperated with this criminal plan and in the cover-up of the Domingo-Viernes murders.

Domingo and Viernes, both members of a reform slate that pledged to eliminate corruption in their union, were gunned down in cold blood in their union offices.

Two months earlier, Viernes had traveled to the Philippines and met with anti-Marcos oppositionists, including leaders of the May First Movement union federation.

Viernes and Domingo then led in winning passage of a contested resolution at the ILWU convention that scored Marcos' antilabor decrees and authorized creation of a union investigation team to go to the Philippines.

Within a month, Viernes and Domingo were slain.

Three men were convicted of the killings and are serving life terms.

In the trial, the prosecution claimed it lacked evidence to bring charges against then-Local 37 President Tony Baruso, despite the fact that his gun was proved to be the murder weapon and that he was linked to the Marcos regime.

Baruso was proved to have met with one of the convicted murderers shortly before the slayings.

The plaintiffs say that Baruso recruited the two Seattle killers to end the threat to his union position and in response to orders from the Marcos government.

They have proved that Fabian Ver, then Marcos' intelligence chief, sent a colonel to Seattle and the San Francisco Bay Area a month before the murders to meet with Baruso.

In 1985 an important victory was won when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled that the Philippine government was not immune from testifying in the case. This followed an unfavorable ruling that dismissed the U.S. government as a defendant in the case.

But it has been the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship that has put fresh wind in the sails of this important case.

The new government of Corazon Aquino has pledged that it will cooperate with the plaintiffs. Bonifacio Gillegos, who represents the Philippines Good Government Commission in the United States, and who has been investigating Marcos' property holdings here, pledged to turn over any documents bearing on the case.

When the Marcos party fled to Hawaii, Customs agents there confiscated some highly sensitive Philippine government intelligence and security files. One particularly important document was turned over to Gillegos, who gave a copy to lawyers in the Domingo-Viernes case.

The document brings into the case a millionaire Bay Area doctor, Leonilo Malabed, a boyhood friend of Marcos described as "the eyes and ears" of the ex-dictator in northern California.

Malabed was president of the San Francisco-based Mabuhay Corp., which the plaintiffs say was used as a cover for a Marcos slush fund. Part of this fund was

used for contributions to Democratic and Republican politicians, including President Ronald Reagan and former President James Carter.

Another part of the fund, it's charged, was used for murder.

The documents have been made public by the plaintiffs. Titled, "Mabuhay Corporation Statement of Expenses as of Feb. 15, 1982," the document includes a handwritten note at the bottom that acknowledges receipt of \$1 million from the Philippine National Bank for "intelligence purposes."

Malabed has been ordered to turn over handwriting samples to determine if the note was written by him.

One entry on the document is an expenditure of \$15,000 on May 17, 1981, under the heading "Special security project."

That was the same day, plaintiffs point out, that Local 37 President Tony Baruso came to San Francisco from Seattle for a 24-hour trip. It was two weeks before the murder of Domingo and Viernes.

In the original trial, it was established that Baruso had promised to pay \$5,000 to the two men who were convicted in the Domingo and Viernes murders.

Bonifacio Gillegos, who was slated to speak in Seattle May 31 at the fifth annual memorial for Domingo and Viernes, has

said that during the Marcos years, 20 agents operated out of the Philippine embassy in Washington and that two or three agents were stationed in such cities as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Cindy Domingo, sister of Silme Domingo and leader of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes, told the *Militant* that the plaintiffs are trying to set the basis for Marcos and Ver being reinstated as defendants in the murder case.

Marcos had been dropped as a defendant in a 1983 ruling at the urging of the U.S. State Department, although his government was not granted immunity from testifying in the suit.

Cindy Domingo and other plaintiffs hope to travel to the Philippines in the next few months to formalize relations with the Philippine government, as well as to meet with members of the KMU and other labor unions.

Domingo told the *Militant* that the Committee for Justice is still pursuing Tony Baruso, who just finished serving 18 months in prison for embezzlement of union funds.

In December 1981 Baruso was ousted as president in a recall vote. Terri Mast, widow of Gene Viernes, is currently the president of Local 37 and is one of the central plaintiffs in the suit.



Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes, Seattle cannery union leaders gunned down in 1981 by the long arm of Marcos' terror.



# Judge rules against Minn. meatpackers

BY TOM JAAX

ST. PAUL — On June 2 a federal judge ruled against striking meatpackers at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. and in favor of United Food and Commercial Workers International officials taking control of Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota.

The court decision denied a motion by Local P-9 for a preliminary injunction preventing the implementation of placing P-9 in trusteeship. The court granted a motion by the UFCW-appointed trustee, Joe Hansen, thereby ruling on the legality of placing P-9 into trusteeship.

U.S. District Judge Edward Devitt ordered Local P-9 to "recognize Joseph T. Hansen as the legally appointed trustee in Local P-9 and to deliver to him custody and control of all Local P-9's assets and to permit him to peaceably manage them and to conduct Local P-9's affairs as trustee."

All of the elected officials and executive board members have been suspended.

This court action paves the way for the UFCW top officialdom to negotiate a concession contract with Hormel. Hansen said he plans to use as a starting point in negotiations a federal mediator's proposal, which was twice rejected by the P-9 membership, as well as the Hormel-imposed contract P-9 walked out on last August.

Although the name "UFCW Local P-9" has been legally taken away by the International officialdom, the rank-and-file members on strike say the fight will continue. P-9 Vice-president Lynn Huston said the boycott of Hormel products will continue. "As long as there are people out there who are not back to work, we'll keep up with the boycott."

In an interview a rank-and-file member told the *Militant* there's a threat of prosecution hanging over their heads for speaking out against the court ruling. Therefore he asked for anonymity. He said, "The rank-and-file membership voted twice to continue the strike. A directive from UFCW International officials cannot end a strike." He added, "This trusteeship took away the democratic rights of the rank and file. The International just wants to muzzle us."

The P-9 member explained that he does not assume that he will even be allowed to vote on a contract, but the "scabs in the plant will be voting," he said. "The rank and file don't like their rights being taken

away. This is the boldest kind of dictatorship."

Scheduling a union meeting is now in the hands of the trustee. Members are told to get 600 names on a petition if they want a union meeting.

The United Support Group — made up of strikers, their families, and others — is still asking for solidarity for the meatpackers from strike supporters around the country. "Hormel strikers invite you to Solidarity City. Come help us build our Tent City in Austin, Minnesota, and join us for a week of peaceful demonstrations and picketing at the Hormel plant June 22 through June 28," their appeal states.

The UFCW International officials are trying to seize the funds from the United Support Group and threaten to go to court again to obtain them. P-9 Vice-president Huston said, "The support group is a separate entity."

"The officialdom, by using the courts to seize the assets of the United Support Group, is attempting to starve out the strikers and force them to end their strike."

Throughout the strike, the striking local has been violence-baited in the news media and by Hormel. Outside the courtroom

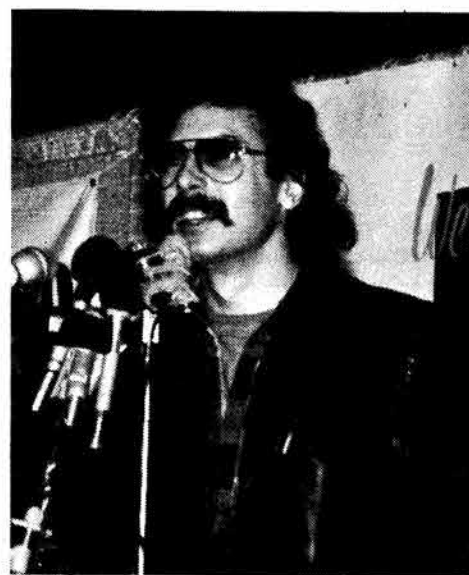
during the June 2 federal court proceedings, observers had to walk through a metal detector and be subjected to a body search by federal marshals. Federal marshals escorted the UFCW International officials and their lawyers to and from the courtroom.

While the court ruling applies to Local P-9 officers and its executive board, it also included its "agents." This vague reference can include anyone.

Since June 2, 50 individuals have received letters ordering them to comply with the court order. They are threatened with arrest and prosecution if found interfering with the implementation of the trusteeship.

An attorney for P-9, Emily Bass, said the ruling, which remains in effect indefinitely, will be appealed to the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Charles Nyberg, Hormel's chief counsel and senior vice-president, said the court's ruling now permits Hormel to recognize Hansen as P-9's bargaining agent. "It appears that [negotiating a contract] may now be possible because the strike is over and there is an unconditional offer to return to work from the trustee," Nyberg said. "We look forward to making the necessary ar-



Militant/Tom Jaax

Local P-9 Vice-president Lynn Huston

rangements leading to a resolution of this dispute."

P-9 members, however, are still determined to press their fight for a decent contract and call on supporters to join them in Austin June 22-28.

## Strikers make appeal to Utah miners . . .

BY DAVE HURST AND EDWIN FRUIT

PRICE, Utah — Striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 received a warm welcome from members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) in Carbon and Emery counties in Utah. Paul Swank and Benny Thompson of Austin, Minnesota, met with union locals and other union bodies during their stay here.

The strikers were greeted by Local 1769 of the UMWA at its monthly membership meeting on May 4. Following the meatpackers' presentation of the issues in the strike, Local 1769, which represents miners at Utah Power & Light Co.'s Deer Creek mine, voted to contribute \$200 to P-9's Crisis Relief Fund and to post a sign-up sheet in the mine bathhouse so all 550

members of the local can authorize payroll deductions to be sent to P-9.

This experience was repeated on May 5 when UMWA Local 9958 at Kaiser Steel's Sunnyside mine voted to give \$250 to the strikers. Local 9958 members were also encouraged by local President Dave Maggio to send overtime lunches containing Hormel products back to the warehouse and to go to the Miner's Trading Post in Sunnyside to convince the owner to discontinue carrying Hormel products on his shelves. A bathhouse collection was also sponsored by local members.

These donations followed an earlier donation of \$500 to P-9's "Adopt-A-Family" program by UMWA Local 6363 at U.S. Fuel's Hiawatha mine.

The strikers also attended meetings of the Lady Coal Miners of Utah, local affiliate of the Coal Employment Project, and UMWA District 22 COMPAC (Coal Miners' Political Action Committee). Both groups enthusiastically received the strikers' presentations and offered to distribute boycott materials. Contributions to the strike were made by individual members of both groups.

On the evening of May 5, Swank and Thompson attended a membership meeting of Local 294 of the ILGWU. This was a special meeting called to discuss the impending shutdown of Koret of California's plant in Price, the only ILGWU-organized plant in Utah. At least 70 members out of a total of 125 were in attendance. A letter supporting the Hormel strike was distributed among the Local 294 membership and was signed by nearly everyone in attendance.

Union activists and Hormel boycott supporters are now discussing ways to expand

support for the Hormel strike and boycott in this area.

SALT LAKE CITY — Three striking members of Local P-9 completed a successful tour in the Salt Lake City area during the first week of May.

They met with representatives and executive boards of the Carpenters, Communications Workers of America, Ironworkers, and the Bakery and Confectionary Workers unions, all of whom pledged to bring resolutions of support up at their local meetings.

The Hormel workers addressed membership meetings of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 7315, of Syro Steel and USWA Local 4347 of Kennecott Copper; an Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local from a Phillips refinery; and Local 1525 of the International Association of Machinists organized at the EIMCO Mining and Machinery Company. More than \$300 was collected at these meetings.

A lively exchange took place between the strikers and the Syro steelworkers. The USWA local there had just recently been forced to accept a concession contract that included a three-year wage freeze. These workers were able to relate to a union such as P-9 that decided to say no to the bosses' takebacks.

Workers at both Syro and Phillips reported that following their meetings, "Boycott Hormel" stickers appeared on cars, trucks, lunchboxes, and other places around their plants.

Dave Hurst is a member of the UMWA and works at the Deer Creek mine. Edwin Fruit of Salt Lake City is a member of USWA Local 7315.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

## S. Africa street committees

For four days in February, fierce street clashes raged through Alexandra, a Black township on the edge of Johannesburg, South Africa. On one side were the rebellious residents, with youths in their front ranks. On the other, were hundreds of police and troops equipped with clubs, tear gas, and guns, striving to reimpose the edicts of apartheid.

When the shooting stopped, several dozen Blacks lay dead, but the government did not emerge from this clash as a victor. Its authority and control over the township lay in tatters. All resident Black policemen and members of Pretoria's local Black municipal council had to be evacuated.

New forms of local mass organization, commonly called "street committees," are emerging. In conjunction with other bodies, they help to coordinate and direct the struggle against the hated apartheid system.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes an in-depth article about these street committees and those originally projected more than 30 years ago as part of an African National Congress reorganization effort spearheaded by Nelson Mandela.

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## . . . and to N.C. unionists

BY RICH STUART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — A two-week tour of North Carolina in May by two striking Hormel workers from Austin, Minnesota, demonstrated the widespread support the strike has won among union members and locals in this state.

Ray Maloney and Carl Pontius spoke to union locals and central labor unions in Greensboro, Durham, High Point, Raleigh, Eden, Graham, Winston-Salem, and Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. Pontius is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9's executive board and negotiating committee.

The tour was initiated by officers and members of the postal workers' and textile workers' unions with important support from local leaders of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and Operating Engineers.

Local P-9 suggested the tour after getting a very enthusiastic response to their

struggle from the annual meeting of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) Southeast Regional Joint Board, which met in Atlanta April 18.

During the May tour of North Carolina, five unions voted to adopt a P-9 family, pledging hundreds of dollars to the strike. These included locals of the Tobacco Workers Union, the CWA, the Durham Central Labor Union, and ACTWU, all of which heard reports on the strike from the P-9 members.

Meetings of the United Steelworkers of America, the Bi-County ACTWU Joint Board in Eden, North Carolina, the Alamance County Central Labor Union, and the Communications Workers regional women's committee also pledged support or contributed after hearing the strikers.

Maloney, Pontius, and P-9 member Linda Augustine joined with Crystal Lee Sutton to speak to the CWA women's com-

Continued on Page 12



# Bingham trial pokes holes in story of how George Jackson died

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN RAFAEL, Calif. — An important political trial is under way in this San Francisco Bay Area town. Charged with conspiracy and murder is Stephen Bingham, a 1960s civil rights lawyer.

Bingham is accused of helping George Jackson in an aborted 1971 San Quentin prison escape attempt that left Jackson and five others dead. Jackson was a young Black revolutionary whose book, *Soledad Brother*, had made him known worldwide.

Bingham is accused of having smuggled a gun and ammunition to Jackson. Soon after the shootout, officials pointed to

**SAN RAFAEL, Calif., June 2 — Taking the stand in his own behalf today, Stephen Bingham categorically denied he had smuggled a gun and ammunition to his imprisoned client, George Jackson. Bingham testified he had fled in fear of official victimization. "It seemed like Jackson had been assassinated, and I was going to be charged with something I hadn't done," he said.**

**Bingham testified he spent most of his 13-year exile in France, where he made films and worked as a house painter.**

Bingham as involved and he fled. After 13 years of self-exile, he returned here in 1984 to clear his name.

So far, the evidence at his trial has given strong support to the belief that George Jackson was the victim of an official conspiracy — that the "escape" was set up, or permitted to happen, by officials determined to kill Jackson.

The San Quentin events occurred at a time when federal, state, and local officials were on a drive to disrupt the Black liberation movement by any means necessary. Black activists were railroaded to prison and a number gunned down by cops. A particular target was the Black Panther Party, of which Jackson was a prominent member.

Bingham flatly denies the charge that, as Jackson's lawyer, he smuggled a gun, ammunition, and an Afro wig in for Jackson. The case against him is circumstantial, boiling down to the fact that he was the last visitor to see Jackson before the shootout.

The prosecution asserts that Bingham smuggled past security, including a metal detector, a semiautomatic pistol, two clips of ammunition, and a wig, all inside a tape recorder.

Jackson left the visiting area, the story goes, wearing the wig, with the gun and bullets concealed underneath, and walked about 75 yards accompanied by a guard. On returning to the cell area, he supposedly whipped the gun out from under the wig, loaded it while the guards watched, and released other prisoners to begin the escape.

(San Francisco *Chronicle* reporters tried the gun-under-the-wig trick soon after, and reported they couldn't do it. Which is not surprising since the gun alone weighs 2½ pounds and is 8½ inches long.)

The prosecution also relies heavily on a letter supposedly cowritten by Jackson and one James Carr, laying out plans for a prison break. This is referred to as the "pants pocket letter," since, the cops say, it was found by a dry cleaner in a pair of Carr's pants.

Former San Quentin warden Louis Nelson testified he knew of the information in the letter but was not sure if he had passed it on to subordinates. Two former prison officials declared they knew nothing about it. The totality of the testimony buttressed the defense contention that prison officials knew of a planned escape attempt — real or asserted — and did nothing to prevent it because they wanted a pretext to kill Jackson.

Indeed, Associate Warden James Park declared the day of the shootout: "The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson. Killed him. Shot him through the head."

The defense has also questioned the murky role of Carr, charging he was a police provocateur.

Throughout the period after the note was allegedly obtained, Carr was on parole and permitted to remain on parole.

The police, noted defense attorney Susan Rutberg, showed "zero official interest" in Carr, despite alleged evidence pointing to involvement in a breakout plot.

In 1972 Carr was murdered under mysterious circumstances.

The defense has punched other holes in the prosecution story.

According to the official version of how Jackson died, he was first shot in the ankle by a high-powered rifle, ran another 20 or 30 yards, and was then fatally shot.

The death shot reportedly entered Jackson's back and exited through his skull.

Under examination by Bingham's chief defense attorney, M. Gerald Schwartzbach, former Marin County coroner's pathologist John Manwaring testified that the shot that penetrated Jackson's ankle would have made it "virtually impossible" for him to run the added distance.

In addition, Manwaring testified, the wound resulting from the shot that entered Jackson's back was not consistent with a shot from a high-powered rifle.

However, he said, it would be consistent with a shot from a handgun into Jackson's back while he lay on the ground.

Several people who worked with Bingham



Stephen Bingham (right) returned to San Francisco in July 1984 after 13 years' self-exile to face charges of conspiracy and murder in events of Aug. 21, 1971, at San Quentin prison that left George Jackson (left) and five others dead.



those years testified on his behalf. All agreed on his deep commitment to achieving social change through the legal process.

Several had seen him hours before his visit to San Quentin and hours after. All agreed he appeared completely relaxed and normal.

Bingham has explained he fled after officials accused him of participation. He feared he would be jailed without bail and be at the mercy of the prison guards who

killed Jackson. And he feared that even if he did get to trial it would not be a fair one.

A committee, Friends of Stephen Bingham, has been organizing support for him and many have come to the courtroom.

Elizabeth Whipple, coordinator of the committee, said the case is an "historic" one with vital free speech issues.

For more information on the case, contact: Friends of Stephen Bingham, 3790 El Camino Real, Rm. 110, Palo Alto, Calif. 94306.

## Socialist campaign kicked off in Texas

BY HENRY ZAMARRÓN

AUSTIN, Tex. — Socialist Workers candidates Willie Mae Reid, Susan Zarate, and Steve Warshell announced their candidacies for statewide public office.

Willie Mae Reid, candidate for governor of Texas, is a refinery worker and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 in Houston. She is an activist in the fight for Black rights, in the women's rights movement, and in defense of the trade unions. Reid was the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Houston in 1985.

Susan Zarate, candidate for lieutenant governor, is an electrical assembler and a member of Local 1015 of the International Association of Machinists in Dallas. She is a member of the National Organization for Women and active in the fight for women's rights. Zarate is presently helping to build support for the strike by meatpackers against Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota. She is also a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in Dallas.

Running for agriculture commissioner is Steve Warshell, a laid-off steelworker from Houston. He has been active in campaigns to defend immigrant workers and in building solidarity with the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua. A supporter of the farm protest movement since the 1970s, Warshell was the 1982 Socialist Workers candidate for governor.

While here in the state capital, the candi-

dates participated in a rally of more than 1,000 students who were demanding divestment from companies doing business in South Africa and defending their First Amendment right to free speech.

In the previous weeks students participating in the anti-apartheid movement here have come under attack by the University of Texas administration. As many as 265 students had been arrested for denouncing the Reagan administration for the bombing of Libya and for the university's ties to South Africa. The University of Texas system has over \$742 million invested in South Africa.

The students bought more than 130 copies of the *Militant* and \$200 worth of

Pathfinder Press literature. Some 15 students showed interest in the Young Socialist Alliance.

On the following day, Warshell was able to attend a conference on the future of Black farmers in Texas, which was held in Kendleton. In a statement distributed at the conference, Warshell said that "The family farmer cannot hope to improve their living standards or save their farms without a fight against their exploiters and the government. Tractorcades, penny auction, and farm-gate defense have been effective tools for farmers in defending their rights."

"Farmers also have powerful allies in the cities, in the trade unions, and in the Black and Hispanic communities."

## State nurses' union rallies in support of Boston strikers

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — The image of the Madonna faces the picket line at Carney Hospital, but striking nurses here have been anything but the beneficiaries of Christian charity since hospital negotiators, backed by the Boston Catholic church archdiocese, forced the nurses out on strike May 5.

Their ranks were swelled to 700 May 27 as scores of nurses from across the state, mobilized by the Massachusetts Nurses Association (MNA), joined them in picketing, a spirited street demonstration, and in a rally of support for the nurses' demand for a decent contract.

The solidarity action came in the wake of a management decision to break the strike by hiring scab nurses. Only 15 of 450 nurses organized by the MNA at the hospital are not honoring the picket lines.

While the hospital bosses claim "health care" reasons for hiring the scabs, the reality is that the number of patients has been pared by almost two-thirds, and layoffs have hit hospital workers.

"This is union-busting, pure and simple," several nurses told me, echoing the universal sentiment of strikers. The MNA has been organized at the hospital for 12 years. This is the first strike in the institution's 123-year history.

Statewide MNA leader Ann Hargraves told the May 27 rally that the hospital tops "are treating nurses as women were treated

half a century ago."

Across the state, as well as at Carney, the hospital industry is laying off hospital workers, respiratory therapists, licensed practical nurses. The expectation, Hargraves said, "is that you will extend yourself to make up the difference."

The nurses are seeking wage parity with nurses in other area hospitals.

While hospital administrators "are making top dollar, nurses are forced to work for peanuts," Hargraves told the rally.

Nurses from as far as Cape Cod, as well as the Boston area, cheered when Carney MNA leader June Connelly said the MNA was prepared to take the Carney strike to the national convention of the American Nurses Association to win national solidarity for the strike.

As the nurses poured into the streets in front of the hospital, they were accosted by local police. "You don't have a permit for this march," a top cop told the nurses at the front of the demonstration.

"Yes we do!" three uniformed nurses chimed at once, "We're marching!"

Which they did, with a police escort.

More than a few nurses, who initially saw the cops as friends and allies, have now begun to view them as scab-herders.

"The union is behind us, we shall not be moved," they chanted, to the cheers of on-lookers in apartment houses, passing motorists, and bus drivers.



Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas.



## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

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

### Oakland

**Nicaragua Defends Itself.** Slideshow and report on Nicaragua's May Day rally, agrarian reform, and Atlantic Coast autonomy plan. Speakers: Andrew Hunt, member Young Socialist Alliance and International Association of Machinists; Deborah Liatos, member YSA and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Georges Sayad, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

**Film: Nelson and Winnie Mandela.** Discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 14, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**South Africa: Black Freedom Struggle Advances.** Enoch Duma, exiled South African journalist. Film showing of *Generations of Resistance*. Sun., June 8, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Liberation Forces Make Gains in El Salvador.** Speakers: Guillermo de Paz, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### Kansas City

**Farmers Fight Back.** Speakers: Kathie Fitzgerald, member United Auto Workers Local 93 and Socialist Workers Party; Marvin Porter,

Missouri farmer. Sat., June 7, 7 p.m. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**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.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Benefit to Build Schools in Nicaragua.** A Father's Day dance with Johnny Colon y la Orquesta Faena. Sat., June 14, 9 p.m. Manhattan Plaza, 66 E 4th St. Donation: \$10 in advance, \$12 at door. Ausp: Nicaragua Construction Brigade and Chaguitillo Day Care Project. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**We Are Driven.** Video presentation about the conditions that Japanese workers face. Discussion to follow. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Toledo

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

## TEXAS

### Houston

**The Sanctuary Movement.** Speaker: Beverly Harper, member Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and Community Involvement Committee of the First Unitarian Church. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 13, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Lessons of Chernobyl: No Nukes! Shut Down Hanford!** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 6 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.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Kathy Mickells, candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, 2nd C.D. Sat., June 7. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign Committee. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

# N. Carolina unionists support meatpackers

Continued from Page 10

mittee meeting, where they got an enthusiastic reception. Sutton is the worker whom the movie *Norma Rae* was based on.

Maloney and Pontius traveled to Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, the home of the J.P. Stevens Co. and the setting for *Norma Rae*. The Hormel strikers were given a tour of the town and the mills by a local ACTWU leader and met with several more textile union leaders, who told the strikers of the long struggle to win union recognition at J.P. Stevens. The ACTWU leaders pledged their support and gave a contribution.

While in North Carolina, the Hormel strikers joined two victory celebrations in Raleigh and Durham for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), featuring FLOC leader Baldemar Velásquez.

Velásquez welcomed the Hormel strikers and urged everyone to support the cause of Local P-9. Velásquez has traveled to Austin, Minnesota, to show his support to P-9.

The Hormel strikers also held a spirited discussion with 15 students who are members of the Student Labor Support Committee at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill. The students have followed the strike closely and were ex-

cited to get to meet in person with two strikers.

Throughout the tour, unionists told the strikers that their strike was for all unions and all workers. Many of the unions had gone through their own fights against concession demands by their employers.

There was also bitter resentment by union members and locals against the attempts by the UFCW International officialdom to force the P-9 members back to work by cutting off strike benefits and putting Local P-9 into trusteeship.

Supporters of Local P-9 in this area are now planning to go to Austin to join P-9's solidarity activities on June 28.

New from Pathfinder

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## Rally against apartheid June 14

Continued from front page

announcement for the action that is airing on a number of radio stations.

This city's Puerto Rican community has taken the initiative in organizing a contingent from El Barrio. A planning meeting May 30 decided to use one of the shanties from Columbia University to set up a street location where information and leaflets can be distributed. The shanties symbolize the oppression of Blacks under apartheid.

Leaders of the Puerto Rican community are holding a press conference on the steps of City Hall June 5 to urge participation from the Puerto Rican and other Latino communities. Some 15,000 leaflets were handed out at the annual Puerto Rican Day Parade, June 1.

Activists opposed to U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan *contras* and Washington's war drive in Central America are organizing a contingent around the slogans "No aid to the *contras* in Nicaragua or Angola," "Stop the military build-up in El Salvador and Honduras," and "U.S. out of Central America and southern Africa!"

The contingent is endorsed by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Coordinadora Salvadoreña, Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, Nicaragua Regional Network of Greater New York, the Downstate Pledge of Resistance, and others.

Speakers at the main rally at Central Park's Great Lawn will include central leaders of the African National Congress of South Africa, South West African Peoples Organisation, United Democratic Front, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

A special video hook up with South Africa will permit Winnie Mandela to address the New York crowd.

Entertainment will be supplied by Little Steven Van Zandt and his band. Van Zandt produced "Sun City," a popular anti-apartheid recording.

For more information on the June 14 action contact New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council, c/o District 65 UAW, 13 Astor Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 673-5120, ext. 390.

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**Sure, just call Mike Deaver** — "I don't believe there is anyone going hungry in America simply by reason of denial or lack of abil-



**Harry Ring**

ity to feed them; it is by people not knowing where or how to get this help." — Ronald Reagan.

**Social progress dep't** — The Guatemalan regime will get \$16

million from Mexico, Venezuela, and Spain to modernize its national police force. Spain will provide antiriot equipment, including shields, clubs, and vehicles to carry water cannons. "We want to be able to control a public disorder without killing people," an official explained.

**Assuming, of course, you're white** — With oh-such-candor, a South African travel ad in *Gourmet* magazine advises: "Come see for yourself — scenery . . . sunny beaches . . . shopping and restaurants . . . and highly publicized social and political problems."

**Afterthought** — Why would a mag like *Gourmet* — devoted to

promoting food — run an ad designed to make you throw up?

**Always exaggerating** — That was our reaction to the cover headline on the May 26 *Newsweek*: "Greed on Wall Street." But we were reassured to learn it wasn't a wild accusation against the Street, just the story of an aspiring young tycoon who got caught — "an isolated instance of crime and greed."

**Repayment in kind** — The always altruistic U.S. Senate favored sending powdered milk to Poland to replace supplies possibly contaminated by Chernobyl radiation. The senators stipulated the milk be handled by non-governmental agencies to assure

fair distribution. Warsaw responded by offering to send blankets and sleeping bags for New York's homeless, with the same proviso.

**Land of the free** — If you make it to the Big Apple for the Fourth of July celebration of the relighting of Lady Liberty, check out the harbor tour. July 4, \$325. Hang around till July 5, and it's only \$95. And, if you lack sea legs, get a pierside table at South Street Seaport's Liberty Cafe. Lunch, \$500. Dinner, \$1,000.

**Capitalism, it's wunnerful** — With Medicare now paying flat fees for hospital care, patients are being discharged faster and sicker,

creating more demand for nursing home care. Ergo, hospitals are tying in with nursing homes. The new arrangement "can be mutually beneficial and financially rewarding," purred a nursing home exec.

**Afterthought** — It just occurred to us, how many hospitals own stock in mortuaries?

**Thought for the week** — "Thousands of our oldest, sickest citizens live in nursing homes which more closely resemble 19th century asylums than modern health care facilities." — Sen. John Heinz, reporting on findings that at least a third of nursing homes fail to meet minimum health and safety standards.

## Company antidrug campaign victimizes workers

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

In March, Gilbarco, an Exxon subsidiary in Greensboro, North Carolina, that manufactures gas pumps and gas station equipment, unleashed a drive to "clean out drug and alcohol abusers." In just two weeks, dozens of workers were marched to the personnel office and interrogated about alleged drug use on company premises. On the basis of primarily hearsay "evidence," the company suspended 19 workers.

Gilbarco's actions are an attack on all workers at the plant and on their union, Teamsters Local 391. Although

### UNION TALK

workers had the right to have a shop steward present during the interrogations, due to fear and confusion, a number of sessions occurred without union representation.

Workers were questioned extensively about their knowledge of drug sales and use and were asked to supply the company with names of others who used drugs.

They were also requested to submit a urine sample. Company officials explained that workers did not have to comply, but that "if they valued their jobs at Gilbarco," they had best submit to the company's demands.

During the course of these sessions, it was revealed that the company had hired cops to infiltrate the plant and frame up workers. The company also posted a letter throughout the plant encouraging employees to report to the company on their involvement in drug use and on the activities of others and to place themselves in a new drug rehabilitation program.

The suspended workers were allowed back to work only on condition that they sign an agreement to submit to drug counseling. The agreement also contains a provision placing those suspended under a year's probation during which the company can force them to take urine tests at any time after a 45-day "grace" period.

This attack occurs in the context of a national drive on the part of the government and the companies it represents for more stringent drug testing of workers in both public and private sectors. This goes hand in hand with a drive to institute lie detector testing and other measures, all designed to intimidate workers and enable companies to weed out those they deem "undesirable."

The real aim of the bosses can be seen at other plants in Greensboro where workers have been fired on the pretext of drug abuse.

At Bates Nitewear, during a recent organizing drive by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the company fired four Black workers for drugs. All were known as union supporters. At Guilford Mills, a non-union mill, more than 30 workers have been fired for alleged drug use. During this period, the bosses at Guilford Mills posted antiunion messages related to the union drive at Bates Nitewear.

The discussion at Gilbarco raged during the course of the company sweep of the plant. Workers literally did not know from day to day if they would be the next to go. When first-shift workers came into work, they would look nervously over the third-shift workers waiting to clock out to make sure everyone was still there.

Initially the company was able to cause considerable confusion. Some workers echoed the company explanation that it was good to get rid of drug abusers because they threatened the safety of other workers. But as more and more were fingered, the sentiment shifted. More people became angry and felt their rights were being violated.

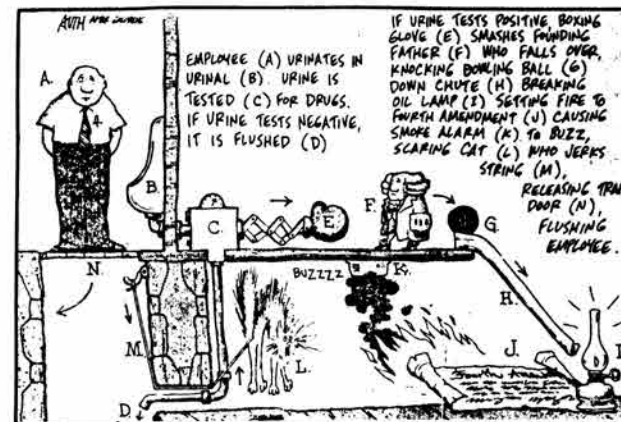
A number of workers pointed out that this was a direct attack on the union. We were being pitted against one another and urged to rat on coworkers to save our own jobs.

Some Blacks also noted the racist aspect of the attack — the majority of workers suspended were young Blacks, and the only known narcs in the plant were Blacks, who made a special attempt to befriend Black workers.

A number of union activists pressed for a special meeting of union members at Gilbarco to discuss what our response should be to the company's attack. Many viewed this meeting as a step toward arming the union to defend our rights.

At the meeting, numerous ideas were raised pointing to how the union could respond, such as holding a press conference, distributing an informational flyer in the plant alerting workers as to their legal and constitutional rights, and demanding that the company get rid of undercover cops and produce its evidence out in the open. A good deal of frustration and anger was voiced by workers who felt the union's response to date had been inadequate.

Other workers pointed to a recent editorial in the *Greensboro News and Record* condemning the President's Commission on Organized Crime, which recommended testing every member of the U.S. workforce for



Posted up in plant in Greensboro, North Carolina, in response to company attack on workers for alleged drug use in which 19 workers were suspended.

drugs. The editorial noted that the drug-testing proposal conflicts with the "fundamental premise that a person is innocent until proven guilty. The test flips that principle on its head by assuming guilt and requiring workers to prove their innocence." Some explained that this is exactly what Gilbarco is doing by requiring the suspended workers to sign a blackmail agreement to get their jobs back before providing a shred of evidence that these workers had used drugs on company premises.

This same presidential commission is equating organized crime with organized labor in the United States and has singled out our union, the Teamsters, as one union responsible for criminal activity.

The union leadership's only response to the barrage of questions and ideas raised at the meeting was to encourage those workers who knew they were "not guilty" to file grievances.

A number of the suspended workers have filed grievances and are strongly pushing the union to take all of the grievances to arbitration. However these grievances are resolved, the fact remains that the company has not closed its investigation and is holding open the threat of further victimizations as well as firings.

One positive outcome to this episode has been a stepped-up discussion in the plant on the issues involved. It has led a number of union activists to deepen their thinking on how to strengthen the union to enable it to fight back.

Meryl Lynn Farber is a member of Teamsters Local 391 and works at Gilbarco.

## Why TWA flight attendants in K.C. reject contract

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — On May 21, TWA flight attendants here rejected the airline's latest contract offer by a unanimous vote, 282 to 0. The Kansas City vote closely followed the national pattern, which saw attendants overwhelmingly rejecting the company's offer by a vote of 4,038 to 950.

Two days earlier the attendants' leadership announced that strikers were returning to work whatever the outcome of the membership vote.

The attendants here explained that voting for the proposal would have meant a complete capitulation to TWA President Carl Icahn.

"Icahn wanted us to take every cut he proposed in the first place without even guaranteeing that we would get our jobs back," one attendant said.

The latest offer included a proposed pay cut of 22 percent, drastic changes in work rules and a 20 percent reduction in vacation time and insurance and retirement benefits.

All of these concessions were part of the original offer that provoked the strike on March 7.

Before the strike began, TWA began hiring and training scabs. The company claims that about 4,500 replacement flight attendants will be working by early June. This figure will include some 3,000 newly hired nonunion attendants.

The union that represents the attendants, the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), has filed a lawsuit charging TWA with bad-faith bargaining because of age, race, and sex discrimination. The suit is to be heard in federal district court in Kansas City on June 30.

TWA's new hires are almost exclusively under 25, female, and white. The union contends sex and age discrimination because TWA is replacing an older, much better paid, largely female work force with a much younger, largely female work force that will make significantly less money.

On May 30 IFFA announced that 198

members have been recalled, apparently by seniority.

IFFA members agreed to return to work because they believe legally this prevents TWA from hiring any more replacement workers.

"The situation is confusing and we are on a campaign to explain what is going on to the public," a flight attendant staffing strike headquarters in Kansas City told the *Militant*.

"We still have a contractual dispute, and we will still be picketing," he said. "But we take the 'on strike' off our picket signs."

The bottom line is that we still have to hurt Icahn economically," another attendant said. "We plan to go out and speak to as many other unions and other groups as possible and tell them 'don't fly TWA.'"

"We will also talk to travel agents," she continued. "We think when they find out about how unsafe it is to fly TWA with inexperienced attendants they won't recom-

mend the airline."

Although she questioned whether or not a union can get a fair shake in the courts these days, she expressed confidence in the IFFA legal suit. "We have a good case and Icahn is obviously concerned that we can win it."

### Labor news in the Militant

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



## Escalating curbs on media

The illegal dirty war against Nicaragua. The aggressions against Libya. "Covert" aid to South African-sponsored terrorists in Angola. These and other reactionary deeds hardly look well in the light of day. So, as such government activity increases, curbs on press freedom and other democratic rights proceed apace.

The aim is to limit the political information available to U.S. working people and to curb public debate. Mostly, "national security" is the justification for clamping down on the media. When that doesn't quite do it, there's always anticommunism.

For example, this past February, Reagan and his ultraright press aide, Patrick Buchanan, attacked ABC News for giving seven minutes to a Radio Moscow commentator to respond to a Reagan war budget speech.

"I don't know why the hell the media is so willing to lend support to the Soviets," red-baiting Reagan declared.

In March Reagan utilized the anti-Libya campaign for a new move against the press. When U.S. warships were sent into Libya's Gulf of Sidra to provoke a confrontation, reporters were flown to the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* to observe the maneuvers.

But then, two hours before the warships "retaliated" against reported Libyan gunfire, the reporters were removed.

The U.S. fleet then bombarded targets near the town of Sidra and sank several Libyan patrol boats.

Responding to press complaints about the removal of reporters, Reagan argued that the need for secrecy was so great that it was necessary "to protect ourselves against a leak of information."

In the aftermath of the 1983 Grenada invasion — where reporters were barred — the Pentagon agreed that in future military strikes, a pool of reporters would be taken along. For the Gulf of Sidra action, that agreement was declared "nonoperational."

But the most publicized recent barrage against press freedom was kicked off by the CIA's chief spook, William Casey. He called on the Justice Department to con-

sider an unprecedented criminal prosecution against NBC News for allegedly disclosing secret information in its reporting on the trial of Ronald Pelton, a U.S. secret operative accused of spying for the Soviet Union.

And two weeks earlier, it had been disclosed that Casey had warned editors of the *Washington Post* that their paper could face prosecution for a report it planned to carry on the Pelton case.

The *Post* then disclosed that this was the sixth time in 12 months that government officials had pressured it to scrap or alter an impending article.

In the furor that followed Casey's prosecution threat, a CIA spokesperson explained that no threat was intended — merely a warning: "think about what you do."

As a follow-up, a joint statement was issued by the CIA and the National Security Agency advising reporters against discussing the implications of information made public at the Pelton trial. It declared that "those reporting on the trial should be cautioned against speculation. . . . Such speculation, and additional facts, are not authorized disclosures. . . ."

Since the government clearly lacks the legal power to regulate press speculation, Casey backed off a bit on this, saying he was merely seeking "cooperation." However, a CIA aide further explained, Casey's call for cooperation did not represent a change in his thinking.

Reagan joined in on June 3, saying that his administration was obligated by law (unspecified) to prosecute anyone, including reporters, who make information public that could harm "national security."

Elizabeth Kirtley, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, noted that Casey's guidelines made coverage of the Pelton trial a risky business. She said:

"If you go out and try to independently verify information that is being presented in the courtroom in order to either understand it better or to challenge what the government is presenting in evidence, you are doing what a courtroom reporter should do . . . but you will do so at your own peril."

## Reagan loses round on abortion

Opponents of abortion rights were handed a defeat April 30 when the Supreme Court unanimously dismissed a case that sought to reinstate an Illinois antiabortion law.

The Illinois case is one of two in which the Reagan administration directly intervened in an attempt to overturn legal abortion. The Justice Department filed a brief in this and a Pennsylvania case, asking the court to use the opportunity to overturn the historic 1973 ruling in *Roe v. Wade* that declared the right to choose abortion a woman's constitutional right.

The Illinois law, passed by the state legislature in 1979, was a broadside attack on the right to abortion and contraceptives. It particularly targeted the rights of young women.

The law included provisions requiring parental consent for minors to have an abortion, allowing husbands to veto a woman's decision to have an abortion, and requiring mandatory waiting periods between the time a woman requests and receives an abortion. It defined most forms of contraception as abortion inducing, and imposed criminal penalties on a physician who failed to inform the patient that the contraception would "cause fetal death." The law also included stringent conditions on late-term abortions.

The law was declared unconstitutional by a federal appeals court. The State of Illinois declined to appeal, recognizing that such a blatant attempt to deny women the right to abortion had little hope of succeeding.

The case was appealed by an individual physician working in cahoots with Americans United for Life, a nationwide antiabortion outfit that specializes in anti-abortion court cases.

The Supreme Court ruled that neither the physician nor the antiabortion group had any legal standing to intervene in the case. This will make it harder for antiabortion groups to follow their tactic of trying to clog the courts with antiabortion cases.

The right to safe, legal abortion has been under concerted attack. And it has been severely eroded by such measures as the congressional Hyde Amendment that bans federal funding of abortion and by laws restricting the rights of young women.

But the big majority of working people support the cause of women's equality and the right to choose abortion. Tens of thousands of supporters of women's rights have shown their readiness to mobilize to defend abortion rights. The Supreme Court ruling is a confirmation that this hard-won right will not easily be defeated.

## Reactionary new immigration bill

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has drafted a new bill that would go even further than the anti-immigrant legislation now pending in Congress.

The INS draft measure would authorize use of state and local cops to go after immigrants facing deportation. Currently, this is supposed to be the function of INS agents. A report by the department says enactment of such a proviso would give the government "a nationwide network of law-enforcement agencies to assist in effecting the removal of dangerous and undesirable aliens in a cost-effective manner."

The bill, perhaps ironically called the Immigration Improvement Act, would require undocumented immigrants to pay for detention and deportation costs. Their assets, including wages, savings, and property, could be seized for this purpose.

Fines for violation of immigration laws would be sharply increased, in most cases more than doubled.

Immigration snoopers would gain greater access to Social Security records showing the identity and location of

noncitizens in the country.

New restrictions would be placed on those coming here. Someone admitted on the basis of filling a particular job would have to hold that job at least a year or be deported. Those who gain legal status here by marrying a citizen would lose that status if the marriage broke up within two years.

New restrictions would be imposed in issuing immigration visas. For instance, visas issued to the brothers and sisters of citizens would be restricted to "never married brothers and sisters."

The INS sees its bill as a supplement to the pending congressional measure. This would declare it illegal for employers to knowingly hire undocumented workers. The purpose is to make the undocumented more vulnerable and thereby subject to even greater exploitation and abuse.

The INS amendments are designed to intensify the victimization of those driven here by a desperate need for work or because of political repression in their homeland.

## Trade unions and the decay of imperialism

The following excerpts are from an article titled, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay." It was written in 1940 by Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution.

Although written 46 years ago, it contains valuable and still-relevant insights into the role and functioning of today's trade union officialdom. The article is contained in the book, *Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions*. The book is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Cost \$3.95 (please include \$.75 for postage and handling).

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Trotsky wrote, "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power."

"Monopoly capitalism does not rest on competition

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

and free private initiative but on centralized command. The capitalist cliques at the head of mighty trusts, syndicates, banking consortiums, etc., view economic life from the very same heights as does state power; and they require at every step the collaboration of the latter. In their turn the trade unions in the most important branches of industry find themselves deprived of the possibility of profiting by the competition among the different enterprises. They have to confront a centralized capitalist adversary, intimately bound up with state power. Hence flows the need of the trade unions — insofar as they remain on reformist positions, i.e., on positions of adapting themselves to private property — to adapt themselves to the capitalist state and to contend for its cooperation. In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in "freeing" the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to the "democratic" state how reliable and indispensable they are in peacetime and especially in time of war.

"Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class. If that is not achieved, the labor bureaucracy is driven away and replaced by the fascists. Incidentally, all the efforts of the labor aristocracy in the service of imperialism cannot in the long run save them from destruction."

"The intensification of class contradictions within each country, the intensification of antagonisms between one country and another, produce a situation in which imperialist capitalism can tolerate (i.e., up to a certain time) a reformist bureaucracy only if the latter serves directly as a petty but active stockholder of its imperialist enterprises, of its plans and programs within the country as well as on the world arena."

He also wrote, "In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

"From what has been said it follows quite clearly that, in spite of the progressive degeneration of trade unions and their growing together with the imperialist state, the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party. The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organization, every party, every faction which permits itself an ultimistic position in relation to the trade union, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, merely because of displeasure with its organization, every such organization is destined to perish. And it must be said it deserves to perish."



# The world's tobacco giants: how they coin billions

**The Smoke Ring** by Peter Taylor, New American Library 1984. 386 pp.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"The battle to break the Smoke Ring is a battle between wealth and health. The tobacco companies and governments want to keep people smoking because of the wealth cigarettes create. . . .

"By presenting itself to the world as a creator of wealth, a source of revenue, the supplier of jobs, the bringer of development, the provider of pleasure, the patron of sport and the arts, and the defender of freedom, the tobacco industry has successfully diverted political

## BOOK REVIEW

and public attention from the real issue at stake: that the product from which all these undoubted benefits flow has wiped out more people than all the wars of this century."

These are among the themes developed by British Broadcasting Corporation TV reporter Peter Taylor in a new expanded edition of his book *The Smoke Ring*.

Taylor focuses on the operation of six corporations that together manufacture 40 percent of the world's cigarettes. They are: Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds, and American-Brands in the United States; British-American Tobacco Industries and the Imperial Group in Britain; and the Rembrandt Group in South Africa.

Tobacco is big business. While these corporations

have diversified their holdings, taking over other companies such as Del Monte and Howard Johnson's, cigarette production continues to generate yearly profits of \$3 billion. In the United States, tobacco provides \$57 billion of the Gross National Product.

Taylor documents how these corporations have utilized their power and influence to keep millions of people smoking despite growing public awareness about the health hazards from cigarettes. Millions of Americans may be hooked on nicotine but the owners of these giant tobacco corporations are hooked on the profits that cigarettes generate.

Cigarette ads on TV were banned in Britain in 1965 and the United States in 1970. Tobacco corporations responded by stepping up the money they put into other advertising. Today, tobacco corporations spend more money than any other industry on advertising — over \$2 billion a year worldwide, \$1 billion of this in the United States. They put a big focus on becoming public sponsors of sporting events and the arts.

Since 1964 when the first U.S. surgeon general's report came out explaining the dangers of cigarette smoking, the tobacco companies have been fighting back in a massive way. They attempt to use their billions to prevent the truth from being told. One of the most famous antismoking TV documentaries entitled *Death in the West — the Marlboro Story*, was suppressed for many years as a result of successful court action undertaken by Philip Morris.

This documentary provided a powerful answer to the once-commonplace TV commercials for Marlboro cigarettes where Western cowboys go riding into the sunset as the announcer says, "Come to where the flavor is. Come to Marlboro Country." The real plight of six typical heavy-smoking U.S. cowboys is examined by this film as each is in various stages of dying from cancer or emphysema.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the section where Taylor documents the superprofits made by these tobacco giants as a result of their heavy sales in semicolonial countries. These corporations are worldwide entities. Philip Morris, for example, sells 160 brands in 160 countries and territories and has manufacturing affiliates in 22 countries.

Nearly half of the tobacco produced in the United States is exported. The U.S. government has helped promote tobacco exports to semicolonial countries by including tobacco in its "Food for Peace" program.

The giant multinational tobacco corporations also protect their interests abroad by bribing government officials in countries where these companies operate. In the mid-1970s, for example, R.J. Reynolds admitted paying out over \$5 million in bribes.

Tobacco is grown as a cash export crop in impoverished countries worldwide from India to Brazil, from Tanzania to the Philippines. These countries have had their economies distorted as a result of centuries of colonial rule and imperialist exploitation. The evidence presented in the *Smoke Ring* points to the need for a society where health takes priority over profiteering adventures of the corporate billionaires.

## LETTERS

### Abortion rights

A Motherhood By Choice picket was held May 9 at the Federal Building in honor of Mother's Day. The picket was attended by 40 people to demand that the harassment of women at clinics be stopped and that the clinic bombers be brought to justice. Two clinics were bombed in Cincinnati in late December, and the police have done little to find the bombers. Since then, the harassment of women at the clinics has continually escalated.

The picket was called by the March 9 committee, which was formed to organize participation in the historic March for Women's Lives on March 9 in Washington. Since that time, the committee has continued to actively fight for abortion rights locally.

The picket was also endorsed by Cincinnati NOW and the Freedom of Choice Coalition. Following the picket, a meeting was attended by 20 women to plan for future activities. The committee's next activity will be marching in a prochoice contingent of the Gay Pride parade for Gay Pride week.

Peggy Mow  
Cincinnati, Ohio

### Backed down

I am a prisoner in Maryland and would like to start receiving the *Militant* newspaper again.

The prison administration prohibited your publication a few months ago, but have apparently backed down after I contacted the American Civil Liberties Union and my attorney. So far, *Intercontinental Press* is arriving once again and not being blocked by the system.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the *Militant* newspaper again to see if the prison authorities are obeying the law or not.

A prisoner  
Hagerstown, Maryland

### Great pleasure

It gives me great pleasure to be a reader of the *Militant* publication, whenever I am lucky enough to receive a copy from one of the fellow prisoners here at Huntingdon Prison. However, I would like very much to become a steady subscriber to the *Militant*.

The *Militant* is such an important newspaper to me because it



tells the naked truth about all issues on both the national and international level. It helps me understand why socialism would be the system that we need to adopt in order to save this country and the world from complete disaster, here in "the now times."

A prisoner  
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

### Cuban science

Enormous gains have been made by the Cuban people since their 1959 revolution in the areas of medicine, education, culture, art, and science. Let me focus on the recent developments with sugarcane as an example.

Cane production today is 85 percent mechanized, with special harvesters developed by the Cuban *macheteros* (cutters) themselves. Cane mills have been drastically modernized, techniques improved, and the person-hours required to harvest and grow each ton significantly reduced.

New uses recently developed for sugarcane byproducts have increased the importance of cane production. New hybrid cane plants have been developed that are more resistant to drought, fungus, and disease (both the natural varieties and those artificially introduced by the CIA to destroy cane crops). The wax of the sugar cane plant, for example, which

was only used to coat citrus fruits, now also is used to produce steroids used against asthma, which affects 10 percent of the Cuban population.

Hundreds of thousands of meters of particle board made from cane fiber residue, known as bagasse, is currently an important supplement to the lumber industry. Bleached sugarcane pulp was developed to produce writing paper and newsprint to the tune of 200,000 tons a year. Just as important, cane byproducts serve as nutrients for the growth of 100,000 tons a year of Torula yeast for animal feed. Human protein supplements have also been developed from the cane's nucleic acids.

The resourcefulness of revolutionary Cuba is an inspiration to all working people and an example of what is possible in a society where human needs are more important than profits.

Mark Friedman  
Detroit, Michigan

### Too narrow

While your article in the April 14 issue of the *Militant* on the space shuttle made valid points about the militarization of space and the sacrifice of safety to profits, your conclusion that money should be spent on earth rather than space was too narrow.

Unmanned space exploration is relatively inexpensive — a single B-1 bomber costs as much as a Mars rover would. Only days before the shuttle disaster, the Voyager's encounter with Uranus and its moons showed dramatically the value of nonmilitary, genuinely scientific space missions. Hardly surprising that funds are scarce for such peaceful voyages, while billions are poured into Star Wars missiles.

Humans have always been driven to unlock the secrets of nature. Increasing our understanding of the universe is one of the best ways to weaken the hold of religious mythology.

Our choice is not one between earth and space. It is a choice between funding human needs, including our urge to discovery, and wasting billions on big-business profits and the military machine that defends them.

Caryl Sholin  
Portland, Oregon

### Nuclear disaster

I was recently transferred to another U.S. Prisoner of War concentration camp in Arizona. They keep moving me around.

I just got your May 16 edition. The *Militant* tells the truth about capitalism.

The U.S. lied about the nuclear disaster in the Soviet Union. Such

disasters are exploited by the U.S. government.

The *Militant* did the right thing to let the people know here in the United States about U.S. nuclear plants close to populated areas such as the Shoreham plant on Long Island.

Look at Three Mile Island and the cover-up at that plant in 1979.

The people need to know the truth about U.S. nuclear plants and it's my view that your newspaper the *Militant* did the right thing by exposing the U.S. lies.

A prisoner  
Goodyear, Arizona

### Joe Louis

In his review of *Champion*, the biography of Joe Louis in the May 30 *Militant*, Baxter Smith noted that in the 1960s, some had criticized Louis for not being more outspoken against racism. Smith said he thought that was largely a bum rap, and I agree.

Over the years, Louis conducted himself in a way that made clear his realization that millions of Black people in this country saw him as a symbol of their race and their aspirations.

I remember a small incident which suggested his sense of awareness on the issue of racism.

One evening in the late '40s, a group of us were up in Harlem selling the *Militant* and the pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow."

One of our salespeople, seeing a crowd in front of the old Hotel Theresa, walked over to see what was happening.

All were crowded near the window of the hotel's cocktail lounge, looking in at Louis who was standing and chatting with some friends.

Our salesperson, an enterprising one, got up to the window, tapped on it, and, when she got Louis' attention, held up the pamphlet.

He looked at the title, came out and made his way through the crowd to buy a copy.

Harry Ring  
New York, New York

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.



## Toledo abortion clinic bombed

BY MARIAN CARR

TOLEDO, Ohio — On May 20 arsonists broke into a downtown abortion clinic here and set off a firebomb that destroyed the clinic. Damage at the Center for Choice was estimated at \$160,000.

The clinic's director, Carol Dunn, immediately announced the determination of her staff to continue providing abortion services to women. Within hours, they were set up again, sharing the facilities of another clinic, the Toledo Medical Services.

The response from local supporters of abortion rights was swift. All-night vigils at both clinics were organized by the Toledo chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Toledo NOW President Joyce Arend condemned the attack and said, "This is terrorism. This kind of attack makes supporters of abortion rights more fervent in their belief that abortion should remain safe and legal."

A newly formed coalition, Responsible Choice-Northwest Ohio, has called a rally June 26 to mobilize support for abortion rights and to demand adequate police protection of the clinics, and the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of those responsible for the attacks.

The coalition is reaching out to unions; women's rights groups; campus, community, and church organizations; and all supporters of democratic rights to join the protest and to help raise funds to rebuild the clinic.

There is a history of violence against abortion clinics here. Last December an arson attack caused \$20,000 damage at the Toledo Medical Services. Two other bombing incidents at this clinic occurred since last August.

Even after the May 20 attack, the Toledo Police Department has refused to increase its surveillance of the clinic or provide adequate police protection.

An investigation was launched by the Arson Response Team, comprising city, county, state, and federal arson experts, as well as an official from the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Tom Hill, spokesperson for the Washington, D.C., BATF office, said his agency has investigated 42 abortion-clinic bombings since 1982. There have been only a handful of arrests.

Harassment, threats, and other attempts to prevent women from exercising their constitutional right to choose abortion continue.

On May 23 a crowd of right-wing anti-abortion fanatics gathered outside the Toledo Medical Services. The group, Christians United Against Abortion, had the day before announced their intention to try to close all abortion clinics in the city. Their spokesperson, Rex Carpenter, denied this was a threat. "We are planning nothing against them, but we believe the Lord will close them down," he said.

Meanwhile, a judge ordered the eviction of the Center for Choice from office space in the building where the clinic had been bombed. They had been battling the building's owners, the Sam Davis Co., over attempts to evict them.

So the clinic staff was forced to move out on short notice. When the moving company they hired didn't show up, they had to hurriedly find another. To prevent the clinic staff from missing a June 1, 4:00 p.m. deadline that would put them in contempt of court, supporters of abortion rights responded to an emergency call and helped move the office.



Militant/Lynn Edmiston

Damage to Center for Choice was \$160,000. Response by abortion rights supporters was swift. New coalition has called June 26 rally to fight terrorism against clinics.

Among those who joined in the effort was Roberta Scherr, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio. Scherr is a long-time fighter for women's rights and a member of the United Auto Workers union and the National Organization for Women.

In a press release issued after the bombing, Scherr said, "The clinic staff and their supporters acted quickly in the face of this dangerous attack. Within hours, they were

functioning again using the facilities of another clinic. Supporters of abortion rights rallied to their defense immediately and are continuing efforts to rebuild the clinic. In doing so, we also rededicate ourselves to the battle to keep abortion safe and legal."

Scherr called for the broadest possible mobilization to push back and defeat the right-wing terrorist campaign against a woman's constitutional right to choose abortion.

## Farm crisis, racism hit Black farmers hard

BY RASHAAD ALI

The May issue of the *North American Farmer*, newspaper of the North American Farm Alliance, ran an article headlined, "Former Black mayor confronts racial discrimination by lenders." The article dealt with the problems of Black farmers, focusing on former Tchula, Mississippi, mayor Eddie Carthan.

The aim of the article, written by John Kinsman, was to rally support for Black family farmers. "Unless we care enough to take some action to stop the discrimination against Mr. Delaney, Mr. Carthan, and other Black family farmers," it explained, "they are doomed. For us to allow the injustice of forced extinction of Black farmers can only pave the way for the extinction of all of us who are family farmers."

Like other working farmers, Blacks are being driven off the land as a result of commodity prices that are too low to enable them to meet their cost of production and earn enough to live on. But Black farmers also face discrimination at the hands of the banks and the government, which are forcing Blacks off the land at a much faster rate than white farmers.

A 1986 report titled "Black Land Loss: The Other Crisis in Rural America" by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, reveals that "Black farmers are losing land at an astounding rate of 1,000 acres per day. Unless the policies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture are changed there will be no more Black farmers by the year 2,000."

The *North American Farmer* reports that "a month after Eddie Carthan was released from prison in November of 1983, his father, James Carthan, died. The Carthan family farm, which the elder Mr. Carthan was running, was heavily mortgaged to cover the immense legal expenses needed

to defend Eddie from the political, economic, and physical assaults leveled against him."

Kinsman goes on to explain that "after his father's death, Eddie Carthan assumed control of the farm and its debts. In 1984 and 1985 the FmHA (Farmers Home Administration) refused to grant Carthan an operating loan," and the 800-acre cotton farm is "facing imminent foreclosure by the First National Bank of Lexington, Mississippi."

Literature put out by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives states that in "Mississippi, where 43 percent of all farmers are Black, the FmHA loaned only 7.7 percent of its total appropriation to Black

farmers."

In 1977, Eddie Carthan was elected mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, a small town in the cotton belt in the Delta region of that state. He spent 14 months in prison as a result of a racist frame-up to remove him and six members of his administration from office. The case became known as the "Tchula 7."

National and international protest won his release from prison.

The farm paper says that "the crimes for which Mayor Carthan was tried and convicted were: Refusal to accept bribes. Running an honest government in Tchula. Treating all persons equally. Improving the standard of living for all people."

Kinsman notes that both "Mississippi Congressman Webb Franklin and former Mississippi FmHA Director Don Barrett were instrumental in denying these loans" to Carthan and "appear to be involved in the bank foreclosure action."

After public disclosure of several "large, questionable loans, including a \$10,130,000 loan to his brother-in-law's secretary," Barrett resigned as director.

Don Barrett was instrumental in putting pressure on the North Mississippi United Methodist Church Conference to force the bishops and the National United Methodist Church Board to cut off funding for social

Continued on Page 5

## Black unionists support anti-apartheid actions

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — Nearly 1,300 delegates and guests attended the 15th annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) May 23-26. They represented some 72 international unions.

Discussions and resolutions adopted reflected some of the experiences of Black unionists in responding to the attacks by the ruling class and their government at home and abroad.

The convention took positive stands on affirmative action, youth unemployment, equal education, plant closings, two-tier wage systems, the meatpackers' strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, and opposition to Reagan's war moves and acts of war throughout the world.

Unlike at previous conventions there were no resolutions that specifically took up the concerns of Black women workers.

However, a CBTU Women's Conference officially opened the convention.

Speaking at this conference were CBTU President William Lucy; Alexis Herman, executive director of the National Commission on Working Women; and Jean Young, wife of Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young.

The Women's Committee of the CBTU was made a standing committee "to promote the concerns of Black trade union women, educate trade union women, and develop programs which will benefit Black women in the trade union movement."

By far the most important theme that ran through the convention was the need to support the South African freedom struggle.

Organizers of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council set up tables to sell T-shirts and buttons publicizing the up-

coming June 14 protest in New York against apartheid in South Africa and U.S. ties to it. All delegates received materials for the action.

A special session during the convention was held to discuss South Africa. Speakers at it included Cecilie Counts, campaign director for TransAfrica; Nomonde Ngubo, a South African who is now a staff member of the United Mine Workers of America; and David Ndaba, African National Congress of South Africa. The film *Mandela* was also shown.

Counts explained, "Apartheid is not just a foreign policy issue, it is a domestic issue. Our tax dollars are being used to fund Black collaborators [of South Africa] who fight the Angolan government."

Ngubo attacked the Sullivan Principles as a sham in dealing with apartheid racism.

Continued on Page 7