

## CIA to lead stepped-up war against Nicaragua

BY HARRY RING

The White House decision to reassign the CIA to head up an expanded *contra* operation signals a sharp escalation of the war against Nicaragua.

Unleashing the CIA and plans for beefing up the *contra* force come in the wake of the House of Representatives' allocation of \$100 million for the illegal war against Nicaragua.

The administration is moving ahead with its war plans on the assumption that a slated Senate vote this summer will confirm the House decision.

Meanwhile, Washington has virtually scrapped the fiction that the buildup of its military facilities in Honduras is "temporary," declaring U.S. forces will be there for a long time to come.

The extensive structure in Honduras facilitates support to the *contras* and also stands as a ready-made springboard for a possible direct invasion of Nicaragua.

Legally, creation of such a military base is supposed to require congressional approval, but this has been ignored by all concerned.

The plans for the CIA-*contra* war were reported in the July 13 *Washington Post*. Earlier, the *New York Times* reported on this and on the Honduran operation.

The *Post* reported that with the House vote, all agencies involved in the Nicaragua operation "are moving toward a kind of war footing."

"It is clear," the paper said, "that the aid package for antigovernment rebels, known as *contras* or counterrevolutionaries, will involve far more money than the \$100 million voted by the House, far more people than the 20,000 fighters who will receive it. . . .

"Although surrogate troops and not U.S. Marines will spearhead the effort to make the *Sandinistas* 'cry uncle,' as Reagan once put it, the *contras* will be advised and informed, trained and equipped, criticized and evaluated by U.S. intelligence, military and political strategists."

The report added:

"If the new upsurge of aid to the *contras* is working, administration officials contend, these symptoms will be evident: escalated military activity throughout Nicaragua, possibly including attacks on the cap-

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U.S. helicopter landing at Honduras airstrip. Officials now admit "temporary" military bases in Honduras will be kept for a long time and may be springboard for invasion of Nicaragua.

## South African workers, students defy apartheid

BY FRED FELDMAN

Hundreds of thousands of South African Blacks went on strike and boycotted classes July 14 to protest massive repression by the apartheid regime.

In the Port Elizabeth area, workplaces were "virtually deserted," one employer said, as thousands of workers walked off the job. The strike was also reported effective in Johannesburg and several of the surrounding townships. According to the

*Washington Post*, many workers in other areas "opted for symbolic protests rather than strikes."

The job actions had been called for by the Congress of South African Trade Unions to protest the arrest without charges of more than 250 union leaders and demand an end to the state of emergency.

Those arrested include Amon Msane, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union — a COSATU affiliate — who was jailed July 10 after he returned to South Africa from a speaking tour of the United States.

In a concession aimed at defusing the protest, the regime released Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, from prison July 11. He is barred from speaking to the media or participating in political activity.

Barayi is also vice-president of the National Union of Mineworkers, and word of his release is said to have headed off a wider strike by Black miners. Six thousand miners joined the strike.

According to government figures, between 50 and 70 percent of students boycotted classes in Cape Province. "Many high schools in Soweto, Alexandra, and the East Rand appeared virtually empty this morning with some students trickling in as the day wore on," the *Washington Post* reported from the Johannesburg area.

On July 13 the apartheid regime imposed sweeping new restrictions on Black students, ordering security guards posted at all schools and ordering students to show identity badges. Officials are empowered to bar or expel any student from school without explanation.

Students were warned that those who

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## Minn. meatpackers' drive for recertification advances

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — Officials of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) have acknowledged that a petition filed by the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU) carries enough signatures to have a recertification election called at the Geo. A. Hormel plant here.

That announcement comes at a time when the Austin meatpackers are winning important new support for their 11-month struggle against Hormel.

NLRB spokesperson David Bigger told the *Militant* July 14 that the NAMPU petition "has the numerical showing of interest, the numerical showing of strength" to warrant an election.

More than 600 signatures obtained from workers inside and outside the plant were filed with the NLRB July 7. The petitioning was carried out by a large group of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 members determined to not let the struggle between their local union and the top officialdom of the UFCW get in the

way of workers gaining a decent contract from Hormel.

Bigger declined to say when the recertification election would be held, but said that unfair labor practice charges pending against Hormel and the UFCW might affect the date.

Meanwhile, solidarity with the meatpackers' fight continues to be won.

"Together we can win" is the title of a leaflet published by the Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC) in Britain. This is the message WAPC members Betty Cook and Gwenn White brought to Austin July 8.

The WAPC is an organization of female family members and supporters of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Britain formed during the 1984-1985 British coal strike. The two women spoke at a meeting of the Austin United Support Group.

They had come to the United States to attend the national conference of the Coal Employment Project (CEP) in Paintsville,

Continued on Page 16

## N.Y. SWP signs up 15,000 in fight for ballot spot

BY TOM LEONARD

NEW YORK — "We are taking these petitions to the thousands who share our opposition to apartheid and to Washington's *contra* war against Nicaragua," declared Theresa Delgadillo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

Delgadillo and Mike Shur, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of campaign supporters, who had spent the day petitioning in a steady rain, at a July 12 open house.

Despite the miserable weather, some 90 petitioners collected 5,000 signatures, sold hundreds of copies of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language socialist periodical *Perspectiva Mundial*, circulated thousands of pieces of campaign literature, and sold hundreds of dollars worth of socialist books and pamphlets. Petition gatherers also brought in the names of many people who wanted to know more about the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Petitioning in Albany, New York, was also successful. More than 600 signatures were collected.

Spearheading the petition campaign is a full-time team of members of the YSA and the SWP. In the first five days of the petitioning drive they collected 8,000 signatures and introduced a lot of new people to the program of the party and YSA.

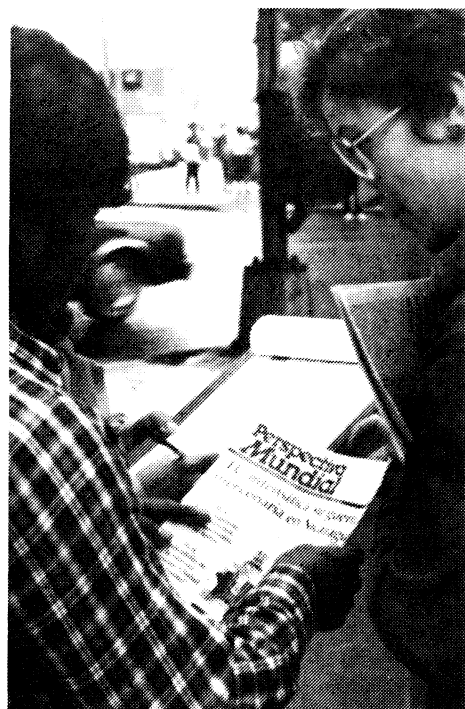
During the first five days of petitioning more than 15,000 signatures have been collected; 600 copies of the *Militant* and \$1,500 worth of socialist literature have been sold.

Petitioners have also met people who want to help collect signatures or participate in other ways in the socialist campaign.

One woman asked for two petition sheets to sign up friends. Two days later she attended a *Militant* forum at the New York City campaign headquarters and brought both sheets neatly filled with signatures.

Another petitioning team visited a picket

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Militant/Irene Sosa

Petitioners have sold hundreds of copies of socialist periodicals.

# 'Militant' is introduced to striking woodworkers

BY TIM MAILHOT

ABERDEEN, Wash. — The month-long strike against Weyerhaeuser Co. by members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Lumber

state have shut down, leaving many ghost towns behind.

In addition to selling the *Militant* and *PM*, we spent part of our time talking about the Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

near a huge Weyerhaeuser mill, we found a good response to the campaign and the campaign's newspapers.

"A union member? Sure," was a common response by workers who agreed to sign the petition.

Several people knew about the fight Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers are waging against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The workers told us they had received mailings about the battle both from Local P-9 and from United Food and Commercial Workers union top officials. There was interest in reading the *Militant's* coverage about that fight.

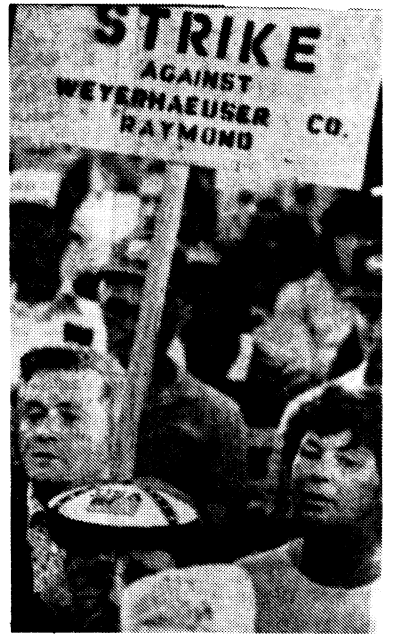
Other workers expressed interest in reading the paper's coverage of the recent House vote that increased Washington's military backing to the *contra*-terrorists trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

Workers also told us about what it was like working in the timber mills over the years and about the work-rule changes the company has tried to push through.

Four copies of the *Militant* were sold on that visit, and 21 people signed the SWP petition.

We attended a labor picnic and rally in Aberdeen on July 12. Many there were wearing campaign buttons backing Brock Adams, the leading Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Nevertheless, we found people very open to talking to us about the socialist campaign platform. One of the main topics of discussion was the campaign plank urging the formation of a labor party to fight for the interests of working people.

Sixteen people signed the petition on that trip, and four people bought copies of the *Militant*.



Woodworkers on strike against paper giant Weyerhaeuser.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Production and Industrial Workers (LPIW) has deepened into a major labor battle against union-busting.

On three occasions *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales teams have traveled from Seattle to the logging and mill towns to talk to strikers.

Many of the loggers live in company towns. In recent years 100 logging and pulp mills in the

The SWP is running Jill Fein, a member of the International Association of Machinists at the Boeing plant near Seattle, for U.S. Senate from Washington.

Supporters of Fein's campaign have been petitioning to collect 2,000 signatures to insure that her name appears on the Washington state primary election ballot.

At a grocery store in Aberdeen

## Le Duan: longtime leader of Vietnamese revolution

BY FRED FELDMAN

Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party and a central leader of the Vietnamese revolution, died July 10 in Hanoi, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Le Duan was born in 1907 in Quang Tri Province in central Vietnam. As a youth he became involved in the struggle to liberate Vietnam from French rule.

In 1930 he joined the Communist Party. Arrested a year later for his participation in the popular uprisings that took place in 1930 and 1931, he was sentenced to 20 years in prison. He was freed in 1936.

In 1940 he was again arrested when Japanese forces moved into Indochina. He reported that only 15 out of the 100 prison-

ers in his section survived.

He was released in August 1945 in the midst of a popular revolutionary upsurge spurred by the defeat of the Japanese imperialist occupation.

At a mass rally in Hanoi September 2, Ho Chi Minh read a declaration of Vietnam's independence and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

With Washington's support, British and French imperialist troops invaded to crush the independence movement and reestablish French rule. The masses fought back, waging a war of resistance to the imperialist occupiers.

In the early 1950s, Le Duan emerged as the most prominent leader of the fighters in the southern part of the country.

This war ended in 1954 with the defeat of the French colonialists.

As a result of this victory, an independent state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was established in the north in 1954. Ho Chi Minh, who died in 1969, became president.

Under the 1954 Geneva agreement, the government in the south was to be determined by elections in 1956. The U.S. government, however, proceeded to impose the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship in the south. The promise of elections was ignored.

From 1954 to 1957 Le Duan remained in the south. In 1959 he returned to Hanoi to take on general leadership responsibilities in the Communist Party. To coordinate the growing nationalist resistance across southern Vietnam in the last years of the 1950s, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was founded in late 1960.

Le Duan played a leadership role in the 15-year war with the Diem regime and its successors, and with the massive U.S. occupation force that was sent to preserve im-

perialist control of Vietnam.

He was an organizer of the 1975 offensive that spurred the collapse of the U.S.-backed regime, and culminated in the departure of the last U.S. forces and the victory of the liberation movement on April 30, 1975.

In 1976 the country was reunited and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was founded.

Le Duan remained a central leader as the regime organized the overturn of capitalism in the south; aided the people of Kampuchea in overthrowing the murderous Pol Pot regime that had launched an invasion of southern Vietnam; and beat back a U.S.-backed invasion by the Peking regime in China.

In the 1980s the government, with Le Duan's support, has initiated economic reforms that made possible strides toward self-sufficiency in grain production and a start toward overcoming the countrywide devastation wrought by 30 years of imperialist war and occupation.

In a message to Vietnam's United Nations ambassador, Bui Xuan Nhat, Steve Clark wrote on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party:

"The death of Secretary General Le Duan is a loss not only for the Vietnamese people, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and the Vietnamese Communist Party, but also for all those fighting for national liberation and socialism. Le Duan was a central leader of the decades-long freedom struggle that culminated in your 1975 victory over U.S. imperialism. That triumph of the Vietnamese people shifted the relationship of forces to the advantage of those struggling for freedom and social justice throughout the world, including in the United States.

"We are confident that the Vietnamese people, who produced a patriot and revolutionary of the stature of Le Duan, will continue to resist imperialist-instigated military aggression and economic pressure and advance in the socialist reconstruction of your country."



Le Duan

## Railroad ordered to reinstate 1,700

Guilford Transportation Industries was ordered July 11 to reinstate 1,700 rail workers it had thrown out of work. The workers were fired in May because they refused to cross picket lines set up by striking members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way at the Maine Central railroad, a Guilford subsidiary.

The bosses claimed at the time that it was necessary to fire 44 percent of their unionized workers because the strike had cost the company a 44 percent drop in business.

Guilford's subsidiaries include the Boston & Maine and the Delaware & Hudson

in addition to the Maine Central.


Workers struck the Maine Central earlier in the year when the company demanded a 20 percent cut in pay, reductions of crew sizes, and substantial increases in health-care premiums paid by workers.

President Ronald Reagan intervened against the strike on May 16, ordering a 60-day "cooling off" period.

When workers began returning to their jobs, Guilford management told them they were no longer needed.

Contract negotiations are continuing. The "cooling off" period ends July 21.

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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.

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

## The Militant

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# 'Marxism and women's liberation' class to be one of many at socialist conference

BY NORTON SANDLER

A rich educational program is being prepared for the upcoming Socialist Educational and Activists Conference. Participants at the August 9-14 conference in Oberlin, Ohio, will be able to attend a variety of classes designed to give unionists, students, and farmers interested in revolutionary politics a deeper understanding of Marxism.

No one will be expected to do any reading beforehand, and plenty of class time will be allotted for discussion.

Socialist Workers Party leaders Mary-Alice Waters, Margaret Jayko, Cindy Jaquith, and Betsey Stone will give a four-part series on the Marxist approach to women's liberation. They will cover the origins of women's oppression, women under capitalism, women in the Nicaraguan revolution, and women in the Cuban revolution.

A class series is being prepared on the newly published Pathfinder Press book, *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*. That book is the second in the series "The Communist International in Lenin's Time," published by Pathfinder.

The first class will describe the revolutionary upheaval in Germany between October 1918 and January 1919. The second class will look at how the question of an alliance between workers and peasants was posed in the German revolution. The third class will be an evaluation of the role the political current led by Rosa Luxemburg played in the German revolution. The fourth class will deal with the debate between Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin and Karl Kautsky, founding member of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany and a supporter of its right wing, on workers' and peasants' power in the Soviet republic and whether or not it provided a model for the exploited producers in Germany and other capitalist countries.

A five-part class series will be organized on the history of the Socialist Workers Party from the founding of the communist movement in the United States in 1919

until today.

A series will be given that covers why it is important for revolutionaries to defend the colonial revolution against attacks by imperialist countries such as the United States and Britain. This is especially important because the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions are under attack today by the U.S. government and because of the confusion over this question that arose during the British war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands in 1982.

That series will look back at an important debate in the Socialist Workers Party before World War II. In that debate, the majority of the party stood firm on the program of Marxism and defended the gains of the Russian revolution against a minority that was succumbing to the capitalist hysteria on the eve of the war.

Students at the current session of the Socialist Workers Party's leadership school are preparing class series that will give conference participants an introduction to the political writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the communist movement.

One series by the students will concentrate on the political conquests of the International Workingmen's Association (IWWA), commonly known today as the First International, under the leadership of Marx and Engels.

Topics covered will be the IWWA's work on the trade unions; the colonial question; religion, land, inheritance, and the peasantry; machinery and the fight for the eight-hour day; and the lessons of the Paris Commune.

Another series by the students will cover Marx and Engels' writings on the U.S. Civil War. Those classes will cover land and labor in the pre-civil war United States; capitalist plantation slavery; the opening years of the Civil War; and the revolutionary character taken on by the war following Lincoln's decree emancipating the slaves in the Confederate States at the beginning of 1863.

A two-part series will be given on Engels' pamphlet, "The Housing Question."



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Cindy Jaquith (left) of Militant's Managua bureau will speak on women in the Nicaraguan revolution. Mary-Alice Waters, editor of book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, will talk on origins of women's oppression.



Militant/Lou Howort

In that pamphlet Engels explains why the capitalists encourage the notion that workers should own their own homes, and why home ownership is not in the interest of the working class.

Two students will give classes on the organizational principles of the communist movement as developed by Marx and Engels.

Among the topics to be covered in classes are fascism, Marx and Engels on

capitalism's destruction of the environment and the working-class alternative, the current third wave of immigration to the United States, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, and numerous others.

The conference's educational program will serve as a complement to the major talks, panels, and workshops that will be held during the week. In addition, an attractive program of musical entertainment and movies will be available.

## Woodworkers resist givebacks in strike against lumber co.

BY TIM MAILHOT

ABERDEEN, Washington — Members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Lumber Production and Industrial Workers (LPIW) are standing firm in their strike against Weyerhaeuser Co. operations in Oregon and Washington.

Earlier this month the Woodworkers demonstrated their resolve by rejecting what the company had termed its "final offer" by a four to one margin. The strike began on June 16.

Weyerhaeuser officials claim that cuts in production costs are necessary to put them in a competitive position with other northwest lumber companies. So far this year the company has reported \$50 million in profits, an increase of 31 percent.

The contract proposal rejected by the Woodworkers would have resulted in a \$4.30 an hour loss in wages and benefits.

Ed Tuthill of IWA Local 3-157 in Enumclaw, Washington, explained that a cut in wages and benefits wouldn't be so bad if it were really true that the average worker received \$20 an hour wages and benefits as the company claims.

"The highest-paid sawyer in the mill here makes about \$12.50 an hour. The benefits add \$4 or \$5, totaling \$16.50 to \$17.50 an hour. Most are earning more in the area of \$13 to \$14 in wages and benefits combined," he said.

Tuthill also explained that in October 1984 the company announced plans to shut down the White River mill near Enumclaw unless it could work out a way to cut operating costs. The union agreed to go to three crews on four 10-hour shifts per week, job combinations, and the layoff of 54 members.

Though the mill is now quite profitable, safety has suffered. As one of the pickets explained, "You get a guy in there working harder, doing what used to be two jobs, by the time the eighth hour rolls around, he's not going to be very alert. And he's got two hours to go still."

Another important concession that Weyerhaeuser is demanding is a no-strike clause and binding arbitration. The right to walk off the job as the final step in the grievance procedure has been a tradition in the West Coast lumber industry since it was organized.

The importance of this right was demonstrated when picket lines were put up at the company's pulp and paper mills, which were still running. Members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers union (AWPPW), which organizes the workers at these plants, accepted a no-

strike provision in exchange for a pay raise recently. Yet despite company threats of disciplinary action, workers stayed out, shutting down the plant.

Stocks of ready lumber are dwindling fast, with the peak new housing-start season approaching.

Following the rejection of the contract, the company threatened to bring in scabs to work in the mills if the workers do not return to their jobs by July 25. Company officials are also threatening to shut down logging operations, putting 2,300 loggers out of work.

Striking mill workers, spouses, children, and other supporters gathered at the Lion's Club Park outside Aberdeen, Washington, site of Weyerhaeuser's largest mill operation, on July 12 to rally in support of the strike.

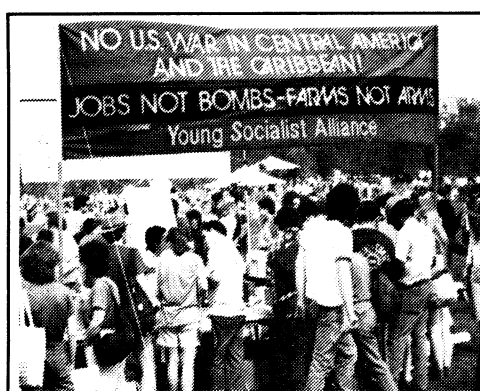
The picnic and rally were attended by IWA, LPIW, and AWPPW members. Representatives of several other unions and the Washington State AFL-CIO attended as well.

Leon Lead, vice-president and business agent for striking Local 3-130 of the IWA in Raymond, laid out part of the union's response to the company's threats. "We're going to take a page out of history and organize a march to Weyerhaeuser's corporate headquarters in Federal Way, Washington, for a rally on their doorstep. We want everyone who supports us to take part in this march, whether for an hour, the whole trip, or at the rally — wives, children, sweethearts, grandmas, businessmen, other unionists, everyone. We'll come from Raymond, Aberdeen, Pe Ell, Dail, Enumclaw, Snoqualmie, from all the logging towns, and meet there on July 25, the day Weyerhaeuser has set for the imposition of their contract," he said.

Strikers received an important boost when Larry Kinney, president of the Washington State Labor Council, announced that the state organization would play a role in organizing unions to attend the rally.

Frank Chestnut, president of IWA Local 3-2 in Aberdeen, was the final speaker. After thanking those who attended for the show of solidarity, he singled out a particular group of strikers for special mention. "Some of you have introduced yourselves as coming from small locals. Well, you're not from small locals because we are in this together, and from what you've shown, you're awful big."

The company returned to the bargaining table on July 14. That same day cops arrested 31 people picketing outside the Weyerhaeuser plant in Klamath Falls, Oregon.



Unionists, students, farmers and other activists will be gathering for a weeklong conference and

**YOU ARE INVITED!**

### Socialist Educational and Activists Conference August 9-14 at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio

The conference is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. It will be a gathering of activists who want to learn more about the struggles of working people in the U.S. and internationally.

There will be major talks given by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. The topics will be:

- **Why we need a revolution in the United States;** what it means to be a revolutionary socialist in this country today.
- **Class struggle trade unionism:** how the meatpackers' strike in Austin, Minnesota, is showing the way forward for fighting back against employer and government attacks on working people.
- **The fight for women's rights today**
- **Dynamics of the Nicaraguan revolution**
- **The coming revolution in South Africa;** for a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it.
- **Revolutionary Cuba:** its leadership role in the worldwide struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Classes will take place throughout the week on Marxism and revolutionary politics, the U.S. class struggle, and world revolution.

Workshops will take up current struggles such as:

- **aiding the Hormel strikers**
- **defending abortion rights**
- **supporting farmers fighting foreclosures**
- **opposing the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua**

Translation to Spanish and French will be provided.

There will also be plenty of time to relax. Evening entertainment will feature films, concerts, dances, and other social events.

**Come join us for an exciting week of political discussions and activity!**

If you are interested in attending, contact the SWP nearest you. (See directory on page 16.)

# Daniel Ortega explains defense measures

## Nicaraguan president talks to gold miners on production, military preparations

BY CINDY JAQUITH

LA LIBERTAD, Nicaragua — Mud-spattered horses lined the main street in town here July 5 as residents gathered to inaugurate a new processing plant at the local gold mine.

Ten days earlier, the U.S. House of Representatives had approved \$100 million for the CIA-trained mercenaries waging war on Nicaragua. These killers have been active in Chontales Province in Region V, where La Libertad is located.

In May the terrorists assassinated three civilians and kidnapped a teacher in a peasant community six miles from here. Another mercenary band murdered three government construction workers and wounded three others 24 miles from here.

Over the last six months, however, the Sandinista army has made progress in pushing back the mercenaries in Chontales. And an accelerated land reform here is benefiting the poor peasantry.

### Diocese of Bishop Vega

La Libertad is in the diocese of Catholic Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega, whose church is in the nearby city of Juigalpa. An opponent of the Sandinista revolution, Vega became more and more virulent in his public statements sympathizing with the U.S.-organized mercenary war over the last few months.

The day before the mine inauguration here, the Nicaraguan government announced that Vega, who was now in Honduras, had been stripped of his right to reside in Nicaragua because of his pro-mercenary actions. (See last week's *Militant*.)

About 500 La Libertad residents came out the next day to the gold mine. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega addressed them, and then there was an open mike for discussion from the crowd.

Ortega began by reminding the audience that the gold mine used to be owned by a U.S. family. It was nationalized in 1979 after the overthrow of the dictator Anastasio Somoza. Ortega recalled how Somoza's National Guard murdered a group of miners here in 1945.

When the mine was nationalized, he continued, Nicaragua's revolutionary government had no resources to invest in it. A group of workers kept the mine running for six years under very difficult conditions, buying time until funds could be secured to fix it up.

With financial aid from the Swedish government, new equipment had been installed, making it possible for the mine to again make a profit and advance the living conditions not only of La Libertad's working people, but the nation as a whole. The miners had decided to name the new plant after Olof Palme, the Swedish prime minister assassinated last February.

### Profits not for capitalists

Ortega said the mine would be producing profits for the Nicaraguan people, "not profits to be pocketed by a capitalist or by a family. Today this mine is the property of the people." He then turned to the war conditions under which the miners would be carrying out production. The World Court, he said, had just ruled that "Nicaragua has a just position and that the United States is violating the law, acting like an international criminal."

Despite the international condemnation of Washington's aggression, he continued, the U.S. government continues "to approve more weapons and more money for the assassins of the Nicaraguan people."

Therefore, he said, "we've been forced to take measures that we didn't want to take, actions that we didn't take [before] because we don't like them."

"We suspended the newspaper *La Prensa* because it's the paper of Reagan, a defender of terrorism, financed by the CIA. In a situation of war, we can't let that paper function. When the aggression ends, it can reappear."

Turning to the decision to prohibit Bishop Vega from entering Nicaragua, Ortega said, "We are not the enemies of any church. In this country there is no persecution of religious ideas or persecution of freedom of religion."

"But a religious person cannot start conspiring against the revolution, acting as an agent of the counterrevolution."

Ortega explained that during this spring's debate in the U.S. Congress over aid for the mercenaries, the bishop went to the United States, met publicly with mercenary leaders, and falsely charged the Sandinistas with violating human rights.

Within Nicaragua, Vega sought to "sow discord," added Ortega, "so that Reagan would have more arguments for continuing to kill the Nicaraguan people."

Finally, on July 2, Vega held a news conference in Nicaragua where he sought to justify the mercenary war, claimed a U.S. invasion would be the Sandinistas' fault, and called the World Court decision "biased."

"This is not Christian," said Ortega. "We have been obliged to suspend the residency of Mr. Vega because he is not acting like a Nicaraguan."

"It's better that he's with the [mercenaries] in Honduras and not here, provoking ill feeling and resentment among the people."

"Reagan is going to say we're persecuting the church, doing away with the church and religious beliefs. But we were left with no alternative," the president concluded. He said that if Vega wants to return, he must first work for peace in Central America.

### Union statement on war, Vega

The crowd listened quietly and attentively to the speech. When the open-mike period began, the matter of Vega was raised by only one speaker. That was Gustavo Bolaños, the organizational secretary of the union at the mine, which is affiliated to the FSLN-led Sandinista Workers Federation.

Bolaños read a statement from the union that condemned the \$100 million aid for the mercenaries and also denounced "some bishops of the Catholic hierarchy who have defamed our revolution abroad."

"The miners demand that the revolutionary government use a heavy hand against these men," the statement said.

The union statement also said that speculators and hoarders of scarce goods, "who live like leeches, sucking the blood of the workers," should be "put in their place."

In the remainder of the discussion, miners raised a series of problems, including inadequate supplies of consumer goods at the mine commissary, a food allowance that has not kept pace with inflation, lack of mine safety equipment, and the need for more housing.

Government representatives spoke to each of these questions, explaining what improvements were possible within the limitations imposed by the war. Minister of Mines Ramiro Bermúdez reported that the national miners' contract was going to be revised to increase the food allowance. As for safety equipment, he said there could be no promises because the equipment must be imported. On housing, another government representative said some building materials would be made available to the mine union to distribute among the workers.

### Movie theaters and churches

A man who had worked in the mine for 45 years took the floor to stress the need to take good care of the new mine machinery. "We have to convince all the miners of this," he said, "because some of them don't want to take care of it."

This miner closed with a question: was it legal to open up a movie theater 10 yards away from the local Evangelical church?

A representative of the Ministry of Housing got up to explain that ministry ordinances prohibit bars, discos, theaters, and other places of entertainment from close proximity to churches. But, he continued, "so many tiny churches have sprung up" recently that there is no place for all of them. "In one neighborhood in Managua," he went on, "there are 80 churches, one in every fourth house." The official said his ministry had been discussing the problem with Evangelical Church leaders.

A man in militia uniform from the



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Members of gold-mining community of La Libertad in Nicaragua gathered to discuss how to defend their country against new war moves of U.S. government.

nearby town of Santo Domingo took the floor to complain that the one telephone line in town had been taken over by the Sandinista army, leaving residents with no way to call out. "If someone dies, the relatives can't get to the funeral because of the communication problems. Maybe they get there by the ninth day of mourning," he said.

FSLN leader Agustín Lara responded that army use of the phone line was a military necessity at the moment. "You're a combatant, right?" he asked the man. "You know the situation here."

The last speaker was a La Libertad miner who began by pledging that the union would do its part to increase gold production and maintain military defense. He then called attention to the fact that some workers were leaving the mine because the wages were low and the work very dangerous. He proposed revising the national wage scale to keep such workers on the job.

In his summary remarks, President Ortega said that increasing production, not

raising wages, was the way to improve workers' standard of living.

"This mine complex is costing the sweat, energy, and blood of combatants so that you can work here safely," he told the miners. The soldiers, militia members, and peasants carrying out full-time defense are working under much more difficult conditions, he said.

"Discipline has to be improved, efficient use of resources has to be improved here," Ortega continued, seconding the advice of the veteran miner.

Ortega said increased production was also one way for Nicaraguans to respond to the international solidarity they are receiving. "U.S. citizens and brigades have come here to build the schools Reagan is destroying, to build the health-care centers he is destroying. The Nicaraguan people are not alone. We can count on the solidarity of Sweden, the U.S. people, and the world. We have to respond to this solidarity by defending our revolution, not only with guns but with production."

## 35,000 flee toxic train wreck in Ohio

BY JOE LOMBARDO

CINCINNATI — A train carrying dangerous liquid white phosphorus derailed July 8 in Miamisburg, Ohio, near Dayton, causing the evacuation of 35,000 people in the area. The derailment led to the rupture of the tanker car carrying the phosphorus and a subsequent explosion and fire sending a cloud of toxic smoke one mile long and five miles wide over the area. During the effort to contain the fire, a second, larger explosion occurred.

Four hundred people have been treated at local hospitals, primarily for respiratory difficulties, and four remain hospitalized a week later. In addition, one person was killed in an evacuation-related accident.

According to officials of the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), the accident was caused by a heat-induced "sun-kink" caused by high temperatures, which caused the rail to move five inches out of line over a distance of 35 feet. The day of the accident the temperature reached into the 90s, but this is not an unusual occurrence in this area.

Federal officials have also conceded that the tanker car may have been built in a way that made the escape of toxic gases "almost inevitable." NTSB official John Lauber told the local press that the tanker car involved in this particular accident contained a weld on its underside that is known to rupture in such accidents. He claimed that the car was built prior to the enactment of a 1970 regulation restricting welds from being made on tanker cars. He also explained that this particular car was exempted from a recall of tanker cars made necessary after a similar accident caused the evacuation of 9,000.

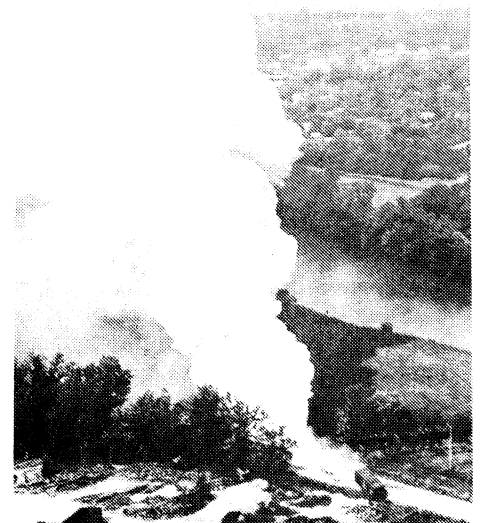
People of the area have been warned by the Ohio Environmental Protection Agency (OEPA) to stay away from the Great

Miami River and other area waterways since phosphorus from the accident could wash up on the banks and cause fires.

Three days after the accident, area residents reported that there was an extensive fish kill in the Great Miami River. OEPA spokesman Allen Franks claimed that this is probably due to animal fat that leaked from another of the derailed train cars, not the phosphorus.

The phosphorus was on route to a plant at Fernald outside of Cincinnati. Fernald is also the site of a uranium-processing plant that has recently had several releases of radioactive material, which led to the formation of a local citizens' group opposed to Fernald's operation. These people are now presented with a new worry.

Two multi-million-dollar class-action suits have been filed on behalf of Miamisburg residents.



Evacuation-related accident killed one person. Four remain hospitalized.



# Neighborhood mtg. in Nicaragua confronts U.S. war

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

CHINANDEGA, Nicaragua — "We mothers want to tell you that just as Monsignor Pablo Antonio Vega and Mr. Bismark Carballo were not allowed to enter Nicaragua again, you should take measures against anyone who acts against our people and our revolution," Margarita López told Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega at a meeting here June 12.

The more than 600 leaders and activists from neighborhood committees present greeted her remarks with applause and chants of "People's power!" "We will do our duty!" and "Wherever the Yankees come, they will die!"

López was the first speaker in a Face the People meeting with Ortega and other government officials held at the Chinandega Technical Institute. She spoke on behalf of Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs — those killed fighting to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, or defending Nicaragua against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary terrorists (*contras*) since then.

A majority of those present and most speakers at the three-hour meeting were women — leaders and activists from the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) from neighborhoods throughout this city of 70,000. Many were workers or market women. The crowd was enthusiastic and confident. They began to chant revolutionary slogans nearly an hour before the meeting began and repeatedly interrupted speakers with applause and chants.

Several speakers took the floor to condemn U.S. funding for the *contras* and to support the recent measures taken against active supporters of U.S. intervention. These measures included closing the capitalist daily *La Prensa* and excluding two Catholic church officials, Bismark Carballo and Bishop Vega, from Nicaragua. Since his expulsion to Honduras, Vega has given two masses for *contra* leaders and troops there, urging them to fight "with faith, courage, and determination."

One market woman commented on the unusually large number of foreign reporters attending the meeting — held one week before the seventh anniversary of the Sandinista revolution. "I'm glad you are here," she told them, "so that you can see from this meeting that we have a real people's revolution here."

## 'Participation of the people'

Magda Centeño, a leader of the CDS zonal committee for Chinandega, gave a report on their increased activities in recent months.

Centeño reported on big successes in organizing polio vaccination days and in planting hundreds of community gardens to increase local food supplies. Many neighborhood committees had carried out local development projects: building a school, installing water lines, paving streets, etc. Local residents provided volunteer labor and funds for these projects.

One neighborhood committee was proud that they had installed new drinking water pipes in three days — after government technicians said it would take them 30 days. Another neighborhood received praise for building a house, free of charge, for a woman whose son was killed fighting to defend the country.

Centeño also reported that some neighborhoods had reestablished revolutionary vigilance. These are nightly security patrols. She said others would also make this a priority, given the increased threat of sabotage and terror attacks by *contras*.

Another CDS leader stressed that they should "not be meeting with the idea that the government will resolve everything for us. It is a question of us uniting ourselves, on each block, in each neighborhood, to begin to find solutions to problems in our communities produced by the imperialist aggression."

Several CDS leaders asked for allotments of land for neighborhood gardens or for housing. Government officials said that they would supply land for the gardens, but

that they were restricting new housing grants to three areas where they would be able to supply water and electricity in the near future.

One speaker asked for 100 sheets of zinc roofing so they could finish adding three classrooms to the school in his neighborhood. Martha Cranshaw, the presidential delegate for Region II, which includes Chinandega, replied that the government could supply the zinc, but not before October. What was now available had been prioritized for families who had lost their homes during recent flooding, she explained.

In remarks at the end of the meeting, Ortega stressed that as long as the U.S. war lasted, the government would not have great resources to spare for such projects. And what was available would be sent to the countryside to encourage vital agricultural production.

After the meeting, Ortega and other government leaders went on a walking tour of a nearby neighborhood. Local CDS activists showed them several community gardens they had planted and a new school they were building.

## Reorganizing the markets

A woman candy-seller from the public market asked for more licenses for market vendors. "There are mothers who have been abandoned by their husbands and have no other way to make a living," she said. "Some have waited up to five years to receive a license."

Cranshaw explained that the Ministry of Internal Commerce had just finished reorganizing the Chinandega markets as part of efforts to control prices. Central to these efforts was reducing the number of vendors, she said. "When products pass through many hands, prices increase rapidly. After the reorganization, food prices in the market dropped by as much as 50 percent."

The government was restricting market



Nicaraguan women practice first aid as part of preparing defense of revolution. At July 12 "Face the People" meeting in town of Chinandega, 600 leaders and activists from Sandinista Defense Committees — most of them women — backed Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's taking necessary measures to defend revolution.

licenses to people who had "historically" been vendors and was trying to find other employment for those denied licenses, Cranshaw continued. It was prioritizing productive jobs in factories and agricultural processing plants. However, the ministry would review individual cases and assign market licenses to those — including single mothers without access to child care — who could not take another type of job, she said.

## 'Fight for peace'

"Nobody should be satisfied with the economic situation today," Ortega told the meeting. However, problems would continue as long as Nicaragua faces the U.S.-organized war that drains the country's resources, he said. He praised the Chinandega CDS committees for their initiatives in carrying out local development projects.

Nicaragua will defend itself militarily and by appealing to international bodies such as the United Nations, Ortega said. He discussed at length the recent World Court ruling that held that the United States had violated international laws and treaties

in its attacks on Nicaragua and that Nicaragua could seek payment from the U.S. government for damages caused by the war.

"Nicaragua respects the laws," Ortega said. "When the United States began to attack us, we turned to international law [and the World Court]."

"After World War II," he continued, "the countries of the world agreed that it was necessary to strengthen international law so that no new Hitler could arise. This was the principal concern of the countries of the world after World War II."

"It could appear ironic," Ortega said, "that the countries of the world met in the United States to establish these laws that would have to be accepted by all countries." They met there due to the United States' role in righting fascism, he said. "Many North Americans died fighting against fascism. This was a just war, against the unjust war imposed by fascism, by Hitler."

Today however, the United States "has a terrorist, illegal policy, disrespectful of the law," he declared. "The principal task facing Nicaragua is to fight for peace."

# CIA to lead war against Nicaragua

Continued from front page

ital city of Managua; . . . rapid growth of the *contra* forces and a reinvigorated internal opposition. . . .

To suggest the scope of the projected escalation, the paper cites a Senate Republican who said the \$100 million figure "reflected an assessment of what the political traffic would bear, not an assessment of what the requirements are."

The report added that "all sides assume a larger aid request will be made next spring."

Fred Ikle, undersecretary of defense and a central Nicaragua decision maker, agreed that U.S. spending will go well beyond the amount voted so far by Congress.

In addition, he stressed, the Pentagon is strengthening the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command, a major U.S. military command post poised like a dagger against Central America and Cuba.

Pointing to an ominous aspect of the slated *contra* escalation, the *Post* report added, "The first shipments of new military equipment, which can begin September 1 pending the Senate vote, will probably include antiaircraft weaponry that will allow the *contras* to defend positions inside Nicaragua, the sources said."

Equipping the *contras* with surface-to-air missiles will definitely mean an important expansion of the war.

The *Post* also reported the opinion of Lawrence Pezzulo, ambassador to Nicaragua under Carter. He said the escalation of the *contra* war will mean new hardships for Nicaragua, "but they won't give in."

Pezzulo said this means "the use of U.S. troops will eventually be the only option left."

The July 12 *New York Times* cited a State Department source who anticipated

that the *contra* force would be expanded from its present claimed size of 20,000 to a force of 30,000.

"That is not a paramilitary operation," he said. "That's a military operation."

The *Times* said that some members of Congress felt that perhaps the Pentagon, not the CIA, should run the *contra* war.

One Pentagon official responded that "the CIA is set up to run these sort of things."

For sure. The CIA engineered the 1954 overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the unsuccessful 1961 invasion of Cuba, and the 1973 overthrow of the Allende government in Chile.

Along with the South African apartheid regime, the CIA is also currently involved in the counterrevolutionary drive to destroy the government of Angola.

For the Pentagon to take official charge of the *contra* operation would be to more fully admit to the world what is in fact the reality — that the government of the United States is waging an illegal war against Nicaragua.

But assigning the CIA to direct the *contras* doesn't mean the Pentagon is not involved in the drive against Nicaragua. Its role in neighboring Honduras makes it plain that the army and other branches of the armed forces are in it up to their necks.

The July 13 *New York Times* reported: "After three and a half years of intense military buildup, the United States is prepared to maintain a military presence in Honduras for years to come, according to several military officials and diplomats in Honduras."

"Official United States policy is that the American military role is temporary, but some American officials speak of Hon-

duras's gradually becoming like South Korea, developing into a permanent United States military staging area, manned and armed to contain a perceived Communist threat, in this case from Nicaragua."

The article notes that a Honduran military base has not been approved by Congress, as required by law.

"Instead," the report observes, "the building or improving of nine combat airfields, two radar stations, roads, tank traps, fuel storage areas and air intelligence installations, as well as the semi-permanent stationing of a rotating corps of 1,200 American troops, has all been done under the legal rubric of preparing 'temporary facilities' for military exercises."

The report added: "American military planners there acknowledge that the preparations made could take on critical importance because Honduras could be the staging area if the United States were to invade Nicaragua."

"An invasion is possible, but it is not the best solution," a U.S. military official in Honduras told the *Times*. "The shooting would be short, but getting out would be hell."

"Nonetheless," the paper notes, "a possible attack on Nicaragua appears to have been directly and indirectly rehearsed in dozens of large and small American military maneuvers over the last three and a half years. . . ."

"In the last large exercise . . . which ended in April, 2,000 United States officers went to Honduras to plan and run a mock war that was designed to involve at least 30,000 American troops, according to American officials."

These sinister plans underline the urgency of building a massive opposition to the war against Nicaragua.

# Why Goodwill Games make Washington angry

BY NORTON SANDLER

What do Caspar Weinberger, Ronald Reagan, and sports announcer Howard Cosell have in common? You can probably think of a lot of things, but for openers, they were all opposed to athletes from the United States competing in the Goodwill Games held in Moscow July 5-20.

Over 3,000 athletes from more than 50 countries participated in the Goodwill Games. More than 500 athletes went from the United States including outstanding track-and-field performers Carl Lewis, Edwin Moses, Evelyn Ashford, and Valerie Briscoe-Hooks.

This was the first time since the 1976 Olympics in Montreal that teams from the United States and the Soviet Union have competed against each other in a major international event.

The United States Olympic team was withdrawn from the 1980 games in Moscow by then president James Carter as part of Washington's anticommunist propaganda drive against the Soviet Union.

Carter floated the idea of holding a "free-world olympics" at that time.

Teams from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Cuba did not compete in the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.

Four days before the Goodwill Games opened, Caspar Weinberger prohibited 10 boxers who are in the U.S. armed forces from going to Moscow.

"The Defense Department regulations prohibit military or civilian employees from participating in any activity determined to be political in nature or intended to benefit selectively or profit any agency or commercial concern," a Pentagon statement said.

Reagan then jumped into the act, backing up the Pentagon. "That [the Goodwill Games] happens to be a commercial endeavor. We can't use military in that sense," he said.

That statement was made on July 4, the same day that the New York harbor was filled with military ships and personnel in a "commercial endeavor" if there ever was one.

Cosell, the "penny-a-liner" sports announcer and writer, also defended Weinberger. Cosell was particularly critical of the athletes who went to Moscow.

"I said this in 1980 when I supported the boycott, and I'll say it again: athletes do not have special rights to perform in public regardless of our national interest. Foreign policy should not be made by a hurdler, a sprinter, a water polo player, or a 12-year-old gymnast in a leotard," he wrote in the *New York Daily News*.

Much has been made in the U.S. media about the fact that Atlanta multimillionaire Ted Turner is a cosponsor of the Goodwill Games along with the Soviet government. Turner is accused by Cosell, Weinberger, and others of trying to make fame and fortune off the sports event. While that is no

doubt true, it has nothing to do with why they object to the Goodwill Games.

The Pentagon didn't raise its voice when \$200 million in profits were made from commercial ventures surrounding the 1984 Olympics.

Politics is the heart of the matter.

An editorial in the *Militant* after the 1984 Olympics described the atmosphere whipped-up by the U.S. rulers around that event.

"The U.S. government, the big-business media, and all other mouthpieces for the employing class have cynically seized on the Olympic Games as the occasion to launch a flag-waving orgy of reactionary U.S. chauvinism." The editorial added, "The coverage of the Olympics was cynically manipulated to try and identify support for the individual and team accomplishments of athletes who happen to be from the United States with support for the U.S. government's imperial arrogance towards the peoples of the world."

Cuban President Fidel Castro in an interview in the forthcoming Pathfinder Press book *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* explains that "the Olympic movement was created in the time of colonialism. So far, the Olympic Games have served to parade the rich, indus-

trialized countries' wealth, good nutritional standards, and excellent technical capacities. How many medals have been won by athletes from the Third World, from those countries that lack sports facilities, physical education and sports instructors, and proper nutrition for their children and young people from whose ranks the athletes must come?"

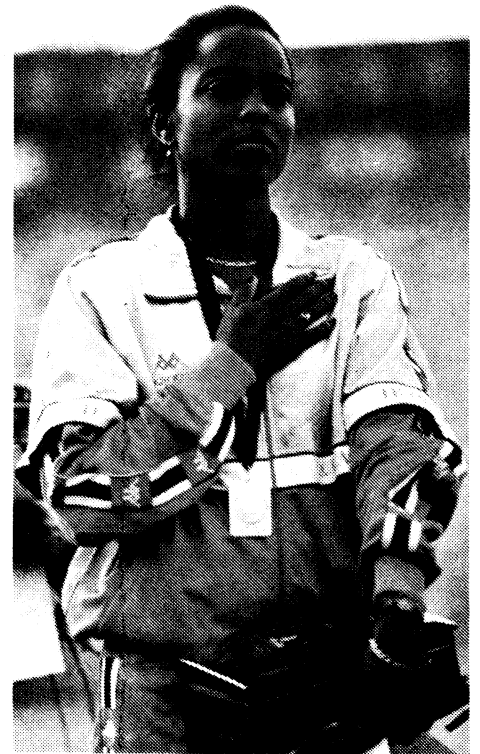
"Every four years," Castro continued, "the Olympic Games measure the inferiority of the Indians, blacks, yellows, and mestizos and the superiority of white society, even though it is U.S. Blacks who win most of the medals for the rich, white, industrialized society of the United States."

The Cuban government is arguing in favor of having the 1988 summer Olympic games staged in both North and South Korea.

As planned now, the Olympics will be held only in South Korea, a country occupied by 40,000 U.S. troops. The games are designed to expand that government's influence internationally and reinforce the division of Korea.

"We don't need counts, marquesses, and millionaires to tell us what to do in the field of sports," Castro said.

To one degree or another that sentiment is shared by most of the athletes competing in Moscow.



Evelyn Ashford after winning the 100-meter dash at "Goodwill Games" in Moscow.

## Anti-apartheid fighters defy regime

Continued from front page

failed to register by July 14 would be barred from attending during the new term. The regime had postponed the opening of school for several weeks.

"If they want to give us identity cards, we will burn them before the eyes of the system," one student said.

The National Education Crisis Committee — an organization of parents, teachers, and students — called the new measures "a clear recipe for confrontation."

The township council in Soweto, the huge Black township outside Johannesburg, has threatened to evict thousands of families who are refusing to pay rent until troops are withdrawn from the township and the council resigns. The councils, set up by the apartheid regime to control the townships, are the landlords for most township dwellers under the apartheid setup. The Soweto council received less than half of its usual monthly rent in June.

In Soweto on July 12, some 1,000 people defied emergency regulations by staging a funeral march, raising clenched fists, singing banned freedom songs, and chanting outlawed slogans. The gathering protested the killing of a 19-year-old anti-apartheid fighter.

Vigilantes backed by the regime are attempting to crush the unrest in the Soweto



Members of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) march in funeral for slain anti-apartheid activist at Port Elizabeth.

area. Goon squads linked to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who heads apartheid's KwaZulu Bantustan, have been raiding and burning houses in the Meadowlands area of Soweto in an effort to hunt down anti-apartheid activists. The goon squads are based in all-male hostels where migrant workers, many of them Zulus, are compelled to live when

they are in "white" South Africa.

At least nine people were killed in the fighting that resulted.

Buthelezi, who claims to represent all 6 million Zulus, has been steadily losing support among urban Zulu-speakers who are increasingly involved in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Stepped-up activity by Buthelezi's death squads is intended to force Zulus and other Blacks back into line.

Thirty-two of those who have been detained without charges under the state of emergency have succeeded in smuggling out a letter to journalists. They report being held in a single cell in Modderbee prison near Johannesburg. Their letter demanded regular visits, exercise periods, medical attention, and better food, and said they have begun a hunger strike for improved conditions and to protest the state of emergency.

Up to 8,000 people are believed to have been jailed under the emergency decree. The South African government has refused to name the detainees, with few exceptions, or to say how many there are. It has threatened to prosecute or deport journalists who publish their names.

Under regulations adopted when the emergency was imposed, prisoners can be whipped, placed in solitary confinement, or given reduced food rations for such acts as "unnecessary noise" and "frivolous complaints."

## 'IP': Nicaraguan women discuss constitution

More than 800 Nicaraguan women participated in a special women's town meeting held in Managua in early June to discuss the initial draft for a new constitution for the country. The draft's statutes on women's rights and the family figured prominently in their discussions.

The July 28 *Intercontinental Press* features excerpts from the proceedings of that town meeting, which was just one of a series held throughout Nicaragua.

The women touched on a wide range of questions, including land reform, education, and the status of the Atlantic Coast region. But issues directly affecting women dominated.

These included equal pay for equal work, the need for men to take on more household responsibilities, the rights of children born out of wedlock, how to combat rape and other physical abuse of women, sex education, the divorce laws, and maternity rights.

The most heatedly debated issue

was that of abortion. The current law prohibits abortion. While some women participants argued that it should remain illegal, many others maintained that it should be legalized, including several speakers who are prominent leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

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# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant July 1986

## Struggle for a fighting union in meatpacking industry

This month's *International Socialist Review* reprints the full text of a statement by Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW).

In this May 16, 1986, affidavit, he appeals to the U.S. District Court for Minnesota not to legally enforce a trusteeship over his union local declared by the top bureaucracy of the UFCW International on May 7. The UFCW officialdom's trusteeship move came during the bitter 10-month strike waged by the membership of Local P-9 against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota. The Hormel Company owns the largest chain of meat packinghouses in the United States.

On June 2 the court rejected Guyette's appeal and gave full backing to the UFCW bureaucracy's campaign to drive the Local P-9 leadership and membership out of the International union.

Immediately after the judge ruled against P-9, the UFCW tops imposed what Guyette called a "virtual dictatorship" over the membership. The trustee, Joseph Hansen, officially called off the strike and attempted to prevent P-9 members from continuing their battle to defend their union and fight for a decent contract.

The P-9 membership, however, is continuing their fight. "The strike is over, but the struggle continues," is the message the Austin Hormel workers are spreading around the country.

On July 7 more than 600 signatures of Hormel workers were filed with the National Labor Relations Board to certify a new union in the Austin plant — the North American Meat Packers Union. If the NLRB rules in favor of the petition, recertification elections must take place within 50 days.

The immediate aim of the North American Meat Packers Union is to rebuild a fighting, democratic meatpackers' union at the Austin Hormel plant.

Messages of support and contributions for the Hormel workers can be sent to the United Support Group, P.O. Box 396, Austin, Minn. 55912. Phone (507) 437-4110. Information on the North American Meat Packers Union is available at 103 4th Ave. NE, Austin, Minn. 55912. Phone (507) 437-8589.

In the text below the defendants referred to include Guyette, Local P-9 Vice-president Lynn Huston, and other members of the executive committee of the local. Plaintiffs included Joseph Hansen, the trustee designated by the UFCW tops, and others.

Some of the subheadings were added by *International Socialist Review*.

\* \* \*

Since January of 1984 I have been the duly elected president of Local P-9, United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW), and a member of its executive board. I submit this affidavit in support of defendants' opposition to plaintiffs' motion for temporary and preliminary injunction to enforce a trusteeship against Local P-9.

Local P-9 is the duly certified bargaining representative for the employees of the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. facility in Austin, Minnesota. Since Aug. 17, 1985, Local P-9 has been on strike against the Hormel Company.

Although officially sanctioning the strike, the plaintiffs have done everything within their power to undermine the ability of Local P-9 and its elected leadership to wage an effective struggle.

On March 13, 1986, the UFCW International Executive Committee issued a directive purporting to withdraw sanction from the strike and ordering P-9 and its membership to cease all strike-related activities.

On March 31, 1986, the UFCW notified the local that it was going to hold a hearing to determine whether the local should be placed in trusteeship for having failed to obey the March 13 directive to cease all strike and strike-related activities.

On April 16, 1986, the UFCW concluded a hearing, pursuant to Article 9(H) of the UFCW constitution, on the issue of whether a trusteeship should be imposed on Local P-9. At the termination of the hearing, the hearing officer permitted both parties until April 28, 1986, to submit written statements summarizing the evidence and their arguments. He indicated that he would inform the International Executive Committee of his recommenda-

tion as to whether or not the local should be placed in trusteeship.

As will appear hereinafter, the hearing on which the hearing officer's recommendation is to be based was fatally flawed in that defendants were denied the opportunity to present legitimate defenses and to otherwise establish that a trusteeship is not justified.

It will further be shown herein that the sole ground advanced by the International to justify the imposition of a trusteeship was simply a pretext and that the actual motivation for seeking to place the Local in trusteeship rests upon bad faith, illegitimate and legally impermissible grounds.

Plaintiff officers and 975 striking members of P-9 will be irreparably injured if the plaintiffs are not restrained from implementing the trusteeship.

### Background

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the meatpacking industry in the United States underwent a convulsive transformation. A sharply rising monopolization of the market resulted in plant closings, Chapter 11 bankruptcies, and layoffs. The major packinghouses seized upon this economic crisis as an opportunity to slash the wages and benefits of packinghouse employees who had previously enjoyed a relatively high standard of living among industrial workers.

Virtually alone among the major packinghouses, the Hormel Company remained a highly profitable enterprise, and was characterized by *Business Week* in 1984 as the "envy of the industry." Nevertheless, Hormel seized upon the crisis in the industry as an opportunity to drive down the wages and benefits of its workers. Among the means which it employed to effect this change were drastic speed-ups which have resulted in one of the highest injury rates in the industry. In the year preceding the strike, there were 202 injuries for every 100 workers in the Austin plant. Fully one-third of the workers at the Austin plant suffered lost-time injuries.

In addition to its flagship plant in Austin, Minnesota, the Hormel Company operates smaller packinghouses in a number of states including Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Georgia, North Carolina, Texas, Washington, and California. All of these plants are organized by the UFCW. Together, the UFCW locals representing the workers at these plants are known as the "Hormel Chain."

Between 1978 and 1981, as a rank-and-file member of Local P-9, I was outspoken in my opposition to the Hormel Company's concessionary drive. I urged that the Hormel Chain be strengthened and unified so as to be able to present a united front to the company, and questioned the role that the International union was playing in terms of meeting the crisis. With a few of my co-workers at the Austin plant, I produced and distributed an information bulletin on these issues to the workers at the plant.

In the summer of 1980, Lewie Anderson, who had just been appointed director of the UFCW Packinghouse Division, met with Local P-9 to attempt to persuade it to agree to a merger with another local in the Hormel Chain which the company was threatening to close. Anderson claimed that the International had the power to force the merger, although it would prefer that the workers agree to it. (In fact, the UFCW Merger Agreement, Article 11(B), provides that the International cannot compel mergers without the consent of the locals involved.)

### Opposition to concessions

It was my opinion that the proposed merger, which would dovetail seniority rights of the workers in the two plants in an unusual manner, would only play into the company's strategy of creating a divided work force and thus facilitate its concessionary drive. On this basis, I led the opposition to the merger at the meeting. When I was ruled out of order, I appealed to the membership, who overruled the chair so that I could speak. Anderson's proposal was defeated by a vote of the membership.

Anderson's animosity to me became evident at that meeting. He chastised the membership of Local P-9, and told us at the end of the meeting, "You'll live to regret the day you turned this merger down."

In December 1980 I was elected by P-9's membership

Continued on next page



Militant/Tom Jaax

Local P-9's suspended president, Jim Guyette, (top) submitted sworn statement to U.S. District Court for Minnesota. He charged United Food and Commercial Workers top officials with doing everything in their power to undermine Local P-9. Lewie Anderson (below Guyette) was appointed Packinghouse Division director of United Food and Commercial Workers in 1980. In ensuing six years he has been spearheading bureaucratic attacks on Local P-9 and its elected leadership.

Continued from previous page

to the Local's executive board. Thereafter, I participated as a P-9 representative in meetings of the Hormel Chain.

In meetings of the chain in December 1981 in Chicago, called by Lewie Anderson, Anderson pressured the chain to propose to the company a midterm concessionary package. Almost alone among the participants at the meeting, I spoke out in opposition to Anderson's "retrenchment program." The gist of the program was that it was necessary to "take a step backward in order to take a step forward"; in short, we were urged to beat the employer to the concessionary punch.

Following the Chicago meetings, the rank and file of P-9 met in Austin to vote on Anderson's proposal. A summary of the proposal supplied to us by Anderson was circulated to the membership. It provided for a three-year wage freeze, the giving up of cost-of-living (COLA) benefits, and a wage reopener in September 1984 with a right to strike.

The majority of P-9's executive board recommended that the proposal be accepted. I gave a minority report recommending rejection. The rank and file voted to reject the proposal.

Anderson then came to Austin to persuade the rank and file to accept the proposal. This time, the proposal was put forward as a vote on whether or not the membership wanted to remain in the Hormel Chain, with the International interpreting a vote to remain in the chain as a vote in favor of Anderson's proposal. As will hereinafter be seen, the reverse is also true — that is, the International has characterized any vote to reject its proposals as a vote to "break with the chain."

The fact is that the chain had never engaged in joint bargaining, had never entered into a single master agreement, had no by-laws or constitution, and had not and could not under the UFCW constitution (except in rare circumstances) hold a single chain-wide vote. Thus, "breaking with the chain" was solely and simply a euphemism for voting against the International's position. Anderson could and invariably did claim that a vote against a proposal to the chain was a vote to "break" with it.

Thus couched as a vote to "remain with the Chain," the proposal regarding concessions was passed, after a highly irregular balloting procedure. Although I challenged the procedure, my challenge was unsuccessful. (I lodged a formal protest, asked for a recount, and by the time I arrived at the union hall, the ballots had disappeared.)

In December 1983 the membership elected me president of Local P-9. Thereafter, at a series of chain meetings throughout the spring and summer of 1984, Anderson continued to exhort the chain to be "realistic" about the inevitability of concessions, while I argued against his approach. Anderson's animosity towards me became more and more open at these meetings.

Up to this point, I was in a minority on the executive board of Local P-9 in my opposition to Anderson's "retrenchment program," and the rank and file was divided on the issue. However, the situation dramatically changed in the spring and summer of 1984.

## Recognizing need for unity

In the spring of 1984, at chain meetings in Chicago, the locals in the chain agreed that it was imperative to build a united front against concessions and that, in order to achieve this goal, it was necessary to secure and maintain common expiration dates in our contracts with the Hormel Company, and to act and negotiate as a unit.

This agreement was in harmony with the series of policy statements put out in 1983 and 1984 (and thereafter, in 1985) by the UFCW Packinghouse Division, setting guidelines for local unions to follow in responding to employers' demands for midterm contract concessions and the crisis in the industry.

Chief among the guiding principles adopted by the International were the following:

- that locals should refuse to make midterm contract concessions;
- that concessions should be granted an employer only as a last resort and only after bitter struggle;
- that concessions should not be made to profitable companies under any circumstances;
- that workers throughout the industry should remain in constant communication with one another in order to establish a united front against concessions;
- that 1985 would be a pivotal year in halting concessions;
- that locals representing workers employed by a multiplant employer should seek to establish common expiration dates for their contracts so as to then be able to engage in coordinated bargaining;
- that the right of workers in one local to refuse to cross picket lines established by other locals on strike should be protected and extended; and
- that "operating within the UFCW's policy, the workers must have the final say in the matter by a majority vote of the membership."

However, immediately following the chain meetings in Chicago in the spring of 1984, Anderson gave his ap-

proval to a meeting between Hormel and the Ottumwa, Iowa, local to discuss midterm contract concessions, without the participation or consent of the rest of the chain. The news of this breach of chain solidarity sent shockwaves through the Austin local.

On March 19, on March 30, and again on April 24, 1984, I sent letters of protest to UFCW President William Wynn, stating in pertinent part:

On March 19, 1984, I wrote you a letter about my fears about local unions splintering off and attempting negotiations on a local level circumventing the chain.

Our news media have made a big issue of the fact that Local 431 representing Hormel employees in Ottumwa are now meeting with company officials on their own, and many of our members are concerned with the implications of such a move. Many members are asking if Ottumwa is now asking to get out of the chain.

A few months ago, 431 asked and was received into the chain and we held chain negotiations in Chicago shortly thereafter which broke off with no agreement.

We in Austin, in 1981's controversial wage freeze, finally did abide by the chain's vote even though the retrenchment idea of 1981 was voted down; but, I'm concerned in how 431's actions will be viewed in our membership's eyes if concession is made on a local level without all of the bargaining representatives of the Hormel local unions.

To say that our membership is upset with the actions of Local 431 would be an understatement, and I, on behalf of our 1,600 members at Hormel in Austin, would ask you to intercede and stop such meetings, which will not only violate Article 23 in any concessions which are made, but will destroy our chain and its entire concept, which would not be in the best interests of the union movement. We have enough problems with employers today trying to destroy the union without each local striking out on their own and destroying ourselves.

The president of the Algona, Iowa, local sent a similar letter of protest to William Wynn on March 29, 1984, urging him "to stop such meetings and insist that any meeting concerning midterm concessions" be under the direction of the entire chain.

After receiving a reply from Wynn that brushed aside our objections and failed to explain why fundamental policies of the International union were being ignored, I again urged Wynn to consider the consequences of approving such an agreement:

I hope that we as trade unionists can get back to working together towards our stated objectives and principles as stated in Article 2 of our International Constitution rather than destroying one another which is currently happening. Other International Unions have stopped this concessionary cancer from spreading, but we are still allowing it to happen in our International Union.

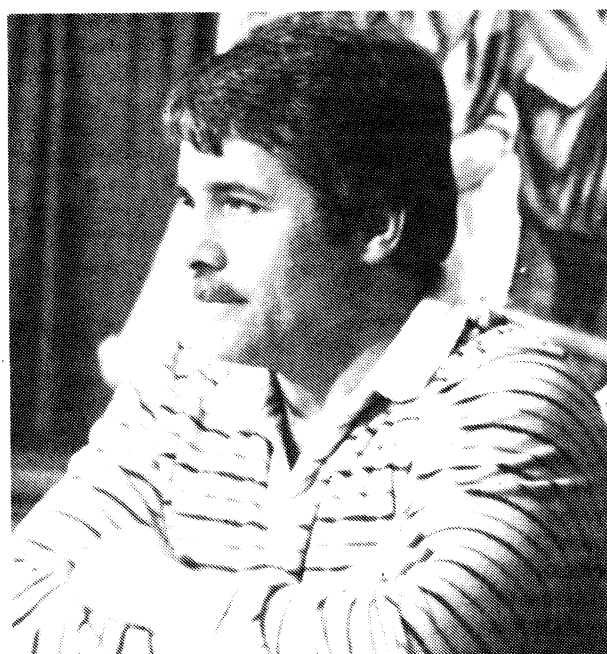
To allow Local 431 to undermine these principles and objectives would be a fatal mistake for all concerned.

My objections were to no avail. The Ottumwa agreement was approved, although it put the local's expiration date out of sync with the rest of the chain, severely undermined the bargaining position of other locals in the chain, violated the recent chain agreement in Chicago, and contradicted the Packinghouse Division's policy statements and guidelines.

## UFCW falsely accuses P-9 of 'breaking with chain'

By letter dated June 19, 1984, to all locals in the Hormel Chain, Anderson told each local that within three days it should advise him of whether or not it wished to continue in the chain and, with the chain, to enter into contract reopener discussions with the company beginning in September.

By letter of June 27, 1984, I informed Anderson that Local P-9 did wish to continue in the chain; and that the rank and file had voted by an overwhelming majority to



Militant/Tom Jaax

Ray Rogers was labeled the "Ayatollah of Austin" in rabid attack against him by UFCW President William Wynn. As head of Corporate Campaign, Inc., Rogers was able to help win broad support for striking Hormel workers and their families.

concur with the chain recommendation to serve notice on the Hormel Company that we would reopen our contract, with regard to wages only, on Sept. 1, 1984.

At the July 1984 chain meetings, Anderson gave his usual remarks on the futility of fighting concessions, since they were inevitable. I, again, advanced the argument that, with respect to a highly profitable company such as Hormel, we should be discussing wage increases, not concessions. I asked Anderson once again to tell us what his program was for fighting back against the company's demands for concessions.

Anderson responded to me by stating that if I genuinely believed in fighting concessions, then I should "guarantee" that Local P-9 would go out on strike in September, "legal or illegal." He further stated, much to my surprise, that the Hormel Company was going to take the position that a strike by P-9 in September would be illegal, despite the language in the 1982 agreement which Anderson had insisted we approve, providing for a wage reopener and right to strike in September 1984.

I replied that, as Anderson well knew, I could hardly "guarantee" that P-9 would strike in September, when no strike vote had as yet been even proposed, let alone passed upon by the requisite two-thirds majority mandated by the UFCW constitution. Second, I told Anderson that if, in fact, his claim that such a strike might be illegal was true, it was even more preposterous to expect me to "guarantee" on the spot that the membership of my local would vote to strike. I did, however, assure him that we would promptly determine whether we were legally entitled to strike in September, take a strike vote, and, in any case, do everything in our power to support any strike action taken by the chain.

As later events were to prove, Anderson's challenge to me at the July meeting to "guarantee" an illegal strike was disingenuous. It was intended to lay the basis for Anderson's later claim that he would have led the chain out on strike, rather than negotiate further concessions, had it not been for P-9's alleged "refusal to strike."

UFCW officials continue to publicize this false charge to the present day, although they know full well that the matter was submitted to expedited arbitration and the arbitrator found that P-9 did not have a right to strike in September 1984.

## Tide is turned against concessions

Despite Anderson's efforts to alienate Local P-9 from the rest of the chain, the tide had turned. On August 30 and 31, 1984, there were votes throughout the chain on the concessionary package proposed by Anderson. It was not only turned down by 92 percent of the membership of P-9; it was turned down by all of the locals in the Hormel Chain.

This vote marked a turning point for the Hormel Chain. My opposition to the company's concessionary demands, and to the International's "retrenchment program," no longer represented the position of a dissident minority. The great majority of the workers in the Hormel Chain now stood united in their opposition.

Local P-9 was the largest and historically the most influential local in the Hormel Chain. It represented workers at the plant responsible for more than 50 percent of Hormel's production. It was taking the lead in the resurgence of a united rank and file. In order for the company and the UFCW to drive through their program, Local P-9 would have to be isolated.

## Anderson, Wynn move to exclude P-9

Five days after the chain-wide votes, Anderson began to set the stage for excluding P-9 from chain negotiations. He called a chain meeting for Sept. 7, 1984, and, with the intent of excluding P-9, stated that the meeting was for those members of the chain "whose contracts would have expired on Sept. 1, 1984, under the wage reopener provision and who do not have a fallback position of a wage and benefit implementation. . . ." It was the company's position with respect to P-9 that any wage and benefit changes should be implemented by way of arbitration and not as the result of negotiations. Under the terms of Anderson's mailgram, therefore, Local P-9 representatives were not invited to the meeting.

When Local P-9's representatives arrived at the September 7 meeting, Anderson informed us that the company stood by its position that it would not negotiate with Local P-9 but would, instead, seek to unilaterally impose a wage and benefit reduction. Anderson asked us to step aside so that we would not be an "albatross" around the chain's neck and so that they could negotiate wage and benefit concessions with the company. When the other members of the chain acquiesced in this request, Local P-9 was convinced to stand aside.

We did so on three conditions, which were fully supported by the other locals in the chain:

- that it was understood that we were not withdrawing from the chain;
- that we would always be invited to participate in chain meetings; and
- that, whether or not we were part of the negotiating process, none of the locals would agree to a contract expiration date that would put it out of sync with P-9's original contract expiration date of Aug. 31, 1985.





Militant/Paco Sánchez



Militant/Tom Jaax

Local P-9 and Ottumwa, Iowa, UFCW Local 431 members and supporters at April solidarity action in Austin. During fall 1985, Local 431 was one of several UFCW locals that voted to request that the International authorize extension of P-9's picket lines to other plants in Hormel chain.

Anderson promised us that no one would negotiate a contract with an expiration date beyond September 1985.

Publicly, Anderson congratulated Local P-9 for agreeing to stand aside so that the rest of the chain could conclude an agreement.

Privately, Anderson relayed orders from Wynn, President of the UFCW, that no member of P-9 was to communicate with members of any other local in the chain or it would be considered an interference in the affairs of other chartered bodies, and P-9's president would be removed from office.

On Sept. 12, 1984, only five days after Anderson's agreement that P-9 would be invited to all chain meetings, a mailgram was sent to Richard Schaefer, P-9's business agent, inviting him to attend the upcoming chain negotiations in Omaha in his capacity as chain chairman, but not in his capacity as a representative of P-9. Local P-9 was not invited to attend the meeting.

#### Hormel Chain agreements violated

We later learned that in the chain meetings from which we had been excluded the members of the chain had agreed to sign agreements which would make the goal of achieving common expiration dates impossible until at least 1986.

On Oct. 17, 1984, I sent a letter to Wynn and Anderson protesting this violation of the chain's agreement.

On Oct. 18, 1984, I wrote to Anderson informing him that P-9's membership strongly requested that he come to Austin to address the rank and file's concerns regarding recent events in the Hormel Chain.

On or about Nov. 1, 1984, representatives of the International union, on company property at the Austin plant and with the permission of Hormel, distributed to the membership of Local P-9 a lengthy letter purporting to be from other locals in the Hormel Chain. The company reprinted the letter for distribution through its internal newsletter.

The letter mischaracterized the events of September 7 and falsely accused P-9 of having "withdrawn from the chain." The undersigned has since been informed by the presidents of several locals listed as having subscribed to the letter that they had no knowledge of and had not agreed to the contents of the letter.

The International also furnished a copy of the letter to the media.

It is my belief that the letter purportedly from the Hormel Chain locals was in reality authored by Anderson, who on Nov. 7, 1984, sent me a letter stating: "I have been furnished with a letter from the Hormel Chain which, in my opinion, accurately reflects developments in the Chain. I would suggest you reproduce said letter in the next issue of the *Unionist* [Local P-9's newspaper]."

On Nov. 9, 1984, I wrote a letter of protest to Wendell Olson, then director of Region 13, and Jay Foreman, executive assistant to William Wynn, stating that I was disturbed that such a libellous document should have been circulated and further stating: "I would like to know who was responsible for putting this out, for I can't believe that this was done without International approval."

On Nov. 15, 1984, Foreman replied that he couldn't waste his time in making an investigation of the matter.

On Nov. 16, 1984, I again wrote to Wynn on behalf of the executive board of Local P-9, protesting the fact that the chain was being permitted to extend the expiration dates of their contracts beyond August 1985, which we had been assured would not happen.

On Dec. 6, 1984, Wynn acknowledged receipt of my earlier letters without responding to their substance. For the first time he personally made the accusation that Local P-9 had chosen to withdraw from the chain.

The above events are the genesis of the accusation that Local P-9 "broke with the Hormel Chain," a slander which the UFCW has used ever since as a rallying cry in its campaign against the Local.

Deeply concerned by the crisis facing all packinghouse workers and by the lack of cohesion in the chain, the rank and file of P-9 decided in the spring of 1984 to take positive steps to mobilize a counteroffensive against concessions.

On April 30, 1984, I wrote to Wynn informing him that at P-9's last rank-and-file meeting the membership had instructed our executive board to ask the International for help in formulating a publicity campaign to counter attempts by packinghouse companies to extract wage and benefit concessions from their workers.

On May 8, 1984, Wynn replied that the International was already engaged in such campaigns to the extent that its resources would permit, and that he saw no need to expand their efforts in this regard.

On July 12, 1984, I wrote to Lewie Anderson and to Wendell Olson, then-director of Region 13, stating that the membership wanted to wage a publicity campaign against the Hormel Company since, as a profitable company, it did not need the wage and benefit reductions that it was seeking from its employees. We requested that we be allowed to engage Corporate Campaign, Inc., the labor consulting firm which had successfully waged the corporate campaign against the J.P. Stevens Co., and inquired as to whether any financial assistance would be available from the International union for this purpose.

On July 17, 1984, Lewie Anderson replied that the request would have to be directed to Wynn.

On July 20, 1984, I made the same request to Wynn.

Wynn responded on July 31, 1984: "If your objectives were clearly laid out and the chain joined in your request, it would gain my full and prompt attention."

Before these objectives could be clearly laid out and before Corporate Campaign, Inc., even first came to address our rank and file, we received a copy of the following mailgram from Wynn to Ray Rogers:

We are informed that you are discussing a 'corporate campaign' with UFCW Local 9 against the George A. Hormel and Company. The Austin, Minnesota Local is only one of the UFCW Locals that represent employees at Hormel. The other locals have not assented to a campaign, nor has the International sanctioned any such effort. Our Packinghouse Division is directed by Vice President Lewie Anderson. Any campaign that is initiated without his involvement and the approval of the affected locals and the International would be very regrettable.

Within a few days of receiving this mailgram, [Floyd] Leno [a member of the P-9 executive committee] and I went to Bloomington, Minnesota, to meet with Wendell Olson and Hansen to discuss the local's ideas for a possible corporate campaign.

Two days later, on October 21, 1984, defendant [Lynn] Huston and I travelled with Ray Rogers and Ed Allen, codirectors of Corporate Campaign, Inc., to meet with UFCW officials on the same subject. In attendance at the meeting for the UFCW were Wendell Olson of Region 13 and Wynn, Anderson, and Jay Foreman.

It was agreed at this meeting that a further meeting would be set up so that Corporate Campaign, Inc., could make a presentation to the locals in the chain and that, in the meantime, research and information-gathering would be undertaken and a foundation laid for the campaign. Foreman stressed that since all locals in the UFCW are autonomous, Local P-9 could itself fund such a campaign even if the International did not.

Almost immediately thereafter, on Nov. 1, 1984, representatives of the International distributed on company property a letter which was apparently prepared and circulated under Anderson's direction, although it falsely purported to be from locals in the chain. Anderson granted interviews to the press on the subject of this faked letter, in which he also questioned the wisdom of the local's corporate campaign.

In telephone conversations with Foreman on or about Nov. 15 and Dec. 4, 1984, I raised my concerns about this public attack, which followed closely on the heels of

our agreement with UFCW officials in Washington. Foreman assured me that there was no split between the local and International on the subject of pursuing a corporate campaign, and that everything that had gone on so far concerning the campaign was sanctioned by the International union. He further reiterated that, although the International had not officially "blessed" Corporate Campaign, we were working together on it and that the local could decide to do something on its own without the support of the International union.

On Dec. 12, 1984, a meeting was held in Chicago so that P-9 and Ray Rogers could explain to the chain what a corporate campaign is and how it works. Representatives of Hormel Chain locals from Knoxville, Ottumwa, and Algona, Iowa; Atlanta, Georgia; Fremont, Nebraska; and Beloit, Wisconsin, were in attendance, as were Foreman, Anderson, and Mancouso for the UFCW. It was understood and agreed that Local 9 would continue to lay a foundation for its corporate campaign.

Late in the afternoon of Dec. 18, 1984, I received a call from the UFCW indicating that Local P-9 and/or Ray Rogers would be expected to make a presentation on our planned corporate campaign to a meeting of the National Packinghouse Committee some 36 hours later. Although we were initially informed that we were being allotted 45 minutes to an hour to make our presentation, shortly before the meeting commenced the time allotted for our presentation was cut to 15 minutes.

The meeting of the packinghouse committee after our presentation was brief and their decision a foregone conclusion. Indeed, while Ray Rogers and I were still in the meeting room talking with the representatives of several packinghouse locals, Lewie Anderson met outside in a hallway with representatives of the media for a prearranged press conference. Anderson informed the press that, after "agonizing," the committee had decided to reject our proposal. It was clear, however, that the semblance of a decision-making process, based on our presentation, had only been for show: even before we were informed of the decision, the UFCW had released to the press prepared statements and large quantities of printed literature stating that a corporate campaign against the Hormel Company would not be endorsed. Indeed, it was only after the press conference concluded and the International had gone public with its position that P-9 itself was made privy to the "news" of our proposal's rejection.

The National Packinghouse Committee, which is the body that rubber-stamped the International's decision, is comprised of local officers handpicked by Anderson. The Hormel Chain was never given the opportunity to vote on the proposed campaign.

Although the International insisted that it was capable of conducting more than one campaign at a time, it nevertheless counterposed a campaign against the Conagra/Armour Company to our campaign. It is my belief that the Conagra/Armour campaign was adopted merely as a diversionary tactic since the campaign has had little more than a paper existence and has never been seriously developed.

Interviewed after the Chicago meeting, Anderson stated that, although the UFCW was not itself pursuing a corporate campaign against Hormel, it would not try to stop Local P-9's campaign.

#### The International moves to stop the campaign

Almost immediately thereafter, the UFCW embarked on a program to stop the campaign, and to prevent the Local from being able to fund it.

On Jan. 9, 1985, Wynn sent me a letter critical of our campaign against the Hormel Company and again accusing Local P-9 of having "isolat[ed] itself from the Hormel Chain."

With the help of a handful of disgruntled P-9 mem-

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bers, the UFCW attempted to dissuade the membership from retaining Corporate Campaign. These members included John Anker, who had lost his bid for president of the local to me, and John Morrison, who had lost his bid for the position of business agent to defendant [Pete] Winkels. Their effort proved unsuccessful and on Jan. 17, 1985, the membership voted overwhelmingly in favor of a weekly assessment to fund their campaign.

The UFCW declared the assessment vote to be void on technical grounds, even though it was carried out in accordance with P-9's by-laws and even though the procedure was precisely the same as had recently been followed by the local in another instance, without protest or interference from the International.

The balloting was scheduled a second time and, again, the International intervened. Relying on new and even more insubstantial technical grounds than it had the first time, it forced a cancellation of the second vote. A third vote was held and, when the ballots were counted, the membership had reaffirmed its previous decision to pursue and fund the campaign.

Having struck out with the membership of Local P-9, the UFCW then turned to the media. It initiated a massive publicity and disinformation program against the local and Corporate Campaign, which has continued unabated to the present day.

## Local P-9 files charges against Anderson

In the fall of 1984, the Hormel Company unilaterally imposed a wage cut of 23 percent plus drastic cuts in benefits against our membership. P-9 took the question of the company's right to impose these cuts to arbitration. I was confident we would win the arbitration because, under similar circumstances, another arbitrator had ruled in favor of Oscar Mayer workers based on language in their contract providing for a wage freeze.

Since we had virtually identical language in our contract — or believed we had — our chances of winning the arbitration seemed good. We believed we had identical language in our contract because the summary, which Anderson had put to a vote of the membership, contained such language.

It transpired, however, that the wage-freeze provision which had been voted upon and approved by our membership and which appeared in the summary had been omitted from the text of the agreement that was ultimately entered into with the company. Only Anderson and Anderson alone could have known of the variance between the final agreement and the terms of the contract summary which had been prepared at his direction.

On Feb. 27, 1985, the executive board of P-9 filed charges with the UFCW against Packinghouse Director Anderson. The board asked that Anderson be required to respond to the charges before the appropriate body.

Within a week after the charges against him were filed, Anderson publicly threatened the local with trusteeship.

To the media, Anderson claimed that "it's going to be rather embarrassing for these local union leaders who filed those charges when all the facts come out." The facts did not come out, however, because Wynn, in violation of the UFCW constitution, refused to conduct a hearing on the charges on the ground that they "were not properly filed in accordance with Article 26(A)(2) of the International constitution."

Wynn's claim that the charges were not properly filed was spurious. Article 26(A)(2) of the International constitution applies only to charges brought against a member of a local union, and not to charges brought against a UFCW official. The charges brought by Local P-9 were filed in conformity with Article 26(B), which was the provision governing such charges.

On Oct. 25, 1985, the International Executive Board rejected P-9's appeal of Wynn's decision on the same insubstantial procedural ground.

Following Local P-9's filing of charges against him, Anderson's and Wynn's public attacks on P-9 became increasingly virulent.

On March 22, 1985, a statement was released to the press which purported to be from the "UFCW Hormel and Wilson Chain" but which, in fact, according to the editor of the official Duluth AFL-CIO newspaper, was from Anderson. It alleged that P-9's leadership was taking its members on a "suicide mission" and reiterated the charge that P-9 had broken with the chain:

We cannot endorse or support Local 9 leaders or their strategy which has entailed spreading anti-union venom across the country, making vicious unwarranted attacks against the union instead of the company, misleading the members of Local 9, and, most important, the irresponsible acts of Local 9 leaders which forces the Hormel Austin workers to toil under a contract that is far inferior to what they could have been receiving for months.

We feel sorry for our brothers and sisters employed at the Hormel Austin plant. They have suffered dearly for the callous approach of their local leadership. Unfortunately, the consequences of their leadership's direction may even bring on a heavier price to be paid by the membership.

The membership of the locals in the Hormel and Wilson chains repudiated the statement that had falsely been put forth in their name. Even elected officials divorced them-

selves from the statement.

In August 1985 the Hormel Company presented Local P-9 with its final contract offer. The concessions the company demanded were so far-reaching that even the International union urged P-9's membership to reject the offer, and promised its full support in the event they voted for rejection.

Local P-9 requested the International to grant strike sanction and, by telegram of Aug. 9, 1985, such sanction was granted. Contrary to its promise of full support, however, the very document granting sanction to strike purported to place a multitude of restrictions on the exercise of that right.

The message stated:

Local 9, contrary to the counsel of the International Union, the Hormel Chain, and the National Packinghouse Committee has broken with the Chain and pursued an independent and isolated course. These decisions were made by the Local Union, presumably with the knowledge that in breaching solidarity they could not expect it.

The message further stated:

Because of the history preceding the sanction, let me make it clear that only strike sanction is granted; it is granted only regarding the Austin plant; neither boycott sanction nor sanction to extend picket lines to other operations has been requested and neither is granted. . . .

Also, because of the recent history of this dispute when strike benefits are to be paid to members of Local 9 in accordance with International policy, they will be administered by International staff. Likewise, if the Region supplements strike benefits, they, too, will be administered by the International Union.

On Aug. 12, 1985, I requested permission from Wynn for the local to solicit additional funds to benefit the membership. Contrary to its normal practice in these circumstances, such permission was denied.



On Oct. 4, 1985, a letter discouraging solidarity with striking Hormel workers was sent to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (left) by UFCW President William Wynn (right). Wynn's message was then broadly circulated to AFL-CIO union affiliates.

On Aug. 16, 1985, one day before the strike was to go into effect, the UFCW released to the press a position paper accusing Local P-9 of refusing to go on strike against Hormel in 1984 because "they would prefer to cut their own deal" than work in solidarity with the Hormel Chain. The UFCW knew full well that an arbitrator had ruled that P-9 did not have a right to strike in 1984 and that, consequently, any strike in which they engaged would have been illegal. The document also falsely claimed that "the local union is nearly bankrupt trying to keep up with payment of fees to Corporate Campaign, Inc. . . ."

On Aug. 17, 1985, by a 93 percent vote of the membership, the Austin workers struck the Hormel Company.

## Forging of chain solidarity

Despite the UFCW's efforts to undermine chain solidarity, to place an interdiction on communications between Local P-9 and other members of the chain and to isolate P-9 from the rest of the labor movement, a powerful alliance was formed during the late summer and early fall of 1985 between the rank-and-file members of the Austin plant and workers and farmers in other localities.

The membership of P-9 formed strike committees to organize picketing, fund-raising, communications, food distribution, skills exchange, and to address the members' stress-related problems. Caravans of hundreds of rank-and-file P-9 members travelled to Hormel plants in Dubuque, Ottumwa, and Knoxville, Iowa; Fremont, Nebraska; Rochelle, Illinois; and Beloit, Wisconsin; hundreds of other rank and filers travelled to meatpacking plants in Algona, Britt, Sioux City, and Mason City, Iowa; and to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to express solidarity with workers on strike against the Morrell meatpacking company. P-9 caravans also visited over 200 union offices in Milwaukee, La Crosse, and Madison, Wisconsin, and organized mass demonstrations in a number of cities at the facilities of First Bank System, Inc., a financial institution closely allied with Hormel. Rank-and-file members distributed half a million pieces of strike literature door-to-door throughout Minnesota.

Several 50,000-piece mailings went out to labor unions across the country asking for contributions to the P-9 Emergency and Hardship Fund.

Corporate Campaign, Inc., created the Adopt-A-P-9 Family Program, whereby local unions, other organizations, and individuals "adopted" the families of striking members in need of financial assistance. Hundreds of tons of food arrived in Austin by caravan from unionists in the Twin Cities, Ottumwa, Fremont, and from other meatpacking locals throughout the region.

The many hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash and material aid raised in the course of the campaign made it possible for the strikers' families to survive, despite the fact that the International was only contributing \$40 per week to each striker.

Since the company was pitting local against local by transferring machinery out of the Austin plant to plants operated by the workers of other locals in the Hormel Chain and, on the heels of transferring the machinery, also transferring production, the ability of P-9 to extend its picket lines to other Hormel plants became essential to advancing the strike's objectives.

In the fall of 1985 the rank and file of Local P-9 voted to extend their picket lines to places performing struck work and to support any local union members honoring our roving picket lines. The members of Local 431 in Ottumwa, Local 150A in Dubuque, Iowa, and Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska, all pledged to honor our lines. In addition to pledging their support directly to the local, they each made a request of the International that it sanction the extended picket lines and the boycott of Hormel products.

The unity of the chain was even further strengthened when, at a meeting of the chain in early November 1985 the officers of virtually every local in the chain asked the International to sanction extension of the picket lines.

Faced with a virtual revolution by the membership of the chain, Wynn finally found himself compelled on Nov. 5, 1985, to issue a joint statement with me declaring that the International would sanction the extension of picket lines if Hormel continued to refuse to negotiate in good faith on the issues of "health and safety, an effective grievance procedure, common expiration dates, and worker dignity, as well as economic matters."

Wynn's promise was merely a delaying tactic since it was already clear that the company was not negotiating in good faith. It had refused to budge in any significant respect from its original contract offer, which even the International had found totally unacceptable.

On Nov. 15, 1985, Wynn informed the press, the Hormel Company, and Local P-9 that

no sanction has been granted to extend picket lines, that we are hopeful that the company will bargain in good faith, and that we will evaluate reports by our representatives as to the good faith evinced by both the company and the Local and the prospects for an honorable settlement before making any decision to sanction an extension and involve other Hormel members in Local 9's strike.

Unless and until we sanction an extension our members outside of Austin would be taking serious risks and the local unions could be faced with costly and risky litigation if they respected extended picketing. Local 9's so-called guarantees are no protection against these risks.

In late December 1985 a federal mediator put forward a proposal which the company approved as it represented little, if any, substantial change from the offer that had precipitated the strike. It represented no advance whatsoever on the critical issues of health and safety, grievance and arbitration procedures, common expiration dates, and seniority rights.

On Dec. 27, 1985, by a vote of better than two to one, P-9's membership rejected the mediator's proposal. The vote took place in Austin, by secret ballot, and was supervised by four local clergymen who attested to the complete fairness and regularity of the voting procedure.

Nevertheless, the International publicly claimed that the vote was defective because, at the polls, P-9 members had supposedly been "surrounded by a physical and psychological gauntlet." Over the objection of the rank and file, the International forced a revote by mail-in ballot.

The mail-in ballot conducted by the International was attended by serious irregularities; not all eligible members received a ballot from the International, some members received more than one ballot, and some ineligible persons, such as retirees, received ballots. Despite these irregularities, the results were the same: the mediator's proposal was rejected.

On Jan. 13, 1986, Hormel reopened its doors to nonunion labor and, shortly thereafter, 800 National Guard troops escorted strikebreakers into the plant.

Although the company persisted in its refusal to bargain in good faith, Wynn failed to keep his promise to support the extension of our picket lines.

On Jan. 27, 1986, Local P-9 set up a picket line at Hormel's Ottumwa plant which was honored by over 90 percent of Ottumwa's workers. In Dallas, 100 percent of the workers honored P-9's picket line. Lines were also honored in Fremont and Dubuque.

Wynn then joined with the Hormel Company in claiming that because Wynn had not approved the extension of the picket lines, the Ottumwa workers had no contractual



right to honor them, a claim not supported by the plain language of the Ottumwa workers' contract.

The International insisted that we should remove our picket lines so that the Ottumwa workers could reclaim their jobs. We did so and the Ottumwa workers marched en masse to the plant gate. When they reached the gate, the Hormel Company closed and padlocked it.

The International declined to treat this classic lockout as a lockout and to file an unfair labor practice charge. Indeed, it permitted the company to rely on the pretext that because Wynn had not approved the extension of the picket lines, it was within its rights in discharging all 505 members of Local 431 who had honored the lines.

A virtual revolution was erupting during the year of 1985 among the membership of the Hormel Chain. Thousands of workers were being galvanized and mobilized into action in the fight against concessions. They looked to Local P-9 for leadership in this struggle. Mass meetings were held in which, for the first time, packinghouse workers joined together in democratic discussion and for mutual aid and support.

On Sept. 8, 1985, at a mass membership meeting of the Ottumwa workers, to which members of other locals in the chain were invited, the depth and scope of this process became apparent.

Lewie Anderson addressed the meeting and put forth the position that Local P-9's refusal to accept a wage cut in line with the cut which the International had persuaded the rest of the chain to accept was destructive to chain solidarity. The workers at the meeting resoundingly rejected his arguments and his definition of "solidarity." In the course of a four-hour-long debate between Anderson and the rank and file, the workers repeatedly rebuked the International. They protested the International's efforts to cripple P-9's strike, and challenged the International to put forth an alternative program to fight concessions. They insisted that it was P-9's struggle, and not any efforts by the International, that was creating unity and democracy in the chain, and overwhelmingly expressed their total support for the strike.

In the face of this growing movement by the rank and file of the Hormel Chain, the International intensified its campaign to undercut P-9, to discredit its leadership and to vilify Corporate Campaign.

#### The International intensifies its attack on P-9

The International's officials were hostile to the militant anticoncessionary stand of the local, and fearful lest a level of militancy be set that would expose the contradictions between the International's stated policies and the practices of its chief officials. The officials were further threatened by the emergence of a leadership that drew its authority from a democratically organized and mobilized rank and file and by the prospect that the struggle which P-9 was waging would break down the barriers to communication among packinghouse workers that these officials had erected.

Throughout the strike the UFCW did not devote a single sentence in its monthly national magazine, which is distributed to the over 1 million members of the UFCW, to reporting on the strike, let alone to calling for support for it. What Wynn did was to take the extraordinary action of trying to destroy support for its affiliate.

On Oct. 4, 1985, Wynn sent a letter to Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, for distribution to the federation and its affiliates. The letter accused P-9's leadership of unilaterally breaking away from the solidarity of Hormel Chain negotiations and shattering the traditional unity of packinghouse workers. It stated:

I want to emphasize, at this moment, the International union has only sanctioned the strike at the Austin plant. We have reason to believe that Local P-9 will seek to extend its picket lines to other Hormel plants, institute a boycott against Hormel products, and seek assistance, financial and otherwise, from other unions. *None of these activities has been sanctioned by the UFCW.*

It is ironic that a local union that chose to follow an independent course of action may now attempt to invoke "trade union solidarity" because its go-it-alone effort failed to achieve its objective.

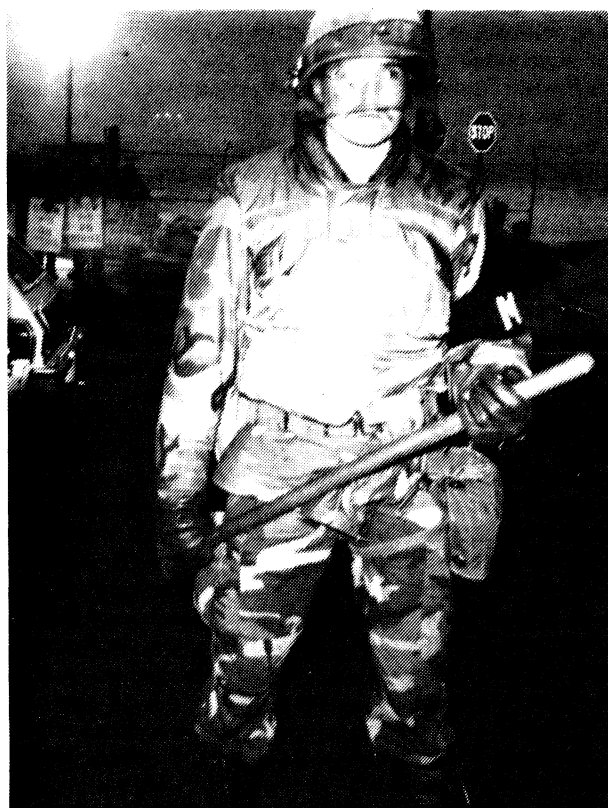
At Wynn's request, his message discouraging support for P-9 was disseminated nationally and AFL-CIO affiliates were asked to report back on P-9's activities in their areas.

Also in October 1985 the UFCW released a 13-page "Position Paper on Local P-9/Hormel Austin Situation," rehashing all of the old charges.

On Dec. 3, 1985, Wynn sent out a mass mailing to all presidents of national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, telling them not to send financial assistance to Local P-9 and stating:

We are deeply concerned that any funds sent directly to the Local would simply find their way into the hands of Ray Rogers and Corporate Campaign, Inc. . . .

Unfortunately, Rogers' corporate campaign strategy in the Local 9 matter has been to spend almost as much time attacking us and other International Unions as is spent attacking the Company. The campaign has cost the members in excess of \$500,000 and, other than notoriety for Ray Rogers, has produced nothing but pain, disunity, and disruptions for our members in meatpacking. As a matter of background, I have enclosed



Militant/Peggy Winter

**National Guardsmen herded strikebreakers for Hormel starting January 13, the day company reopened its doors as a scab operation. Guard action, ordered by Minnesota's Gov. Rudy Perpich, came five months into strike and some two weeks after P-9 membership rejected mediator's proposal.**

certain material for your review and distribution to others, should you desire to do so.

Wynn knew or should have known that the statements set forth above were false. Not a penny of the money donated by our supporters has been diverted by Ray Rogers; Corporate Campaign has received a total of \$116,000 in fees and expenses to date and has raised many times that amount for the strike. Neither Rogers nor Corporate Campaign has received any compensation for services rendered since the strike began in August 1985.

On Jan. 21, 1986, the UFCW released a 43-page "Fact Book on Local P-9/Hormel, Austin, Minnesota," prepared by Anderson. In his introduction to the document, Anderson states:

It is with deep regret that I find it necessary to prepare this document — a document which is designed to protect our packinghouse membership from attacks within our own ranks. Attacks that have been vicious, antiunion in tone, and destructive. An assault that must be treated as seriously as those coming from a union-busting consultant. . . .

For the past 13 months, Local P-9 leaders and Ray Rogers have publicly waged an unceasing hate campaign against UFCW and many of its packing locals. Their tools of destruction have been repeated attempts to malign the union, character assassination of International and local union officers, interference with the affairs of other local unions, creation of internal dissension, and encouraging workers to disaffiliate from UFCW.

By their actions, they have helped destroy UFCW organizing drives, derailed proposed local mergers, interfered in the affairs of other local unions, and generally helped to perpetuate an antiunion climate. . . .

Workers who have been victimized by structural changes in their industry, conglomerate rip-offs, corporate spin-offs, Chapter 11 bankruptcies, flight of capital to the lowest wage market, and forced concessions (take a concession or lose your job) become easy prey for demagogues like Rogers and P-9 leaders. They offer workers false promises, gimmicks, and a temporary euphoria while they lead them down the path of destruction as they have the Hormel Austin workers.

Unfortunately the actions of P-9 leaders and Ray Rogers go hand in hand with the antiunion thrusts of Corporate America. And, we are finding that the enemy within can be just as destructive as those from the outside.

With this in mind, I hope this document aids you in protecting the membership against the destructive agenda of Ray Rogers and the leaders of P-9.

The remainder of the "Fact Book" is devoted to a broadside attack on the motives, objectives, and integrity of P-9, its leaders, Ray Rogers, and Corporate Campaign, Inc. One typical paragraph reads as follows:

It was in 1985 that P-9 leaders woke up from their comfortable world and recognized the rest of the universe was in turmoil and that they were indeed part of the universe. It is at this time, not three or four years ago when the struggle was at its peak, that P-9 leaders sounded a call to arms and anointed themselves as saviors of the packinghouse worker.

At best, belated solidarity and a few years too late did P-9's call to arms take place. But as you review this fact book you will find a much uglier motivation serving as the main engine of power driving the leaders of P-9 and Mr. Rogers. And, in trying to faithfully serve their own agenda, they have put at risk our union, the packinghouse workers' program of recovery which has already been paid for with great sacrifice and the very trade union principles that sustain the movement even in the most difficult of times.

The document goes on to defend the Hormel Company against our charge that it has refused to bargain in good faith.

Prior to releasing the document publicly, the UFCW supplied it to the Hormel Company, which passed it on to reporters.

On Jan. 30, 1986, Wynn sent a telegram to all locals in the Hormel Chain, again releasing the message to the media, falsely stating that

Guyette and Rogers have chosen to sacrifice the jobs not only of our courageous Austin members but our members at other plants who have been fired, replaced, or face disciplinary action by Hormel.

The International Union is providing all possible assistance to the Hormel locals to protect those innocent victims of Local P-9's extremist actions. Top UFCW representatives from around the country are on route to your local union and our attorneys are already working with your lawyers.

Rogers has anointed himself the Ayatollah of Austin and is making hostages of our members at other Hormel plants.

In February 1986 Wynn released to the press and mass distributed at the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Florida, a 16-page magazine entitled "UFCW Leadership Update — Special Report: UFCW Local P-9 Strikes Hormel: The International Union's Perspective." Wynn states:

Never in my experience as a union representative has a better group of members been so poorly served by inexperienced, inflexible local union representatives. These gallant members also have become cannon fodder for a self-proclaimed "master strategist" bent on obtaining symbolic victory or glorious defeat at the expense of hundreds of workers' jobs, divided families, a broken community and labor solidarity.

While praising the Hormel Company for bargaining in good faith, Wynn and his UFCW publicist, Allen Zack, accused myself and Ray Rogers of "manipulating" the membership by securing majority support through a "propaganda stream," and stated that Rogers and I "would have made Joseph Paul Goebbels' Nazi propaganda ministry envious."

Wynn's earlier charge that I was leading the P-9 membership to a "mass suicide" was also repeated.

In a Feb. 13, 1986, statement of the UFCW International Executive Board, which Wynn released to the press, the plaintiffs stated, "The UFCW International Executive Board believes that Rogers, a self-proclaimed 'friend' of workers and their unions has unmasked himself as a union-buster. . . . Rogers sides with those antiunion antiworker forces seeking to subvert the labor movement."

The statement also claims that "the current leaders of the local are incapable of negotiating a settlement, having been under the spell of Rogers and Guyette who prefer martyrs to jobs."

In March 1986, Wynn and Zack mass distributed a cartoon-flyer titled: "Clearing the Air: A Definition of Solidarity." It stated:

Beginning with this flyer, the UFCW will try to clear the air so that you, our members, will better understand what we are saying.

Take the word "solidarity," for example.

Ray Rogers and Jim Guyette use it so often you would think they invented it. They didn't. And when they use the term "solidarity," be careful. . . .

Guyette's idea of solidarity was to abandon the Hormel Chain negotiations in 1984. Rogers, on the other hand, evidently believes only those who agree with him demonstrate solidarity. Together, they have a new concept of solidarity: how many workers' jobs can they destroy? . . . But the UFCW will never agree that "solidarity" means everyone losing their jobs together.

On March 4, 1986, the president of a local union of the International Association of Machinists sent a letter to Wynn, stating:

Enclosed you will find a check in the amount of \$10,000 which our members . . . voted to send to the Adopt-A-Family Plan of Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota.

We want this money sent to Local P-9, for the Adopt-A-Family Plan and ask that they receive it within 10 days of receipt of this correspondence.

If this can't be done, please let us know why and return the funds to our local.

Wynn responded as follows on March 14:

Enclosed is your March 4, 1986, letter and check. If, despite our request that contributions to support P-9's replaced strikers be sent to our Region for direct distribution to members and not to Local P-9/Corporate Campaign's Adopt-A-Family Fund, you wish to act contrary to our request, please do it yourself. Also, next time you want to stick it to the UFCW, please don't ask us to bend over and cooperate.

The members in Austin have been screwed by Ray Rogers, and the Local's leadership. Through sheer incompetence and a sophomoric strategy they have cost the members millions in wages and benefits and, more importantly, they have permanently lost hundreds of union jobs.

Every effort we have made to secure an honorable settlement and protect our members' jobs has been rejected because we wouldn't join the Rogers/Guyette lockstep march into oblivion. If you really want to help at this late date, you might find a bet-

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ter way than cheering as brothers and sisters are led into an abyss.

On April 2, 1986, Wynn sent a letter to a number of striking P-9 members, referring to the local's campaign as "Roger's scam" and equating the local's program with "Jonestown thinking." He continued, "I don't intend to serve the poisoned Kool Aid brewed in Austin to all of the Hormel workers."

### UFCW 'withdraws' strike sanction

On March 14, 1986, Local P-9 was served with a directive from the International Executive Committee of the UFCW purporting to withdraw sanction from the strike, and directing P-9's members to end the strike, to cease all strike-related activities, and to make an offer to return to work. The directive stated that only those who obeyed the directive would continue to receive any benefits from the International.

The directive claimed that the local had invited the International to end the strike, relying for this assertion on a March 5, 1986, motion, approved by the membership, which stated:

The rank and file of Local P-9 requests the UFCW to meet with our Executive Board to settle our differences. Then write a contract to present to George A. Hormel Company. Also at this time the rank and file releases our Executive Board from all conditions placed on them to bargain a contract. A telegram of this motion will be sent to Joe Hansen, Region 13 Director, and William Wynn, UFCW International President.

On March 16, 1986, the rank and file met and voted to send the following telegram to Wynn and Hansen:

We, the rank and file of Local P-9, do hereby protest the misinterpretation of our approved motion of March 5, 1986, and request the International Union withdraw its directive dated March 13, 1986. The intent of the March 5, 1986, motion was to request that a meeting take place between the UFCW and the P-9 Executive Board to settle their differences.

The members also voted to continue with the strike and strike-related activities, including the boycott and extended pickets.

On March 19, 1986, Wynn wrote to the members of Local P-9 instructing them to make an unconditional offer to return to work immediately, and reiterating that financial assistance would be given only to those members who promised in writing to obey the March 13 directive. The members were also instructed to sign and mail to the Hormel Company a form letter on International union stationery making an unconditional offer to return to work.

Unbeknownst to Local P-9 or its elected leadership, Wynn some six weeks prior to issuing the March 13 directive had set in place a covert program to try to subvert the strike from within. Under the direction of an International representative in Washington and Hansen in Region 13, employees of the UFCW were recruited to a "special organizing team" whose purpose was to disrupt the strike.

A team of at least six UFCW employees was sent to Austin and its environs to call upon and secretly meet with key members of the small dissident group who had crossed the picket line and were working inside the plant. With their assistance, the special organizing team was to set up meetings with members of the local still on strike in an attempt to induce them to cross the picket line. The special organizing team also sought assistance from a number of former P-9 officers, who have maintained close ties with Anderson.

Similar teams of UFCW employees were deployed in other meatpacking locals in the region in order to undermine support for P-9's strike.

Although the International has claimed that the "special organizing team" was created in order to gather evidence to show that P-9 was not complying with the March 13 directive, this alleged justification is obviously spurious since P-9 had publicly announced that it was continuing the strike despite the directive, and since the "special team" was in full operation for at least six weeks prior to the directive's issuance.

On March 16, 1986, the rank and file of P-9 voted to bring suit against the International union for its malicious interference with the strike.

### The International seeks to place P-9 in trusteeship

Neither the purported withdrawal of strike sanction and cessation of strike benefits nor the efforts of the "special organizing team" were successful in putting an end to the strike.

All efforts to manipulate the rank and file into giving up the strike having failed, on March 24, 1986, Wynn informed the local that it was commencing proceedings to place Local P-9 in trusteeship.

The sole reason given by the International as justification for imposing a trusteeship was P-9's failure to comply with the March 13 directive; the charge, in effect, being one of insubordination.

Although Article 9(H) of the UFCW constitution provides that the issue to be determined at a trusteeship hearing is whether the imposition of a trusteeship is justified, the hearing officer appointed by Wynn limited the issue

at the hearing to the question of whether P-9 had complied with the March 13 directive by ceasing picketing and boycott activity.

The hearing officer refused to permit P-9 to establish legitimate defenses to the effect

- that Local P-9 and its leadership at all times acted in accordance with the will of the rank and file and in complete conformity with the stated principles, policies, and guidelines of the UFCW's Packinghouse Division in fighting concessions;

- that the March 13 directive was invalid because the UFCW constitution does not empower its officers to unilaterally terminate a strike that they have previously sanctioned;

- that the factual predicates given as justification for issuing the March 13 directive, and stated therein, were false;

- that the March 13 directive was, in any case, a pretext which was issued only because the UFCW could find no legitimate ground for seizing control of the local and displacing its democratically elected leadership;

- that the move to place P-9 in trusteeship was motivated by a desire to punish P-9 and its leadership for its criticism of the plaintiffs, for its having brought charges against Anderson, and for its having resolved on March 16, 1986, to bring suit against the International; and

- that both the directive and the threat of trusteeship were in fact part of a bad-faith campaign by the International to silence, discredit and punish its critics.

Thus, whenever P-9 attempted during the three days of hearings to elicit testimony or present evidence going to any of the above defenses, the hearing officer improperly cut off the attempt. In each instance, he repeated the refrain that the only issue that he was allowed to take evidence on was whether or not P-9 had obeyed the March 13 directive.

He precluded P-9 from eliciting or presenting evidence on relevant events leading up to the directive on the ground that nothing that happened prior to March 13, 1986, could possibly be relevant to the narrow issue before him.

He excluded all evidence pertaining to the UFCW's lack of authority under the UFCW constitution to issue the March 13 directive on the ground that the question of the validity or invalidity of the order was beyond the scope of the hearing.

He excluded all evidence that P-9 attempted to elicit or present to show that the facts asserted in the directive to justify its issuance were misrepresentations.

He excluded all evidence that P-9 attempted to elicit or present to demonstrate P-9's conformity with and the International's violation of UFCW policies, principles, and guidelines.

He refused to permit P-9 to thoroughly cross-examine witnesses whom the UFCW presented at the hearing on the existence of the "special UFCW organizing team" formed to undermine the strike. The cross-examination which P-9 was precluded from carrying out went directly to the issue of whether the directive was issued simply as a pretext for placing P-9 in trusteeship or for a legitimate objective of the International.

He precluded P-9 from attempting to elicit or present any evidence which would have tended to show that the March 13 directive was simply part and parcel of a bad-faith campaign by the International to silence, punish, and discredit its critics.

He refused to allow P-9 to elicit evidence to show that the International has acted in an unprecedented and discriminatory fashion towards P-9, in withdrawing strike sanction and refusing to allow the Local to solicit funds.

He refused to permit P-9 to elicit evidence which would have tended to show that the International and Region 13 have diverted funds contributed to support the strike.

And, finally, he refused to require that officers and employees of the International union appear to testify on P-9's behalf even though the local had made a timely request for their production. (While the International did ensure that those of its employees appeared whom it wanted to testify on its own behalf, it did not ensure the appearance of any of the witnesses requested by P-9.)

Although the hearing officer used the excuse that he had no power to subpoena the witnesses that P-9 had requested, the fact remains that he was empowered under Article 9(H)(3)(f) of the UFCW constitution to "formulate whatever additional rules may be required to ensure a full, fair, and expeditious hearing." Thus, it was within the hearing officer's power to preclude the International from going forward with its case unless and until it produced or ensured the production of witnesses called by P-9.

Had P-9 had the opportunity to examine the officers and employees of the UFCW whom it had called as witnesses, it would have established the defenses set forth [above]. Having been denied a meaningful opportunity to present its defenses and to address the issue posed by Article 9(H)(1) of the UFCW constitution, P-9 cannot be said to have been accorded a full and fair hearing on the question of trusteeship nor given the process it was due under the UFCW Constitution. This being so, no trusteeship can validly be imposed.

Finally, emerging events in Local 431, which represents the bargaining unit at the company's Ottumwa, Iowa, facility demonstrate that, should a trusteeship be imposed, the members of P-9 will in all likelihood be deprived of their right to vote on any contract negotiated between the Hormel Company and the trustee. I have been informed by the Ottumwa workers, and on information and belief, allege as follows:

During the third week in April 1986 Local 431's business agent, Robert Nellis, informed the Ottumwa members that their bargaining committee would be expanded, but that none of the 505 members illegally discharged by the company for honoring P-9's picket line would be allowed to nominate candidates, run for positions on the committee, or vote in the election. Mr. Nellis further informed the members that the International had approved of this procedure.

On April 21, 1986, Local 431's president, Louis DeFrieze, issued a written directive, entitled "News Update: Local 431 — Temporary/Permanent Reorganization," confirming that such a procedure would be followed in the nomination and election of persons to the position of "temporary/permanent chief steward" and "temporary/permanent assistant chief steward," as well. Only those members of the local working in the Ottumwa plant, i.e., that minority of workers who had crossed P-9's picket lines, would be allowed to nominate candidates for the positions, run for office, and vote in the election.

When, on April 24, 1986, the fired workers formally protested the expansion of the bargaining board and threatened legal action, the local and International backed down, cancelling the proposed expansion.

A few days later, however, DeFrieze held a membership meeting on company property at the Ottumwa plant with those members of the local who were working inside. At the meeting, he announced plans to proceed with an election for the positions of chief and assistant chief shop steward among those of the members who had crossed P-9's lines. The current chief shop steward, Daniel Varner, is one of the workers who was illegally terminated by the company for having respected our lines.

DeFrieze did not inform the rest of the workers that such a meeting was to take place; and, in any event, they could not have attended since it was held on company property.

The election for these positions was held on April 30, 1986, with representatives of the International union, instead of the local's duly constituted ballot committee, overseeing the balloting.

When a number of the 505 members of Local 431 attempted to vote, they were turned away by representatives of the International and the local.

At the conclusion of the balloting, the officials in charge announced that William Tate, a close associate and friend of Anderson's, had been duly elected to the position of temporary/permanent chief shop steward.

The following day, on May 1, 1986, members of the local and of the bargaining unit who had been denied the opportunity to nominate and vote lodged a formal protest with the Davenport, Iowa, headquarters of the local and with UFCW officials in Washington.

I am informed that if a satisfactory response is not received from the local within five days, and from the International within 25, the disenfranchised members of the local contemplate filing charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

### Trusteeship will deny most basic rights

It is my belief that if the trusteeship threatened by the International is implemented, the UFCW will behave similarly with respect to the members of Local P-9. That is, they will declare that the members of P-9 who are still on strike are no longer active members of the union and, therefore, ineligible to vote on any contract tentatively agreed to by the Hormel Company and the International (or trustee). In this event, the International will succeed in depriving the members of P-9 of their most basic rights under the National Labor Relations Act and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, and in totally destroying the local union.

Local P-9 will suffer irreparable injury if a trusteeship is implemented.

If the imminently threatened trusteeship is implemented, not only will the members of the Hormel bargaining unit be deprived of their democratically elected leadership, but also the 200 members of the three other bargaining units represented by P-9.

If the trusteeship is implemented, the trustee will proceed to negotiate a contract with the company, according to both Hansen and Hormel's senior vice-president, Charles Nyberg, as quoted in the *New York Times* on April 21, 1986. Such a contract would without question be unacceptable to the rank and file.

The International's public stance that the jobs of the P-9 strikers are lost virtually ensures that any contract it negotiated would not include reinstatement of the strikers. The only way that such a contract would be ratified is if the International does what it did in Ottumwa: that is, prevent the present membership from voting on the contract.



# Rightist gunmen kidnap Mexican immigrants

BY FRED FELDMAN

Gunmen from the ultrarightist Civilian Matériel Assistance (CMA) kidnapped 16 people reported to be undocumented immigrants from Mexico. The July 5 incident is said to have taken place about 30 miles east of Nogales, Arizona.

Leaders of the rightists claimed that the victims' cars had been halted by mechanical difficulties.

Other members of the unit conceded that they had laid timbers with upright nails across the road as booby traps. When the cars were stopped, shots were fired by the rightists.

CMA members also said that the kidnapers, armed with automatic rifles and sophisticated surveillance equipment, had pushed three miles into Mexican territory before seizing the 16.

The 16 victims, including women and children, were forced to stand with legs spread and arms in the air, under high-intensity lights, for 90 minutes.

When U.S. Border Patrol cops arrived, the victims were arrested on charges of illegal immigration. Their kidnapers and tormentors walked away, automatic weapons in hand.

The paramilitary squad was headed by J.R. Hagan, a former army sergeant who repossesses cars for a living in Tucson. He said the group aims to "help the border patrol."

According to the *New York Times*, Thomas Posey, national director of the group, described the push into Mexico and the terrorizing of allegedly illegal immigrants "as an attempt to intercept drug traffickers whose profits go to the Communists." CMA leaders say they plan to continue patrolling (and presumably violating) the Mexican border.

CMA is an ultrarightist outfit that plays an active role in the U.S. government's *contra* war against Nicaragua. The recent spate of unsupported charges against Mexico from congressional committees and high government officials were evidently viewed by CMA as a green light to also target Mexico and people of Mexican origin on both sides of the border.

Posey's background is typical of many CMA operatives. "In my younger days I did know Klansmen. I've even been to a couple of Klan meetings," Posey said. "I was even a John Birch, but their way of stopping Communism and mine were different." He is a former marine and Alabama National Guardsman.

Civilian Matériel Assistance was founded to funnel military equipment to the Salvadoran armed forces, and no doubt also to the death squads that are linked to sections of the armed forces.

Today its primary public operation is supplying Washington's *contra* army in the war with Nicaragua.

CMA is part of a network of rightist organizations that raise money to supplement congressional appropriations for the *contras*, and are used to circumvent limits on the presence of U.S. advisers in the *contra* camps.

One of its founders, police detective Dana Parker, was killed in 1984 when he and other *contra* supporters violated Nicaraguan territory in a helicopter that was shot down by Nicaraguan defense forces.

Posey said he has been to Central America about eight times, meeting with the *contras* and other U.S.-backed terrorists.

Formerly called Civilian Military Assistance, the group changed its name to Civilian Matériel Assistance to help assure tax-deductible status.

Tax breaks are not the only link this fascist-like outfit has to the U.S. government.

According to the July 11 *New York Times*, Posey claimed it "has active members in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force who are paying dues of \$30



Barricada

Founder of rightist group that recently kidnapped 16 immigrants died in 1984 when this *contra* helicopter was shot down in Nicaragua after invading that country's air space.

a year to the group. The current manager of its sole national office in Memphis is a retired Marine master sergeant, he said, and the former executive director was "a retired full-bird colonel in the Special Forces."

CMA started out by fostering and, in at

least some cases, participating in terrorist operations against the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua. Now this antidemocratic armed gang is branching out to target the people of Mexico and the Southwest as well.

## Va. rally against Chile torture ship

NORFOLK, Va. — More than 60 people attended a spirited rally here June 28 to protest the participation of the Chilean sailing ship *Esmeralda* in the July 4 weekend Statue of Liberty celebrations and to call attention to continuing repression and torture in Chile.

The *Esmeralda* was docked in Norfolk and opened to the public for the entire week prior to its departure for the New York City events. Amnesty International and other human rights groups have documented that the ship was used by the Chilean military to imprison and torture political prisoners after the 1973 overthrow and murder of President Salvador Allende.

When it was announced that the *Esmeralda* would be stopping in Norfolk, a coalition of antiwar and community groups started to organize a response.

The city initially tried to block any protests but backed down under pressure and granted a permit for a rally and for two people to leaflet the ship.

The coalition handed out thousands of fact sheets to people who had come to see the ship.

The rally included dramatic readings of torture testimony, folk songs, and speeches from the eight different groups that built the action. Marcello, a Chilean who withheld his last name for fear of repression against family members in Chile, recounted the imprisonment and torture of his father by the Pinochet regime.

Beth Hester of the Progressive Student Network commented, "I suppose it's too much to ask that the city that is reintroducing segregated schools would have enough conscience to oppose the docking of the *Esmeralda*." (The Norfolk School Board recently passed a new busing plan that guts desegregation.) Hester also pointed out that the Reagan administration is currently trying to destroy another popularly elected government — the one in Nicaragua — and that Pinochet is an important ally of South Africa.

Speakers at the rally included representatives of the Tidewater Nicaragua Information Project, the Social Concerns Committee of the Unitarian Church, Central American Solidarity Action, Pax Christi, Committee Against Racism and Apartheid, Socialist Workers Party, and the Peninsula Peace Education Center.

At the conclusion of the rally demonstrators gathered on a hill facing the ship and raised their hands with palms out to the ship in a silent vigil. Known as the "clean hands" sign, this is a gesture of resistance to the Pinochet regime in Chile; it means, "My hands are clean, your hands are part of a regime that has blood on its hands."

## 200,000 rally in Paris against racist attacks on immigrant workers

Some 200,000 people, mostly young, jammed the Place de la Bastille in Paris June 14 for a concert against racism organized by SOS-Racisme.

Billed as a "Night of All Colors," it brought together Black, white, and Arab youths in a show of opposition to the stepped-up racist campaigns by the French ruling class directed against immigrant workers and Black and Arab workers born in France, who are an increasingly large percentage of that country's working class.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the youth organization of the French section of the Fourth International and the sister organization of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance, marched behind a banner proclaiming, "Free [Nelson] Mandela, jail Le Pen."

Jean-Marie Le Pen is the leader of the ultraright National Front (FN), which has carried out a racist campaign against immigrant workers and focused on "law and order" themes.

Le Pen is accused of torturing freedom fighters during the French rulers' war to preserve colonial rule in Algeria. The FN won 35 seats in the elections last March for the National Assembly with 9.7 percent of the vote. It was the first time it won parliamentary representation.

The largest bloc of seats in the Assembly was won by a rightist coalition, with the result that Jacques Chirac, the right-wing leader long associated with attacks on the rights of immigrant and Black and Arab workers, was elected the new prime minister.

The big turnout at the June 14 action was an expansion of the determination of tens of thousands of young people to combat the racist offensive launched by the right-wing government.

## 15,000 sign to put socialists on ballot

Continued from front page

line of striking members of the United Food and Commercial Workers at the Hebrew National meatpacking plant in Long Island City. After discussions with the socialist campaigners, all 12 workers on the line signed petitions and several bought copies of the *Militant*.

One petitioner met several people who indicated they were fed up with capitalist

politics and asked if there was a movement they could join to do something to change things.

Other campaigners described petitioning in a Hispanic community in Freeport, Long Island. "We sold all our *Militants*, all our books and pamphlets, and got a lot of signatures," one said.

One campaign worker went into a check-cashing business to get out of the rain and

began asking people to sign petitions. After signing, one woman told another that she was outraged by what Reagan was doing in Nicaragua. She told how the very *contras* that the U.S. government is now backing used to run the country, brutalizing the people and taking away their freedom. While she was talking, others in the check-cashing line began to sign the socialist nominating petition.

On July 14 seven petitioning team members from the YSA participated in a Free South Africa demonstration in support of the general strike called by Black South African trade unionists. They carried a YSA banner and were able to collect signatures as they marched on the picket line.

SWP campaign supporters are also talking up the election campaign at their workplaces and are finding interest among co-workers. One coworker, a cutter in a garment shop, came to the socialist campaign headquarters to check it out and show support for the candidates.

A regular feature of the socialist petition campaign is a 4 p.m. Saturday open house held by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. At the first open house July 12, dozens of people spent the evening relaxing and discussing politics after a fruitful day of petitioning activity.

The New York Socialist Workers campaign committee headquarters at 79 Leonard Street in New York City is open from 10:00 a.m. daily, and people are urged to drop by and volunteer to help the campaign.

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# Attempt to victimize Sagon Penn continues

BY ALLAN GRADY

SAN DIEGO — District Attorney Edwin Miller announced July 10 that his office will seek a new trial on the "unresolved charges" remaining against Sagon Penn. The new trial is set for August 25.

Reiko Obata, chairwoman of the Sagon Penn Defense Committee, stated, "We are angry and the community is angry about this decision. This is the community of San Diego — not just the Black community. It's clear the only thing the District Attorney's office and the police department are interested in is conviction — not justice. Nothing was left 'unresolved.' All the counts were decided by the jury overwhelmingly in favor of acquittal."

On June 26 a Superior Court jury found Sagon Penn, a 24-year-old Black man, innocent of murder in the shooting death of Thomas Riggs, a San Diego cop, and of attempted murder of a second cop, Donovan Jacobs. The jury was deadlocked on lesser charges, with the vast majority in favor of acquittal.

Penn was freed on \$25,000 bail after spending 15 months in the county jail. The trial lasted four months, and the jury deliberated 27 days.

Sagon Penn was stopped by the two cops while driving in the southeast San Diego neighborhood March 31, 1985. He was subjected to racist abuse and a severe physical beating. Numerous witnesses at the trial testified that Jacobs told Penn, "You think you're bad, nigger. . . I'm going to beat your Black ass."

After pleading with the cops to stop, Penn finally fought back. While Jacobs sat on top of him and unsnapped his holster to go for his gun, Sagon Penn wrested it away from him. He then fired and shot his attackers. Penn then drove to his grandmother's house and turned himself in to the police.

Riggs died, and Jacobs recovered with a partially paralyzed arm. A civilian ride-along, Sarah Pina-Ruiz, suffered superficial wounds.

Forty-two people saw all or part of the incident.

More than 700 people attended a community meeting two months after the incident sponsored by Black City Councilman William Jones and Police Chief Bill Kolender for the expressed purpose of trying to calm the anger in the Black community.

Speaker after speaker denounced the brutal acts of the police and shared their experiences with police harassment.

Support for the Penn case came from a broad group of individuals and organizations, including Rep. Ron Dellums; Bishop George McKinny; William Greenlee, business representative District 50 International Association of Machinists; Muhammad Ali; Los Angeles Assemblywoman Maxine Waters; Vernon Bellecourt; and many others.

The committee also received support from TransAfrica; Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; MEChA, a Chicano student organization; National Lawyers Guild; Socialist Workers Party; University of San Diego Coalition for a Free Africa; and San Diego Baptist Ministerial Alliance.

Working people by the tens of thousands read the fact sheet on the case, and many donated funds to the committee's work.

Despite a cover-up of information by the District Attorney and the withholding of information by the police of facts about Jacobs' attitudes towards Blacks, the jury of six women and six men found Penn innocent of all major charges.

Juror Sally Nalley said of the case, "There was early on a consensus that people thought he wasn't guilty of murder. To me, none of it was murder."

Police Chief Kolender said afterwards, "I'm very disappointed. This is going to



Militant/Sylvia Hansen  
**Thomas Penn, father of Sagon Penn, at rally last July. Acquitted of murder charges, Sagon Penn must now face new trial on "lesser charges."**

leave my officers angry and sad."

Letters to the newspaper gave a glimpse of the support for Penn. One stated, "Given the apparent level of police misconduct in this, the jury made a wise and just decision. Penn's actions, as reported by scores of witnesses, were clearly based on self-defense."

One letter hailed the decision in this way: "Let the Penn decision serve as a reminder to all law-enforcement officials that police have no right to intimidate and

harass someone because of racial or ethnic background. Instances of such unlawful behavior by police, INS agents, and other authorities have become all too common. . . ."

Thomas Penn, Sagon's father, when asked if he thought it had been a fair trial, stated, "The only fair trial would have been no trial at all."

A rally is planned for July 19 in front of the county courthouse to demand, "Drop the charges against Sagon Penn."

## Georgia socialist enters U.S. Senate race

BY MIKE WOODS

ATLANTA — On June 18 Maceo Dixon, an auto worker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, announced his candidacy for U.S. Senate from Georgia.

Dixon joined the socialist movement in Detroit in 1970. In 1972 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the First Congressional District in Michigan. In 1973 he was the party's candidate for mayor of Detroit.

In the mid-1970s Dixon participated in the campaign to defend busing for school desegregation in Boston. After moving to Atlanta in the early 1980s, he was the socialist nominee for governor of Georgia

in 1982.

In late 1978, Dixon toured much of Africa and was able to meet with South African youths who had led the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976. He has spoken on college campuses and in union halls about his firsthand knowledge of the freedom struggles in Africa.

Dixon, an assembly-line worker at the General Motors plant in Doraville, Georgia, and member of United Auto Workers Local 10, has pledged his support for the struggles of working people around the world. At the press conference Dixon stated, "My campaign will speak to the central issues of world, state, and national politics and seek to place them in the forefront of this election. I will continue to march against apartheid. I will protest Washington's war against Nicaragua. I will urge the people of Georgia to show solidarity at the picket lines, from AT&T to TWA, wherever working people are taking a stand. . . ."

Recently, he joined picket lines set up by the striking workers at AT&T to show support for their struggle. Dixon also went with a number of his coworkers to the demonstration held in New York City June 14 to demand an end to U.S. ties to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Dixon will have to contend not only with opposition from both the Democratic and Republican parties, but also with Georgia state election laws, which favor these two ruling-class parties and place difficult restrictions on third-party or independent political candidates. These laws require either expensive filing fees or for the candidate to



Militant  
**Maceo Dixon, auto worker and longtime fighter for Black rights, is Socialist Workers Party candidate.**

submit a petition with a given number of signatures in order to be placed on the ballot. Dixon has said that he intends to conduct a write-in campaign.

In his race for the Senate, Dixon faces incumbent Sen. Mack Mattingly of the Republican Party, Congressman Wyche Fowler of the Fifth Congressional District, and Hamilton Jordan, former White House chief of staff under President James Carter. Fowler and Jordan are seeking the Democratic nomination. Gerald Belsky of the fascist National Democratic Policy Committee led by Lyndon LaRouche is also running in the Democratic primary.

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? PM: Castro on democracy

*Perspectiva Mundial* has been publishing excerpts from the book *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto*. The new issue, for example, reprints a substantial excerpt on democracy in Cuba.

Referring to the United States, Fidel Castro says: "An election every four years! The people who elected Reagan four years ago had no other say in U.S. policy, simply because Reagan could draw up a military budget . . . invade or intervene in the internal affairs of other countries . . . cause a world war without consulting with the people who voted for him."

He adds, "When you speak of freedom of the press, you're really talking about the freedom to own the mass media; a true dissenter from the system won't be allowed to write for the most renowned U.S. newspapers — the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* — or whatever."

When the capitalist countries talk about democracy, it "is nothing but a big lie, because there can be no democracy and no liberty without equality and fraternity," says Fidel.

*Perspectiva Mundial* is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.



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## L.A. hearings: 'Stop deportations!'

LOS ANGELES — Two days of hearings here on the situation facing Central American refugees, sponsored by the office of Mayor Tom Bradley, concluded July 1. Refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador testified.

Other speakers included Toney Anaya, governor of New Mexico, the only state to be officially declared a sanctuary; Jesse Jackson, who sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984; Bill Robertson, president of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council; and Greg Jackson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of California.

"Undocumented workers, refugees or not, are a solid base for progress in the United States," said Robertson in a statement opposing deportations.

Mayor Bradley called for a two-year

moratorium on the deportation of Central American refugees.

Greg Jackson denounced moves to deport Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees and the federal prosecution of people who helped such refugees.

He demanded an end to factory raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, so that immigrant workers can live without fear and join unions to defend their rights and improve their working conditions. "This is particularly important because many of these workers are forced to work below minimum wage or in unhealthy working conditions. They must have the support of the union movement."

Jackson said U.S. aggression in Central America and the brutal economic exploitation carried out by Washington in Latin America are major causes of the flow of immigrants to this country. He concluded, "U.S. out of Central America now!"



# Phila. socialists hold rally, open Pathfinder Books

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — "My union supported Wilson Goode for mayor, gave him \$100,000. Now he has turned his back on us, on our union. That is why I am here. I don't support the Democrats or the Republicans. I am looking for a party. There has to be a change."

Nebraster Bowman, a member of District 33 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said this at the June 28 rally for the Socialist Workers Party campaign here. The union has since been forced out on strike by the refusal of the city administration to agree to a decent contract.

His speech was a highlight of the rally that heard party candidates for office, campaign supporters, and greetings from a member of the African National Congress of South Africa, which is leading the anti-apartheid battle in South Africa.

The rally coincided with the grand opening of the renovated Pathfinder Bookstore-Libreria Militante where it was held.

Zoe Strauss, the opening speaker, is a student at Girls' High School here. She has been active in the anti-apartheid struggle for more than a year. Strauss described the June 14 anti-apartheid march and rally in New York City, which students from several area high schools had helped build.

"People tell us high school students not to get involved, but we are involved, and we are going to stay involved," she said.

Mike Carper, who is the Socialist Workers candidate for the Senate seat now held by Republican Arlen Specter, denounced the war against Nicaragua. "The ruling class in this country hates the Nicaraguan revolution and the Sandinista government because the Sandinistas side with the unions against their bosses, side with the farmers against the speculators, and side with the tenants against the landlords."

Carper said that Bob Edgar, his Democratic opponent, "went down to Nicaragua once and even claimed to support the revolution, but he says the Sandinistas have changed. But it's Bob Edgar who changed. He changed when he saw that the revolution was for real, that the workers and farmers were in power, and that the government was not going to be bribed or bought. That was when Bob Edgar backed off. That is why the Democrats vote for war in Central America."

Carper voiced support for the Northeast Women's Clinic, which has been under attack by violent opponents of women's

rights. "I'm glad that supporters of my campaign joined with others on the front line defending women against a reactionary mob that tried to shut that center down."

Carper, a member of United Transportation Union Local 61, urged strong support for the campaign of Clare Fraenzl, a coal miner and women's rights fighter from Homestead, Pennsylvania, who is the SWP candidate for governor.

Sebastian Vasquez spoke for an organization of Nicaraguans in this country who support the revolution. "Washington and the CIA are the real enemy," he said. "The *contras* can't stand up without millions from the CIA, dope smuggling, and gun-running."

"This war is hard on the Nicaraguan people," he continued. "We don't want to fight. We need the money that now goes to defend ourselves to improve the lives of workers and peasants, for medicine, for housing."

"We are not afraid of the United States," he concluded. "The Nicaraguan revolution is the hope of the Third World and the hope of workers and peasants everywhere."

Roy Inglee, an antiwar activist and supporter of the campaign, is a former farmer who was forced to give up his land to a bank. He commented on the *Militant* newspaper. "It's named the *Militant* because it aims to appeal to fighters," Inglee said. "I read it because of its internationalism." He said he had bought his first copy at the August 1963 march on Washington. "I have



Militant/Toby Emmerich  
Mike Carper (right), Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania, shown at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, abortion rights action last May.

been reading the paper ever since. The *Militant* is our educator, our voice."

Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 14th Congressional District, which includes Pittsburgh, also spoke. He described the good response campaign supporters are getting when they petition to place him on the ballot. "People are glad to sign up when we denounce the crime of voting \$100 million for war, the crime of denying working people here jobs, homes, and other basic needs."

"In Western Pennsylvania rains and floods have caused millions in damage," he said. "Federal dollars are never lacking when it comes to financing contra massacres of Nicaraguan peasants or providing

the rich with giveaways, but not for helping the flood victims rebuild their lives."

Godfrey Sithole, a member of the African National Congress, declared in his greetings: "The South African regime has been trying to destroy the African National Congress. Their law, their police, their terror are used to try to break us. The state of emergency means that the South African state has failed to maintain its power over us. We are becoming ungovernable."

"President Reagan is not aiding the South African people. He is not aiding transit workers or public employees here in Philadelphia. There will be no dollars for social services, but there will be millions for the *contras*. We are fighting the same enemy — be it in South Africa, Nicaragua, or here — imperialism."

## Boston ballot drive off and running

BY BETSEY SOARES

BOSTON — On the first day of the drive to collect 3,400 signatures to place Jon Hillson's name on the ballot for Congress from the Eighth Congressional District, more than 1,900 names were collected.

Wayne Schiller, youth support coordinator for the Socialist Workers Party campaign here, told a rally that evening that the June 21 signature-gathering effort "shows the interest that our working-class campaign has aroused."

"In a few hours on Saturday we were able to talk to thousands of youths, workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women about a working-class alternative in the November elections. We sold 75 copies of the socialist periodicals," said Schiller.

Ellen Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, stated, "Past experience has shown that the Board of Elections will attempt to prevent socialist candidates from appearing on the ballot. There is a long-standing pattern of discrimination against Socialist Workers Party candidates in Boston and against candidates of working-class and Black parties in the United States generally."

Berman cited the fact that she has been effectively excluded from the ballot because of the requirement that so-called third parties collect 39,000 valid signatures to qualify — four times the number required of Republican or Democratic candidates for governor.

Hillson, a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 311, told the crowd, "Since this campaign was launched, the working-class platform has reached thousands of people — through participation in debates of the Eighth Congressional District candidates; walking the picket lines with striking nurses, garment workers, rail workers and flight attendants; marching with advocates of women's right to abortion; meeting with anti-apartheid activists on college campuses and opponents of cutbacks and school closings in the high schools; addressing rallies against the U.S. war on Nicaragua and against the racist regime in South Africa."

So far, dozens of civil rights, trade union, and religious figures, as well as

many of the Democratic Party candidates running in the Eighth Congressional District, have signed statements supporting Hillson's right to be on the ballot. Eighth Congressional District candidates Joe Kennedy, Mel King, Jim Roosevelt, George Bachrach, Tom Gallagher, and Carla Johnston have signed statements of support.

Mel King said, "All people, regardless of specific political affiliation, should have the right to contend for public office. The people of the Eighth Congressional District and people throughout the country must have the right to vote for those with differ-

ing political perspectives."

Culminating the petitioning effort, the Hillson campaign is planning a rally to be held July 20 at the Church of the Covenant at 7:00 p.m.

Those who have agreed to speak at the gathering include John Roberts of the American Civil Liberties Union; Carol Doherty of Massachusetts Campaign for Choice, a group supporting abortion rights; Haitian rights fighter Franz Minuty; and Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

## 'Death penalty is weapon of terror'

DETROIT — "The death penalty is a weapon of terror in the hands of the ruling capitalist class against working people," declared Kate Kaku, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, during a recent hearing here on the death penalty.

"As trade unionists, farmers, women, youths, or members of oppressed nationalities, we have a lot to lose if the death penalty is made law. Let us not forget the cases of the Haymarket unionists or the Rosenbergs, who were victims of the death penalty because they were fighters for social justice."

Kaku was among the individuals and organizations who intervened in the hearing to oppose an initiative to reinstitute capital punishment in Michigan. The initiative will appear on the November 4 ballot. Michigan has not had capital punishment since 1847.

Organizing for executions is Citizens for Capital Punishment, headed by Oakland County Prosecutor Brooks Patterson. The group claims to have collected 322,000 signatures, well over the amount required to put the measure on the ballot.

Gov. James Blanchard has said little on the initiative. He has called for the death penalty for "terrorists."

Kaku responded: "They try to get us to go along with brutal punishment of people they call 'criminals' or 'terrorists.' But those have always been their names for anyone who fights for their rights, whether in Libya,

Nicaragua, or Detroit."

The Michigan Coalition Against the Death Penalty, a coalition of civil rights, religious, and civil liberties groups, is organizing opposition to the death penalty. Coalition spokesperson Pat Thompson and Executive Director Howard Simon of the American Civil Liberties Union here also spoke at the hearing against the ballot initiative.



Militant  
Kate Kaku, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, testified against death penalty.

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## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!** Speaker: Heidi Rose, member Socialist Workers Party, recently spent one month in Nicaragua. Sun., July 20, 4 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Stop Discriminatory Ballot Laws!** Rally to defend the right of Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, to be on the ballot. Speakers: John Roberts, American Civil Liberties Union; Carol Doherty, Campaign for Choice; Franz Minuty, Haitian activist; Arnaldo Ramos, delegate Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front; Jon Hillson, candidate in 8th C.D.; Ellen Berman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts; representative, Boston National Organization for Women; representative, Mel King campaign; Themba Vilakazi, African National Congress of South Africa; Kate Hoffman, Pledge of Resistance. Sun., July 20, 7 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '86. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Why U.S. Government Attacks Nicaragua.** Speaker: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, member Detroit Federation of Teachers. Sun., July 20, 6 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Socialist Workers Party Campaign Kick-off Rally.** Speaker: Bob Miller, 1986 Missouri SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Auto Workers Local 2250. Sat., July 26. Reception 5-7 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1986 Missouri Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

**Farming in Revolutionary Nicaragua.** Report from a participant in Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers conference. Speaker: Kathie Fitzgerald, member of United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party, active in Missouri farm protest movement. Sat., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Festival to Celebrate the 33rd Anniversary of Attack on Moncada Barracks in Cuba, July 26, 1953.** Sat., July 26, 9 p.m. 104 W 14 St. Donation: \$7. Ausp: Casa de las Americas. For more information call (212) 675-2584.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**The Danger of North Carolina's New Obscenity Law—the Fight Against Censorship.** Speakers include representatives of Citizens against Censorship. Sun., July 20, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

**Celebrate and Defend the Cuban Revolution.** See video of interview with Fidel Castro. Sun., July 27, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

**No More Hiroshimas; Commemorate the Victims of U.S. Atomic Bombing of Japan.**

Sun., Aug. 3, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Toledo

**The Philippines Since Marcos' Overthrow.** Speakers: Aida Jordan, coordinator, Ohio Coalition for Philippine Concern; Glenn Orlic, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., July 20, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Up Against U.S.-sponsored War: Farming in Revolutionary Nicaragua.** Speakers: Ben Layman, Virginia dairy farmer and activist in Nicaragua solidarity movement; Kathie Fitzgerald, member of United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party, activist in Missouri farm protest movement. Both recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 19, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

**Defend the Right to Abortion.** Speakers: Frances Sheehan, National Abortion Rights Action League of Pennsylvania; Cheryl Porch, Socialist Workers Party and member of United Auto Workers Local 731. Video on abortion-clinic harassment at the Northeast Women's Center. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**With Babies and Banners.** Film showing. Sun., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Farming in Revolutionary Nicaragua.** Speakers: Ben Layman, Virginia dairy farmer; Kathie Fitzgerald, member of United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party, activist in Missouri farm protest movement. Both just returned

from Nicaragua. Sun., July 20, 3 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**Let Nicaragua Live! Celebrate the Seventh Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Ed Asner, actor; Sister Darlene Nicgorski, defendant in the Tucson sanctuary trial. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 19, 6:45 p.m. Centennial Hall, 733 N 8th St. Donation: \$3, \$4 at the door. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Coalition, Mobilization for Survival; Jobs With Peace; Wisconsin Action Coalition; others. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

**Celebrate 27 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Two classes by Mark Curtis, National Chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance.

1. "History of the Cuban Revolution." Sat., July 26, 1 p.m. 2. "Revolutionary Cuba Today." Sat., July 26, 3 p.m. Barbeque and party to follow. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

# Meatpackers gain in recertification drive

Continued from front page

Kentucky, at the end of June. The CEP is an organization that fights to get women jobs in the mines.

At the CEP conference they met Carl and Susan Benson. Carl is a longtime P-9 member who has spoken to miners in three states about the P-9 fight.

Susan is active in the United Austin Support Group, which is made up of spouses and other supporters of the union. The Bensons invited the British women to come to Austin.

A deep sense of solidarity developed between the Austin meatpackers, their supporters, and the British women as the similarities between their struggles were shared.

White explained that the WAPC got started as a fundraising and food distribution group for the striking miners. When the courts prevented the miners from handing out literature and cut back on the number of union pickets allowed at the mines, the women got more involved.

Many of the women nodded and laughed when she explained, "We wanted to be on the picket line. It took a while for men to get used to it. And the police were just as rough with the women."

Cook said the strike in Britain politicized everyone, especially the women. "The international working class has common problems. The government, bosses, courts, and even trade union leaders attack us. We can't let that international link be broken," she said.

The crowd listened intently as the women reported on the attacks on the NUM by the British government, which owns the mines.

Thirty thousand miners have lost their jobs through mine closures and layoffs since 1985.

More than 500 union activists were fired by the Coal Board during and after the strike, and eight miners are still in jail for strike-related activity.

An important aspect of the meeting was the mutual pledge of support and solidarity. Both White and Cook said they would spread P-9's story throughout England and would organize to get Hormel products banned in the schools.

The Austin meatpackers and their supporters passed the hat and raised \$221 to help support the fired British miners. They also pledged to protest the jailing and firing of NUM members.

The meeting ended with a big round of applause when White and Cook sang the theme song of the WAPC: "We are women, we are strong, fighting side by side with our men, we are the women of the working class."

The Austin meatpackers also won a strong show of support at the recent convention of the National Education Associa-

tion in Louisville, Kentucky. NAMPU supporters sold more than \$1,500 worth of T-shirts, hats, and buttons at the convention. A resolution was passed by the convention expressing concern for labor practices at the Hormel plant that impair the health and safety of workers and the collective-bargaining process.

The *Public Employee Press*, the newspaper of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37, reported in its July 11 issue that the national AFSCME convention had voted to send \$10,000 to workers in Austin.

On June 7 the New England Regional Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union unanimously approved a resolution calling for support to the Austin struggle.

## Pasadena Blacks protest beating by cops

### BY BARRY SCHIER

PASADENA, Calif. — An overflow crowd of more than 140 packed the June 30 meeting of the Pasadena Board of City Directors to demand the indictment and removal of the police officers responsible for the beatings of three Black Pasadena residents.

Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, NAACP, Urban League, American Friends Service Committee, and local churches condemned the use of police chokeholds and beatings as "part of a history of abuse" and demanded an independent investigation of the events of June 23.

After being awakened at 1:17 a.m. on the 23rd by the cries of a handcuffed Black youth being beaten by the police, residents gathered and demanded that the beatings stop. A protester, Frank Taylor, after asking the police for their badge numbers, was put into a chokehold until unconscious, then arrested and beaten. Police sprayed mace into the faces of those in the crowd.

Police struck Michael Zinzun with a nightstick and tried to block him from leaving. They then chased him, maced him,

kicked him, handcuffed him, and continuously hit him upon the head.

As a result of his beating, Zinzun, co-chair of the Coalition Against Police Abuse and Peace and Freedom candidate for State Assembly, required 40 stitches for a fractured skull and was permanently blinded in his left eye.

Greg Jackson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of California, condemned the cop attack and said, "I'll be using my campaign to aid Zinzun and all others in their defense against police brutality."

A front-page editorial, "Police Attack Upon Zinzun Is Attack Upon Us," appeared in the July 3 *Gazette*, newspaper of Pasadena's Black community. It echoed the sentiments of many:

"In our opinion, there is simply no excuse for the brutal beating of Pasadena citizen Michael Zinzun by members of the Pasadena Police Department. . . . Clear-cut evidence to us for removal is the brutality as evidenced upon Michael Zinzun, with destroyed eyesight, stitches, swollen face, and all to show and see."

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**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



**Miami Vice dep't** — A Miami cop, posing as a drug dealer, busted another cop posing as a



Harry Ring

buyer. The seller was then busted for ripping off the buyer's money.

**Quit dumping on them** — An "editorial plea" from the Atomic Industrial Forum urges, "Stop

calling this place a dump!" This place being a nuclear waste dump. "After all," inquire the nuke folk, "what is a dump? A dump is commonly thought of as a place where trash or garbage or drums of chemical waste are dropped off."

**No coup rates?** — Marcos stooge Arturo Tolentino, who holed up for two days at the plush Manila Hotel in an aborted coup, told a telephone interviewer he wouldn't be there for long because "it's quite an expensive hotel."

**How about the rest of us?** — Keenan Colfield, an Alabama prisoner, filed a class-action suit against South Central Bell and prison officials for imposing new

phone rates that jump the minimum for collect calls by prisoners from 75 cents to \$1.25. With no cash, it's the only kind of call prisoners can make. He's demanding a reduced rate, an overcharge refund, and damages.

**Easy, a shoe factory for Imelda** — Ferdinand Marcos said three African countries — Ivory Coast, Gabon, and Ghana — had offered to give him asylum if he would help them build their economies.

**Kindred spirit** — In ruling that Customs must return \$7 million in jewels, cash, and other loot Marcos carried with him when he split

the Philippines, Judge Harold Fong said Marcos qualified as a "distinguished foreign visitor," exempt from import duties. He cited a letter from a presidential aide suggesting Reagan felt the thieving ex-tyrant was entitled to this status.

**Teed off** — Dindo Gonzalez, a Manila golfing writer, charged that caddies and bodyguards for ex-dictator Marcos used to kick balls from the rough back onto the fairway and that Ferdy used to sign cards with phony scores. From exile, Marcos indignantly responded, "A crude lie."

**For insomnia?** — Nancy

Reagan says that when she's traveling alone, she carries a picture of Ron to put by her bed at night.

**A country with heart** — An 84-year-old Arlington, Virginia, woman was evicted from her public housing dwelling because she was earning \$70 a week as a babysitter. Then the county notified her she needs a business license to baby-sit and if she didn't get in the \$10 fast, there'd be interest and a penalty.

**Thought for the week** — "Nobody knows where we are going." — Beryl Sprinkel, Reagan's chief economist.

## How revolutionary Cuba provided decent housing

**Under Construction: Housing Policy in Revolutionary Cuba** by Jill Hamberg. Published by the Center for Cuban Studies, 1985.

BY MARY MARTIN

The Cuban revolution, which triumphed in 1959, inherited a gigantic housing crisis as part of its legacy of underdevelopment and exploitation, first as a Spanish colony and later as a semicolony of the United States.

How the Cuban government has tackled the problem is the subject of a new study by Jill Hamberg, a New York-

### BOOK REVIEW

based specialist in urban planning. Her book is an important contribution toward understanding Cuba's revolutionary process.

Hamberg examines Cuban housing policy in its relationship to the world situation and the other economic and social battles waged by the Cuban people at every stage of their revolution.

She points out that the technical problems of housing construction aren't different in Cuba than in capitalist countries. The enormous difference is in Cuba's planned economy. The search for profit does not control the production and distribution of housing. It is provided as a human right and a social service. In Cuba there is no real estate speculation, no gentrification, no mortgage foreclosures, and no landlord class.

As in other questions facing the Cuban revolution, the government fosters participation by the entire Cuban people in efforts to solve the housing problem.

Hamberg's study reveals the main features of Cuban housing policy in successive five-year periods.

#### First measures the revolution took

In 1959 more than 80 percent of Cuba's rural population lived in *bohios* — thatched huts with dirt floors. In the cities 50 percent of urban housing was considered substandard and lacked sanitary facilities. Thousands of families lived in single-room houses in inner-city slums called *cuaterias*. At the time of the revolution more than 70,000 tenants were facing eviction.

Hamberg explains that the first housing-reform measures taken by the revolutionary government addressed the drastic differences in living conditions between city and country and among different social classes.

In the first months of the revolution all evictions were halted. Rents were reduced by 30 to 50 percent on a sliding-scale basis. "Vacant-lot laws" were introduced to stimulate housing construction. Owners of vacant lots were ordered to begin housing construction within six months or sell their land to someone who would.

Landlords of nonslum housing were required to sell their rental properties. Current tenants were given first crack at buying the rental unit. Their accumulated rent payments were credited toward home ownership and they could become owners by continuing to pay for a fixed period, from 5 to 20 years depending on the value of the housing.

The properties of slum landlords were expropriated without compensation. In this most abysmal housing, tenants' rent payments were credited toward replacement housing.

In 1961 state housing construction began. Lifetime occupancy rights were granted to those most in need. Rent was set at 10 percent of income.

In the first five years of the revolution the Cuban government built or directly sponsored construction of 55,000 new housing units in the cities and countryside. Some 30,000 additional units were built with government assistance. The government also provided cement floors and latrines to 100,000 peasant huts.

The housing reform measures of the first five years of the revolution had four important consequences, according to Hamberg.

First, there was a rapid redistribution of income.

Second, security against eviction was provided for all

tenants and homeowners.

Third, private ownership of housing for profit was ended.

Fourth, speculation in land and buildings was greatly reduced.

At every step of the revolution, the hostility of the U.S. government has placed real limitations on how fast Cuba could advance in the housing field as on every other front. The trade embargo imposed by Washington in 1961 continues to this day. It restricted Cuba's potential foreign-exchange earnings and limited the sources from which needed raw materials and technological equipment could be imported.

#### Second 5 years

During the second five years of the revolution, the effects of the blockade spurred a decision to give a lower priority to housing construction, especially in urban areas, in order to use scarce resources for industry, agriculture, road-building, and other vital needs.

"A paramount goal," says Hamberg, "was a 10-million-ton sugar harvest in 1970. Vast material and human resources were diverted to that harvest, thereby disrupting production in almost all other sectors of the economy. The harvest was the largest in Cuba's history — 8.5 million tons — but still fell short of the target. . . .

"The failure to achieve 10 million tons had the positive effect of provoking a profound reassessment of almost all aspects of Cuban life, including housing."

By 1970 the slowdown in new housing construction and the deterioration of prerevolutionary housing made the housing shortage much more severe. Hamberg notes that the lack of housing and overcrowding led to such developments as the decline in the birth rate and instances of family violence.

#### Microbrigades

Government construction brigades alone could not meet the need, so microbrigades were instituted. Microbrigades were teams of workers temporarily pulled off their regular jobs in order to construct housing close to their factory. The new units would provide for that factory's workers and their families. The brigades functioned under the guidance of state construction crews. The workers remaining on the job in the factory agreed to maintain production levels with the reduced work force. Rental costs for the new housing were set at 6 percent of income rather than the usual 10 percent.

Hamberg describes three important results of the microbrigades' work. They increased the housing stock near worksites, which helped stabilize the work force. They inspired a leap in productivity levels, since factories succeeded in maintaining production rates despite the participation of workers in the brigades. And they trained a new layer of construction workers. By 1983 the microbrigades had built 100,000 new housing units. But they began to be phased out in 1978.

In the late '70s new hi-tech prefabricated construction systems were being introduced. They had a much lower per-unit cost than construction with traditional methods and materials, but required a higher level of technical skill.

During that same period it became necessary to give prime importance to housing construction in the countryside. By 1978 the Cuban government had constructed over 347 new rural towns in areas where small farmers had voluntarily sold their land to farming cooperatives. But the Cuban government estimated that it would take another 30 years to consolidate the remaining small farms into fully equipped farming cooperatives. Hamberg notes the government's approach to this question as follows:

"In 1977 a new program was adopted that encouraged the remaining small private farmers, who still produced nearly half of the nation's nonsugar crops, to form production cooperatives voluntarily. The land remains privately owned — by the cooperatives rather than the individual farmer — but the government provides incentives by offering special credit and opportunities to purchase farm machinery. Among the most important inducements

have been loans to purchase construction materials for housing."

#### People's Power

An important development Hamberg points to in detailing the participation of the Cuban people on housing was the institution of People's Power.

In 1976 Cuba adopted a new constitution, greatly decentralizing administration and giving increased powers to local People's Power assemblies.

Self-built housing still accounted for a large proportion of all new housing built in Cuba. Although the self-built housing was often much better than what it replaced, it was often substandard compared to government housing. After 1976, greater assistance to and regulation of such housing was provided on a local level through the People's Power administrations.

The decade of the '80s brought new housing challenges, as the generation born after the revolution reached adulthood and started families — rapidly increasing the demand for housing.

But the pressures of the growing difficulties of the world capitalist economy on the Cuban workers' state are making it impossible for Cuba to fully meet this demand soon. These pressures are reflected in high interest rates on foreign loans, declining world market prices for sugar and other Cuban exports, and other developments. Under these circumstances, Castro explained in a 1984 talk not quoted in this book, "We can't really give priority to housing over production that generates exports for the country."

#### New housing law

A December 1984 housing law sought to respond to these problems.

It changed lease holders in government-owned housing into homeowners, which meant they could sell or bequeath their property. It fostered more housing construction by individuals and cooperatives by making available low-interest loans to cover the costs of materials, tools, and contracted labor. The law also legalized short-term private rentals.

Short-term rentals were reintroduced as an incentive to making more housing available. Many houses had extra rooms and other housing was temporarily available.

Castro explained: "We have introduced some elements, such as the possibility of renting a room at the going market price, but this is not a departure from socialism, it will be solved by development. When we have enough homes and when any citizen can purchase an apartment at a relatively low price, there will be no need to go renting a much more expensive room."

Castro pointed out that this move could not lead to the development of a new landlord class since, among other reasons, it reaffirms the law that no family can own more than one permanent home.

In 1984 the Cuban government estimated that an annual construction rate of 12 units per 1,000 population would be necessary to completely meet housing needs. Cuba's housing construction rate today has reached 8 units per 1,000 population. A rate, Hamberg notes, that compares favorably with that of the much wealthier countries of Western Europe.

The Cuban revolution greatly advanced both the quantity and quality of housing for the workers and farmers. "Cuba's new housing, beyond its obvious improvements over conditions in the past, stands on its own in comparison with nonluxury new housing in the developed, industrialized nations," noted New York architect Tony Schuman in 1975.

Each dwelling must have a bathroom with sink, toilet, and shower; a kitchen area with refrigerator and gas burner; and service patio for washing and drying clothing. No bedroom may be occupied by more than two people except for parents with a child under two years of age.

In addressing the need to better plan economic development, Castro told the 1986 congress of the Cuban Communist Party: "Planned economy puts the welfare of humans first. It demands battle against bureaucracy, vested interest, routinism, incompetence, corruption."

# Why Thatcher backs Botha

Like the Reagan administration in the United States, the British government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is under growing pressure to impose strong economic sanctions on the apartheid regime. The virtually unanimous call of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa for sanctions has put both governments on the spot. Their demand was supported by a march of 100,000 in New York City June 14 and by a march of 250,000 in London June 28.

The governments of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and Ghana have announced they will boycott the Commonwealth Games in Scotland to protest Thatcher's refusal to impose sanctions.

Thatcher has struck back in a series of newspaper and broadcast interviews that were summarized in the July 10 *New York Times*.

Her statements reveal the policy behind the antisanc-tions stand of the U.S. and British governments: support to the Botha regime's efforts to modify apartheid while preserving the power of the white rulers and opposition to the anti-apartheid struggle of the South African masses.

In the wake of the arrest of thousands and efforts to smash the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and other anti-apartheid forces, she praised Botha as "going in the right direction."

Oozing hypocrisy from every pore, she portrayed herself as unselfishly protecting the jobs of "poor Africans" in South Africa who might face unemployment if sanctions were imposed. She made no mention of protecting the \$5.9 billion that Britain's ruling capitalists have invested in apartheid, or the profits they rake in from the superexploitation of Black labor which apartheid has made possible.

She dismissed opinion polls showing that the great majority of South African Blacks, including workers, favor sanctions as a means of weakening the apartheid regime even though this might mean economic difficulties for them in the short run. Thatcher suggested that such statements by Black workers are a product of intimidation by the anti-apartheid movement.

This representative of the British billionaires claimed that South Africans like Desmond Tutu advocate sanctions because they have secure incomes.

She omitted all mention of the 600,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions. This labor federation organizes and democratically represents hundreds of thousands of industrial workers who would be most immediately affected by the imposition of sanctions. Both the congress and its member unions have strongly called for sanctions.

To justify suggesting that the Black masses in South Africa have been terrorized into saying that they favor sanctions, Thatcher said, "You've heard of the necklace?" The necklace is a method of execution that has been used against several cops, police informers, and other representatives of the apartheid regime in the Black townships. The same technique has also been used by the regime's vigilantes to assassinate foes of apartheid.

Thatcher went on to denounce Winnie Mandela for al-

legedly speaking favorably of the execution of those who enforce apartheid in the Black townships. "From that point," declared Thatcher, "I ceased to have any sympathy for that case."

Echoing the propaganda of the apartheid regime, Thatcher suggested that Gatsha Buthelezi, who heads the regime's KwaZulu Bantustan, "perhaps represented more" Blacks than the African National Congress and its imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela. She praised Buthelezi as a moderate opposed to sanctions.

Thatcher boiled with moral indignation about the killing of a few cops by anti-apartheid fighters, but she had no objection to the murder of scores of anti-apartheid activists by Buthelezi's death squads.

Like Thatcher, the apartheid regime's propagandists claim that the problem in South Africa is violence and intimidation by the anti-apartheid movement. She is silent about the brutal terror of the apartheid regime's hundreds of thousands of soldiers, cops, informers, and vigilantes, who have been slaughtering protesters by the hundreds since the current upsurge began in August 1984.

Far from intimidating the Black masses, the anti-apartheid struggle is the reason the apartheid regime — in spite of this vast apparatus of intimidation and repression — has not been able to terrorize the Black masses into silence. That is why most South African Blacks today openly advocate sanctions in defiance of the regime's laws barring such advocacy and to the embarrassment of Thatcher, Reagan, and other imperialist rulers.

Thatcher's moral outrage is reserved for violence by opponents of apartheid. But their acts are an inevitable response to the regime's brutal struggle to preserve the white rulers' monopoly of wealth and power.

The rulers in Britain, the United States, and other imperialist countries are probing for ways to turn public opinion against the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, especially the African National Congress.

Reagan, Thatcher, and their like do not oppose sanctions because they won't work, as they sometimes claim, but because they fear economic sanctions will make the apartheid regime more vulnerable to overthrow by the anti-apartheid South African masses.

The July 3 *New York Times* cited an unnamed White House official who "said that if the Western nations pulled out of South Africa, they would invite anarchy, which would be unacceptable to the United States. . . ."

The strategic reasons include more than the billions that U.S., British, and West German capitalists have invested in South Africa itself. The white minority regime is a prop for U.S. interests across southern Africa. Its U.S.-supported war against Angola is one example. The fall of the apartheid state would mark a major shift in the relationship of forces on the African continent in favor of the oppressed nations and against imperialism. For these reasons, the U.S. and British rulers are determined to continue supporting the South African regime.

More protests like those in New York and London are needed to force the U.S. and British rulers to cut all their ties with the murderous apartheid regime.

# Real target: Bill of Rights

The report and recommendations of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography is a political obscenity. It is calculated to promote censorship and to spur right-wing political and intellectual vigilantism.

Demagogically portraying pornography as a significant cause of the abuse of women and children, the federal commission focused on assembling material featuring whips, chains, and torture devices.

In a charlatan pretense at sociology, the commission's majority claimed a link between criminal behavior and material depicting violent sex. A dissenting minority said, "No self-respecting investigator would accept conclusions based on such a study."

The report urges more vigorous enforcement of antiobscenity laws and expansion of the application of such laws.

It also recommended formation of public "watch groups" to file complaints, pressure law officials and the courts, and to initiate picketing and boycotts of those distributing what the self-appointed watchdogs deem to be objectionable literature.

Such book-burning groups already exist and have achieved notoriety in their efforts to drive major literary and political works from schools and public libraries.

The commission's report is being promoted by Attorney General Edwin Meese's Justice Department and can be fully understood only in the context of the Justice Department's escalating role in the drive to curb democratic rights in general. It has played a pugnacious role in the fight against affirmative action for oppressed nationalities and women, against abortion rights, against separation of church and state, against the rights of anyone tagged a suspect by the police, and against the rights of organized labor.

An ugly preview of the purpose of the present report

was provided while the commission was at work.

Last February a number of major bookstore chains, drug store chains, and other distributors of books and magazines received letters from the attorney general's commission advising them that the slated report would list them as "involved in the sale or distribution of pornography."

Recipients were told they could avail themselves of the opportunity to respond before the report was issued.

The kind of response they were so patently looking for was provided by the 7-Eleven convenience store chain. It announced that it would stop selling *Playboy* and *Penthouse* magazines.

Both these magazines, and the American Booksellers Association, filed suit against Meese and the commission.

They charged, with obvious justice, that they were the victims of harassment and that a "blacklist" was being created of stores that sell the two publications. *Penthouse* charged the aim was "intimidation and coercion" of such stores.

And, in an action timed to coincide with release of the commission's report, Waldenbooks, a major retail chain, announced a freedom-to-read campaign in each of its 970 stores across the country. Waldenbooks was on the commission's list of those "distributing pornography."

"It's our answer to the Meese commission and censorship in general," said the president of the book chain.

For several weeks, he said, Waldenbooks will feature a display of 50 books that have been challenged or banned in libraries in the past decade, with a sign: "Read these books before you can't."

Leaflets describing recent censorship efforts will be distributed, and a freedom-to-read petition circulated.

The commission's report and activity confirm that such concern is well advised.

# Carlos Fonseca on Yankee aggression in Nicaragua

Carlos Fonseca Amador was the central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) from the time he helped found it until his murder by the Somoza dictatorship on Nov. 8, 1976.

On July 19, 1979, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, led by the FSLN, overthrew the U.S.-installed Somoza regime and established a workers' and farmers' government.

In 1969 Fonseca went to Cuba, where he published an

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

article tracing the history of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. Excerpts from the article appear below. It is printed in full in the book *Sandinistas Speak*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Send \$4.95 plus 75 cents postage and handling. © Copyright 1982, Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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Nicaragua is a country that has suffered foreign aggression and oppression for more than four centuries. Together with the other countries of Latin America, Nicaragua faced rule by the Iberian peninsula. In a region of its territory located on the Atlantic Coast, it also suffered British domination, which lasted for 150 years until 1893. At the same time, Nicaragua was among the first victims of the aggressive policy of the United States.

Below is a list of some of the Yankee acts of aggression that Nicaragua has suffered.

1850. The governments of England and the United States sign the so-called Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by which these powers, without taking the Nicaraguan government into account, arbitrarily decide to divide among themselves the right to build an interocean route through Nicaragua.

1854. In June of that year, a U.S. warship commanded by a seaman named Hollins, bombards the Nicaraguan port of San Juan del Norte and reduces it to ashes.

1855. Several thousand North American filibusters, headed by William Walker, intervene in Nicaragua. Walker proclaims himself president of Nicaragua and is recognized as such by the Yankee government of Franklin Pierce. Among other savage measures, he decrees slavery. The Nicaraguan people, with the backing of the other peoples of Central America, take up arms and succeed in throwing out the interventionists.

1907. U.S. government warships occupy the waters of the Gulf of Fonseca.

1909. The nationalist Nicaraguan government shoots two North Americans named Cannon and Groce, who were guilty of participating in armed actions against the Nicaraguan government. The U.S. government, through the U.S. secretary of state, sends a note to the Nicaraguan government, known as the "Knox note," in which it openly states that it has the right to intervene in Nicaragua's internal affairs.

1910. U.S. warships intervene on the side of the Conservatives who are in revolt against the Nicaraguan government. In this way, the U.S. imposes a sell-out government on Nicaragua.

1912. The country is occupied by thousands of U.S. Marines. Armed resistance to the occupation lasts for several months, at the end of which the patriotic leader Benjamín Zeledón dies with arms in hand.

1927. José María Moncada, a representative of the Liberal bourgeoisie and military head of the people's army that has been fighting the government imposed by the North American intervention, commits a betrayal and enters into agreement with the representative of the State Department, Henry L. Stimson, who years later would become secretary of war in the Truman government.

Augusto César Sandino, head of a column of the people's army, refuses to accept the Moncada agreement and rises up in arms against the North American occupation and the traitors who support it. The Army for the Defense of National Sovereignty, headed by Sandino, carries out more than 500 clashes with the occupation forces. This makes it impossible for the Yankee occupiers to defeat the Nicaraguan patriots militarily, but before leaving the country at the beginning of 1933, they leave behind them a reactionary force called the National Guard.

1934. On February 21 of that year, Augusto César Sandino is murdered. Anastasio Somoza G., commander in chief of the National Guard, orders this crime carried out after receiving instructions from the Yankee Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane.

1936. Somoza ousts the constitutional president of the country, with the approval of the U.S. government.

1960. The U.S. fleet in the Caribbean Sea is mobilized to protect the governments of Guatemala and Nicaragua, which are facing growing popular discontent.



# Ohio's antilabor workers' compensation 'reform' law

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste was not invited to this year's state AFL-CIO convention because he signed into law a vicious workers' compensation "reform" law.

Ohio's workers have been covered by workers' compensation since 1911.

Recently, the Ohio Supreme Court provided a measure of justice for injured workers in a number of decisions. In the Blankenship case, the court reversed the long-standing

## AS I SEE IT

rule that an employer cannot be sued by an injured worker receiving workers' compensation benefits. The new rule allowed such lawsuits in cases where the injured worker alleges that the employer was responsible for his or her injury. Employer responsibility would be established by a jury based on whether the employer knew that such an injury was substantially certain to occur under the circumstances.

The new rule made a big difference for many workers and their families. For example, a worker was killed because his employer removed the safety guard on his machine to make the job go faster. Many workers have suffered brain damage and other permanent disabilities because their employers hid from them the fact that they were working with toxic chemicals. In another case, several workers were killed in an explosion because they were sent into a hole containing methane gas to use acetylene torches. The employer, who knew that methane gas often builds up in the hole, did not bother to test for its presence.

Under the new rule, these workers and others injured by their employers could receive workers' compensation benefits while going to court against their employers. The jury hearing the lawsuit could award any amount of damages it thought to be fair to the injured worker or the family.

In a case known as Village, the Ohio Supreme Court decided in favor of a General Motors worker whose job required him to lift seventy 20- to 40-pound batteries every hour. When back pain made it impossible for him to get out of bed, he applied for workers' compensation benefits. GM fought the claim on the grounds that the worker could not point to a specific moment when the injury occurred. The Ohio Supreme Court ruled that *any injury*, including cumulative effects arising out of one's employment, is compensable under Ohio law.

This and other decisions greatly strengthened the protection injured workers or their families could get under the Ohio Workers' Compensation law. So the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, the Ohio Chamber of Commerce, and other business groups launched a media and lobbying campaign for workers' compensation "reform."

After several antilabor bills were introduced in the legislature, the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters organized a campaign to defend workers' compensation. They published and distributed a pamphlet answering the employers' lies about the effects of the court decisions. They produced and showed throughout the state a video documentary containing interviews with the workers and the families of workers who benefited from the court decisions. They also lobbied against the antilabor bills being considered by the legislature. They did not mobilize the ranks or organize mass demonstrations.

The unions were able in 1981 to defeat "Issue One," a constitutional amendment that would have allowed private insurance companies to sell workers' compensation insurance to Ohio's employers. States where this practice is allowed provide much lower benefits for injured workers.

This time, however, the campaign failed. A so-called "compromise" bill was passed last month. The AFL-CIO then put pressure on Gov. Celeste to veto it. Instead, he "reluctantly" signed it. Celeste said that the bill is not what he would have preferred but it can balance the interests of labor and business "if it is fairly interpreted and

firmly administered."

Two provisions of the bill are particularly savage.

One requires workers who develop an occupational disease to file claims for benefits within two years of *exposure* to the cause of the disease. But many occupational diseases, such as asbestosis, for example, do not show up for many years after exposure to their cause.

Another makes it almost impossible for an injured worker to receive compensation benefits if traces of alcohol or drugs are found in his or her blood after an accident. It effectively establishes a presumption that a worker who drinks or uses drugs at all — *on or off the job* — is responsible for any injury that takes place and not entitled to compensation. Since drinking (which is mostly legal) and illegal drug use are common, and since blood test results are unreliable and frame-ups are quite possible, this deals a potentially devastating blow to worker's compensation.

Two other provisions of the law are already being challenged in court by the AFL-CIO.

One places a \$1 million limit *retroactively* on damages injured workers can be awarded if they prove their employer responsible for their injuries. The bill makes it harder to establish employer responsibility for an injury.

Under the new law, workers or their families can still sue employers for damages while receiving workers' compensation benefits. However, such a lawsuit must be heard by a judge, not a jury, who will decide whether the employer was responsible for the injury. If the judge decides in favor of the worker, the case goes back to the Industrial Commission to decide how much the injured worker should get. The law limits such awards to \$1 million.

This is an antidemocratic and antilabor law. The legislature should be forced to repeal it, or the courts to throw it out. One obstacle to accomplishing this is the fact that the AFL-CIO is throwing its resources into reelecting Celeste and other "friends of labor" who were responsible for this bill becoming law.

On the other hand, Celeste didn't get to make a speech at the AFL-CIO convention. That showed him!

## LETTERS

### Abortion

We have seen how the courts — those fabled "neutral arbiters of justice" — have been an integral part of the ruling-class offensive against abortion rights. The Supreme Court of the United States has upheld both the Hyde amendment, which cuts off federal funds for poor women seeking abortions, and state statutes requiring teenage women to get parental permission before obtaining an abortion or go through the court to obtain abortion.

The courts are also openly aiding antiabortion forces in their campaign of intimidation and terror against women and women's clinics.

In Illinois, according to the Chicago Daily Law Bulletin of May 21, the antiabortion Family Life League is suing the state over providing funding for abortions of welfare recipients. The League requested the names of those who provided abortion and were paid by the state.

The Illinois Supreme Court upheld that request. The court dismissed concerns that terrorist acts would result, saying there was no basis for this belief. (This in spite of the well-publicized bombing of abortion clinics and the case a couple of years back of the kidnapping of a doctor who performed abortions and his wife by antiabortionists.)

The court said there were "sufficient legal avenues available to combat" terrorist attacks, despite the lack of prosecution in the case of clinic bombings and invasions.

The court said women patients of the doctor have no reason to worry because the request covers only the doctors, not the patients. Also, since the state pays only for abortions deemed "medically necessary," the court said these operations "are the least likely to provoke public controversy!"

This ruling and others like it in Kansas and Minnesota open the door for even greater intimidation and terror against women's exercise of their right to safe, legal abortion. All women's rights fighters and their supporters

should be aware of these decisions and be prepared to organize public campaigns in protest of these tactics.

J.W.

Indianapolis, Indiana

### New law

Tuesday, June 24, 1986, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, "lawmakers" voted 56 to 37 on a bill that would allow 13-year-olds convicted of murder to be savagely fried to death in Louisiana's very popular electric chair. The bill would also allow 13-year-olds to be sent to Angola State Penitentiary for robbery.

Rep. Peppi Bruneau of New Orleans vowed to try again with Sen. Hank Lauricella's bill, after acknowledging that the bill fell short 14 votes for final passage.

When I first read this, I wondered what could be the intent behind sending 13-year-olds to Angola, when the precedent has already been established of having men convicted of murder sent there. If the 13-year-old is to be convicted of murder and sentenced to a number of years in prison, what difference does it make where he serves his time? It will all be hell to him.

A prisoner

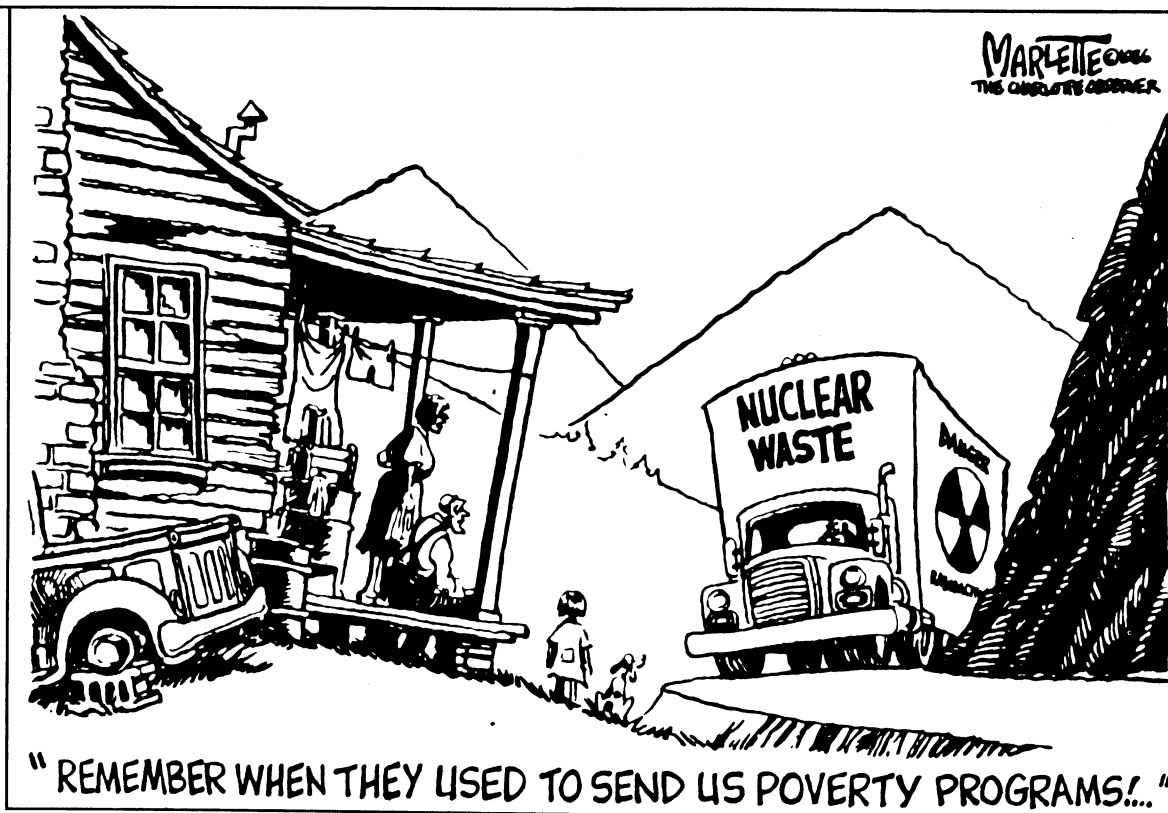
Angola, Louisiana

### I am bitter

I am going to renew my subscription to the *Militant*. Also, I will pledge \$300 to the next presidential campaign by no later than Aug. 31, 1987.

July 1987 will be the last month I work for the Post Office. I will be retiring after 30 years. The scum in Washington, D.C., are doing their best to take much away from what we have earned. I am bitter over these people.

In the last five winters at the Post Office, four times I took one full week of annual leave due to sickness. The harassment over sick leave is horrible. I have never abused sick leave. Yet last December I was suspended for two weeks and missed about 38 hours of overtime. I feel more like I'm



living in Nazi Germany in the '30s than in the United States.

If I were better with words, I would write about the farmers. I really look up to them.

There may be some justice in this country, but I feel there is much, much too much injustice.

I may not agree with everything about socialism, but I feel for certain that capitalism as a whole is evil and that the ruling class of the world is responsible for conditions today.

Theodore Bell

Seattle, Washington

### Deeply concerned

I'm seriously interested in discussion and debates on critical issues relating to capitalism and socialism. I'm trying to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the legacy of neocolonialism and U.S. interventionism and the role of transnational corporations. I'm deeply concerned with the struggle against oppression, poverty, and imperialism.

I'm a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections. I would be very grateful if you would send me a subscription to the *Militant*. I

have no financial support here. I'm trying to educate myself by acquiring thoughtful and provocative viewpoints on cultural happenings. Your help will be appreciated very much.

A prisoner

Rosharon, Texas

### No knowledge

I have been incarcerated in the box for 12 months — around racist officials and their philosophy of white supremacy.

I had no knowledge of apartheid, the apartheid region, Soweto, and literally the oppression of all my beautiful brothers and sisters on this planet earth until a comrade of mine furnished me with a few copies of the *Militant*. And I became deeply motivated.

A prisoner

Comstock, New York

### First time

The *Militant* has educated me in many world issues. This is the first time a newspaper has brought enlightenment to me about the struggle of freedom fighters.

I never like to think in terms of

being dumb enough to allow this deceitful and tricky government to mislead me in its newspapers.

The *Militant* has been shared with me by my fellow brothers. I will enlighten my fellow brothers who are blind to this very deceitful tricky government with the *Militant* newspaper.

The *Militant* is very explicit and educational. It brings the truth about issues of the world.

A prisoner

Lansing, Kansas

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

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

## Why GIs sent on Bolivia drug bust

### U.S. gov't aim is to set precedent for using troops abroad

BY HARRY RING

President Ronald Reagan's decision to send U.S. troops to Bolivia to combat drug traffickers is intended to further establish the government's right to send troops anywhere in the world, without regard for the will of the people or the laws of this country.

The claim that it is justified because drug trafficking is a threat to U.S. "national security" is a hoax.

Such moves also represent a serious threat to the independence of other countries, countries that may find U.S. forces descending on them in the name of combating drug dealers or other offenders.

Washington's recent scandalizing of Mexico and Panama with the charge that government officials were complicit with the drug trade raises the question: Will Washington now demand the right to send troops to such countries, claiming its "national security" is at stake?

The Bolivian operation involves more than a hundred troops, who will be using six Black Hawk transport helicopters armed with M-60 machine guns. The operation is to last at least 60 days.

The move was approved directly by Reagan and was done under a secret directive he issued in April declaring drug traffic a threat to "national security" that jus-

military response.

Officials said that sending the troops did not violate the War Powers Act, so they had no need to notify Congress as the law requires when troops are being sent into a combat situation.

But at the same time they admitted the troops had been authorized to shoot, if "fired on first," and acknowledged there could be casualties.

In 1984 the Bolivian government sent troops to the same region to bust a drug ring reported operating there. But by the time they arrived, the alleged offenders had fled into the jungle.

U.S. officials acknowledge the same thing could happen this time. But, they insist, the more important thing is that this will demonstrate a readiness to use troops to handle drug dealers.

That's partly true. Washington's concern is precisely to establish that it has the right to do such things.

A White House spokesperson described the move as part of a campaign against "narco-terrorism." With that formula, it will be easy enough to slip over from narcotics to "terrorism" in justifying the dispatching of troops.

Sending the troops to Bolivia for the purpose of arresting drug dealers is a clear violation of U.S. law barring the use of troops

as a law enforcement agency. Doing so is specifically barred by a statute that's been on the books since 1878.

Equally dangerous is the steady increase in the use of "national security" as the justification for abuses of the Constitution and laws.

"National security" has been the pretext for increased curbs on democratic rights in this country.

It has been the rationale for overthrowing a whole number of governments Washington didn't like.

It is the prime justification for the illegal war now being waged against the people of Nicaragua.

Contras are fighting in Nicaragua because, since the revolution, that country's government put the welfare of working people before profits. That's a "bad example" that threatens U.S. business investments throughout the region. Or, in the language of capitalist politicians, it's a threat to "national security."

In Bolivia the claimed concern for ending the drug traffic is a pretext for broadening the basis for interfering in other countries. The hue and cry about drugs is one more means of whipping Bolivia into line.

The broader concern is to ensure that the people of Bolivia and all Latin America are



U.S. military transport landed at Santa Cruz, Bolivia. Use of U.S. troops on pretext of fighting drug traffic represents a threat to the independence of other countries.

not in a position to determine their own destiny and to tackle the huge social and economic problems that U.S. imperialist domination has created for them.

Sending troops to Bolivia is totally reactionary and should be strongly condemned and protested.

## U.S. punishes Zimbabwe for anti-apartheid stance

BY RASHAAD ALI

In a new attack against the government and people of Zimbabwe, the Reagan administration suspended economic aid of \$13.5 million to this poor southern African country. Administration officials also said two new projects that had been agreed upon would be postponed, and aid for 1987, which was to be about \$21 million, would be sharply cut.

The suspension of aid was in retaliation for harsh criticism of the U.S. government's support to the apartheid regime in South Africa at a U.S. embassy-sponsored Fourth of July celebration in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital.

According to a report in the July 5 *Washington Post*, David Kariamazira — the minister of youth, sports, and culture — "blasted the Reagan administration for applying economic sanctions against Nicaragua, Poland, and Libya, yet eschewing them against South Africa. [He] criticized the United States for bombing 'civilian targets' in Libya in the name of fighting 'state terrorism,' yet ignoring the same 'terrorism' when practiced by Pretoria."

Kariamazira said that "what we are hearing is nothing but platitudes and apologies for apartheid."

This speech in solidarity with the oppressed South African majority led former U.S. President James Carter and diplomats from the United States, West Germany, Britain, and Holland to walk out of the embassy's reception.

Carter charged that Kariamazira's attack on the U.S. government was "an insult to my country and an insult to me personally." And in true imperialist arrogance, Carter demanded that Zimbabwe "apologize for the inappropriate nature of it to the people of my country and my government."

In fact, acting ambassador to Zimbabwe, Gibson Lanpher, explained that he returned to the embassy after the walkout and sat at his desk for three hours waiting for a phone call or an apology from someone in the government. He said the call never came and so he decided to file a formal protest.

Speaking before Zimbabwe's parliament July 16, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe af-

firmed that Zimbabwe would not apologize to the Reagan administration.

In a July 8 editorial pontification, the *Washington Post* called the remarks by the Zimbabwean official "a 20-minute tirade that was apparently crude even by the standards of routine Third World anti-Americanism."

Even Carter, appearing on NBC's "Today" show, had to admit that the remarks that caused his walkout "weren't off the mark ... much." He also explained that the statements were "pretty well representative of the attitude of the whole world" that Washington was not doing enough to help end apartheid in South Africa.

In 1983 the U.S. government cut its aid

to Zimbabwe from \$75 million to \$40 million, because Zimbabwe would not vote in the UN Security Council to condemn the Soviet Union for shooting down a South Korean airliner.

Since April 1980 when Zimbabwe won its independence after 90 years of plunder by British colonialists and by the white settler "Rhodesian" regime of Ian Smith, Zimbabwe has supported the South African freedom fighters.

Not surprisingly, this stance has led the South African regime to seek to weaken and intimidate the Zimbabwe government.

On May 19, for example, South African commandos entered Harare and threw bombs into a building that houses the Afri-

can National Congress of South Africa's information office.

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

The suspension of U.S. aid, like the South African raids, is aimed at telling the Zimbabwean people and government that they will pay the price in blood and money for their defiant support for the freedom struggle in South Africa and their verbal attacks on the enemies of that struggle.

## Salvadoran government releases labor leader

BY STU SINGER

Working people in El Salvador won an important victory July 11 when the government was forced to release labor leader Febe Elizabeth Velásquez. She was arrested July 7 in downtown San Salvador, the capital city, by men in civilian clothes. A worker who witnessed her kidnapping spread the word, leading to a series of protest strikes and demonstrations.

Workers called indefinite strikes July 10, shutting down at least five factories and offices, demanding freedom for the union leader. Two- and three-hour work stoppages were held at other work places.

At the CIRCA clothing factory, workers immediately walked off the job and marched to the fortress that houses the Treasury Police. Their quick action forced the police to acknowledge they were holding Velásquez. Without that public admission, she could easily have been "disappeared," as has happened to thousands of other Salvadoran workers and peasants in the past several years. The Treasury Police is one of the branches of the government's repressive apparatus that is notorious for its connections to El Salvador's death squads.

FENASTRAS, the National Federation

of Salvadoran Workers' Unions, organized a march to the house of José Napoleón Duarte, the U.S.-backed president of El Salvador. Duarte refused to meet with the delegation of workers. However, he ordered Velásquez's release.

Unionists and others in the United States also protested the arrest.

Velásquez is president of the clothing workers' union, STITAS, at the CIRCA clothing factory. CIRCA manufactures Levi and Calvin Klein jeans under license to the U.S. company Levi Strauss.

She is 24 years old and has worked at CIRCA for eight years. She helped lead struggles for union recognition and for better pay, benefits, and working conditions. Workers at the factory make \$20 a week. In the early 1980s, several officers of the union were assassinated, and others were forced to flee the country.

The clothing workers' union is affiliated to FENASTRAS. At the November 1985 convention of FENASTRAS — the first public conference the federation was able to hold in years — Velásquez was elected to the executive committee and put in charge of international affairs.



Militant/Kip Dawson  
Febe Elizabeth Velásquez was arrested July 7. Protest strikes and demonstrations forced government to release her.