

Ortega's N.Y. visit spurs opposition to contra war

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Speaking to a jam-packed Brooklyn church gathering, Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega asked if the people of the United States were going to accept the fact that the president of their country was violating the law with his war against Nicaragua.

The crowd roared back as one, "No!"

The Ortega visit, related to his July 29 appearance before the UN Security Council, had a strong public impact.

In addition to the Sunday morning service at the Park Slope United Methodist Church in Brooklyn, he also spoke at Manhattan's huge Riverside Church. More than a thousand people were there. In Brooklyn, 350 people jammed into the church, and many others had to be turned away.

At both churches Ortega was greeted by thunderous ovations, cheers, and chants. His appearances received extensive TV and newspaper coverage.

In addition, there were feature interviews with the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other media.

In his appearances, Ortega appealed for public support to the June 27 World Court ruling that the United States should end its illegal aggression against Nicaragua and pay for the damage it has done there.

From the outset, the Reagan administration refused to recognize the World Court's jurisdiction, an implicit acknowledgement that it doesn't have a legal leg to stand on in justifying the aggression against Nicaragua.

While the decision by the UN-related court does not have the force of law, Nicaragua sees it as an important political and moral victory.

Asked at a UN press conference what effect the court finding would have in Latin America, the Nicaraguan leader said it was



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega speaking before UN Security Council July 29

"very important" for Latin America and the Caribbean. Citing the U.S. record of systematic intervention in the countries of the region, he saw the ruling as "a very important precedent in the fight for sovereignty and self-determination of all nations."

A reporter for ABC-TV asked Ortega how he sensed public opinion here in relation to the U.S.-Nicaraguan conflict.

Ortega said he is convinced there is "a significant number of people who under-

stand what's happening in Central America" and disagree with their government's policy.

A majority of the U.S. people, he said, "don't want a repetition of Vietnam in Central America."

Asked if Nicaragua would follow up on the World Court decision by suing in a U.S. court, Ortega replied that it was too soon to say.

But, he added, "you can be sure that Nicaragua will avail itself of all possible forums to achieve a peaceful settlement."

In his address to the UN Security Council, the Nicaraguan president called on that body to support the decision of the World Court finding the U.S. government in violation of international law.

If Washington prevails in its policy, he warned the council, international law will be replaced by "the law of the mightiest."

He emphasized the court's finding that Washington does not have the right to intervene in Nicaragua because it doesn't like its social and political system.

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Demand grows for S. Africa sanctions

Supporters of the struggle for a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa need to step up their demands for "Sanctions now!" The U.S. rulers are fighting to maintain their political, economic, and diplomatic ties with the apartheid regime.

The sharp attack on the Reagan administration's support to the apartheid regime by Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO,

EDITORIAL

is an important indication of the potential to build a broader, more powerful anti-apartheid movement.

Returning from what he called a four-day "protest mission" to South Africa, Kirkland called for "strong and effective economic sanctions."

He was part of a delegation of top officials of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions who went to South Africa to demand the freeing of hundreds of union leaders jailed under the state of emergency imposed June 12. All joined Kirkland in endorsing the South African unions' call for sanctions.

The Reagan administration announced June 29 that it had signed an agreement with the government of President Pieter Botha to increase textile imports from South Africa. This was the latest move to bolster the apartheid regime, which faces a deepening challenge from the anti-apartheid struggle led by the Black workers and farmers.

On the same day, British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe — whose tour of southern Africa has been carried out in close collaboration with Washington — indicated his government, like South African President Pieter Botha's, opposed the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

He suggested that the apartheid regime release Mandela and others in exchange for "a matching commitment from the African National Congress to call a halt to violence and enter into peaceful dialogue." Botha demands that Mandela renounce armed resistance to the apartheid state as the price of his release from prison.

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Bosses demanding more concessions in steel

BY NORTON SANDLER

The wealthy owners of the largest steel-maker in the country, USX Corp., are demanding major takebacks from its employees, members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The concessions include Steelworkers giving back up to \$3.50 an hour in wages and benefits and granting a reduction of job classifications from 33 to nine. Such job combinations would mean the loss of thousands of jobs. The company is also trying to expand the work carried out in the mills by nonunion workers.

There are 44,000 workers covered by the contract due to expire August 1. Only 21,000 of them are currently working.

USX, which up until recently was named U.S. Steel Corp., reported profits of \$409 million in 1985.

"There is no economic basis — none — for USS to accept higher labor rates than its largest competitors," said USX Chairman David Roderick.

The union has rejected the company's demands and expects to be forced out on strike to defend Steelworkers' standard of living and working conditions and rights on the job.

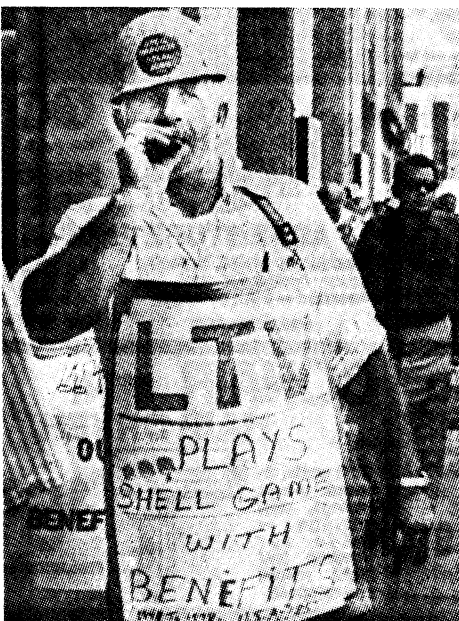
Mobilizing solidarity for the Steelworkers will be important since the outcome of the confrontation will have broad ramifications not only in the steel industry but throughout basic industry. Negotiations between the union and USX follow on the heels of contract settlements between the

USWA and other big basic steel manufacturing companies that have resulted in severe wage and benefit setbacks.

In the 1983 contract settlement, the union agreed to give seven of the largest steel companies an immediate \$1.25-an-hour cut in wages.

Other concessions granted included a revised formula that resulted in gutting cost-of-living adjustment payments over the life

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Retirees fight cut in medical benefits

'Militant,' 'PM' sub drive will win 5,000 new readers

BY LARRY SEIGLE

Supporters of the *Militant* across the country are beginning a drive to sign up 4,500 new subscribers by November 15. A simultaneous effort will be aimed at enrolling 500 new regular readers of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Militant*'s Spanish-language counterpart.

The decision to launch this campaign for 5,000 new subscribers to the two publications — a goal that is substantially higher than others in recent years — is a response to experiences of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* readers in the past several months.

Around the country, *Militant* supporters have reported a greater receptivity to a paper that tells the truth about the struggles of working people in this country and internationally. Many union militants, working farmers, fighters for Black rights, and activists in the battles for women's liberation

— whether or not they agree with many of the editorial positions of the paper — see the *Militant* as an irreplaceable source of facts and timely analysis of major events and struggles. Reports of this increased receptivity have come from activists who have sold the *Militant* at factory gates, union events, street corners, colleges and high schools, and at demonstrations, meetings, and conferences.

• In New York State, the current campaign to collect 35,000 signatures to get the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in the November election has gone over its goal and will be completed ahead of schedule. It has also produced higher than anticipated sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as political books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press.

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'Militant' has analysis, news unavailable elsewhere

BY NORTON SANDLER

Workers who buy the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM), at the plant gates get information and news analysis that simply isn't available anywhere else.

This can be confirmed by reading back through the articles sub-

mitted to this column in recent months by socialist workers who sell the papers at the mines, mills, factories, and packinghouses.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

This issue, for instance, carries a report on the important new solidarity the Austin meatpackers won at the recent national convention of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

Last week the *Militant* reported

tails how the top officialdom of the United Food and Commercial Workers union has tried to crush the democratic, militant local and keep its example from spreading.

One reason workers buy the paper is for its consistent coverage of the nearly one-year-long battle Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers have been waging against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The capitalist media, on the other hand, consciously ignores this battle, trying to make it appear as though the effort by Local P-9 to win a decent contract from the giant meatpacking company failed.

Arizona copper workers told our sales team from Phoenix that they have been following the P-9 fight with their own contract problems in mind.

Rail workers at Grand Central terminal in New York told our team there that the P-9 coverage is the main reason they buy the paper.

Our regional sales team sold dozens and dozens of papers to meatpackers at John Morrell packing plants in Sioux City, Iowa, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Many contracts in the meatpacking industry will expire in the coming months.

Battles are already under way to resist union-busting at the Oscar Mayer packing plant in Chicago and at the Hebrew National packing plant in New York City. As more contracts come due, interest in the Hormel fight will also increase.

No other publications have coverage on the Nicaraguan revolution like that available to readers of the *Militant* and PM. Our Managua bureau provides timely on-the-scene coverage of developments in Nicaragua and how the Nicaraguan people are advancing their revolution and resisting the U.S.-organized *contra* war.

Most of the articles that are carried by capitalist newspapers in the United States, in contrast, are designed to bolster Washington's drive to topple the Sandinista government.

Woodworkers on strike in Washington wanted to discuss the recent vote in the U.S. House of Representatives in support of con-

tra aid with our sales team from Seattle.

The coverage of the developments in South Africa is another major selling point at the plant gates.

The sales teams also learn a lot from talking to the workers about what is going on in the plants.

Electrical workers at the Emerson Electric plant in St. Louis have been discussing their fight against concessions with a sales team.

Miners working near Charleston, West Virginia, told us about how they are trying to resist the company's layoff threats.

All these experiences point to growing interest in what socialists have to say.

As the employers' offensive against workers and farmers in this country and around the world deepens, there will be increasing opportunities to expand the readership of the socialist press among industrial workers.

Cops try to kill Pasadena, Calif., Black leader

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

PASADENA, Calif. — "I'm convinced they were trying to kill me," Michael Zinzun told the *Militant*. And he thinks the cops here would have succeeded had it not been for protests by his neighbors.

The assault on Zinzun on June 22 has provoked outrage, leading to a continuing round of protests. For the second time in three weeks Zinzun supporters filled the Pasadena Board of Directors chambers at city hall July 21 demanding justice.

While the cops didn't kill Zinzun, they did succeed in robbing him of the sight in his left eye, which is now covered with a black patch.

A well-known defender of Black rights, Zinzun has headed the Coalition Against Police Abuse for more than 10 years. In the mid-1970s he was a prominent leader of the fight for school desegregation here.

Long a target of the cops, Zinzun has been arrested "dozens of times," he said.

Pasadena cops got the chance many had been waiting for in the early hours of the morning of June 22. More than two dozen witnesses tell the same story about what happened.

Aroused by cries for help, Zinzun and his neighbors found Steve Roberts, his hands cuffed behind his back, lying face down in front of the housing project where he lives. Two cops were standing over him, beating him.

The gathering crowd demanded the cops stop beating the helpless man. Cursing the residents, the cops began hauling Roberts to their patrol car and called for reinforcements.

Seven additional cop cars and more police arrived on the scene.

Angered at the brutal beating, the resi-

dents asked the officers for their names and badge numbers. According to Pam Taylor, the cops told her husband Frank Taylor to "get your Black ass in the house." As he began to leave, police grabbed him, put a choke hold on him, and started beating him. He was arrested and taken to jail.

Zinzun was also leaving with his 12-year-old daughter when the cops jumped him. Zinzun is sure they singled him out. "I heard them call my name, 'Michael, Michael,' a couple of times."

In previous weeks cops had been seen tearing down Zinzun campaign posters in the area. Zinzun is a candidate for state assembly on the Peace and Freedom Party ballot slot.

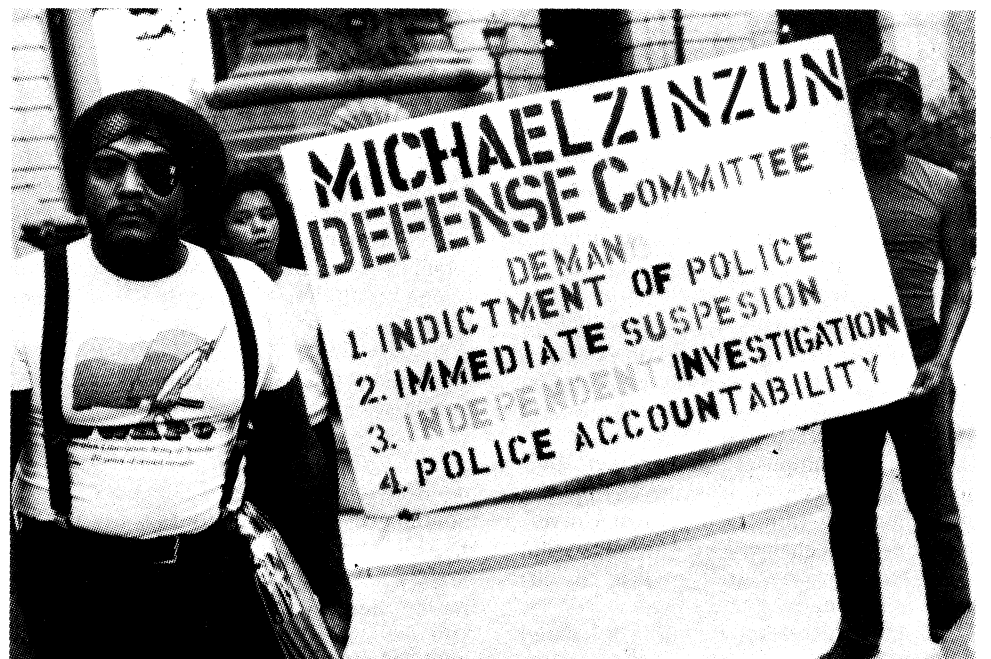
As many as 10 cops pounced on Zinzun. They beat him with billy clubs and rammed his head against a police car. It took 40 stitches to close the wounds. They smashed his eye with a metal flashlight, severing the optic nerve.

Only when Zinzun's outraged neighbors converged on the cops did they let up on beating the Black activist and turned to spraying the crowd with Mace.

Unconscious, he was taken to jail and later treated in a prison hospital. Charged with "threatening violence" against a cop, he was released on \$5,000 bail.

As for Steve Roberts, he later said he was sitting quietly, minding his own business, when the cops accosted him. The cops have said they had entered the project in response to a call about a domestic disturbance. They claimed they picked up Roberts on suspicion of burglary, but no charges are now being pressed.

At the June 21 board of directors meeting, Zinzun was among several speakers who pressed demands on city officials. De-



Michael Zinzun

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

mands include immediate suspension of the officers involved, an independent investigation, and a ban on the notorious choke hold. Deemed responsible for several deaths, cops in neighboring Los Angeles have been forced to declare the choke hold outlawed.

Toni Stewart, president of the Altadena NAACP, also spoke. Stewart had earlier said, "This is northwest Pasadena and not South Africa" and charged that "the Pasadena Police Department has a history of abuse that goes back a long way."

The mayor refused to respond to any demands, citing the advice of attorneys. "We

have to abide by the law," the mayor said.

Originally city officials had appointed a local law firm known for defending cops charged with brutality to conduct an "independent investigation." They were forced to substitute an Oakland law firm following many objections. Zinzun and supporters are now looking into the background of the Oakland firm.

At a rally outside city hall Akhele Cenge, a local law professor who was introduced as representing the African National Congress, condemned the mayor's silence as "hiding behind the law."

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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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D.C. meeting boosts Oct. antiwar actions

BY LISA AHLBERG

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The October 25 Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice got a big boost here July 27.

The Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua sponsored a meeting of 90 antiwar activists from the Mid-Atlantic region to discuss the need for an antiwar action this fall.

The activists overwhelmingly adopted a proposal presented by Griff Jones for the Washington-area coalition to organize a Mid-Atlantic regional action on October 25 to take place in the capital. Jones said that "passage of \$100 million in aid to the *contras* marks a new stage in the war on Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan people remain firm in their determination to resist."

Expressing the sentiment of the activists in the room, he continued, "We won't stop until the war is ended and Nicaraguans are free to determine their own future."

The meeting decided that the regional action would have as its demands the end to the U.S. war on Nicaragua and end to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Antiwar activists came from North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia.

The demonstration is being organized as part of the call for protest actions on October 25 in seven cities that was issued by the national Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice coalition on July 9. This broad coalition includes peace, anti-apartheid, antiwar, labor, student, and religious groups. It is demanding an end to the U.S. war on Nicaragua, breaking of all U.S. ties to the apartheid regime in South Africa, abolition of nuclear weapons, and creation of jobs by cutting the arms budget.

A number of participants stressed the importance of being part of the national Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice and linking the demand for an end to the U.S. war on Nicaragua with other issues that are on the minds of U.S. working people.

An activist from the Baltimore Central America Solidarity Committee pointed to the opportunities to build the October 25 action on the campuses. Many student anti-apartheid activists, such as the ones present at the meeting from Georgetown University who've been involved in protests demanding their universities divest from corporations doing business in South Africa, have also organized protests against the U.S. war on Nicaragua.

The participants at the regional meeting see the October 25 actions as a culmination of a series of antiwar events planned over the coming months, beginning with the "People's Filibuster" August 4-7 in Washington, D.C. Leaders of national antiwar and solidarity organizations issued a call for the August actions to take place when the U.S. Senate is scheduled to decide

whether or not to approve \$100 million in aid to the *contras*.

The meeting of Mid-Atlantic activists also decided to help build and support a conference on sanctuary for Central America refugees to take place September 26-29 in Washington, D.C. Included in the weekend is a September 28 sanctuary Pilgrimage/March that will march past the White House.

The October 10 student actions on campuses throughout the U.S. demanding divestment from South Africa were also supported. The proposal adopted by the meeting read, "Our participation draws the connections between the effort to stop the war on Nicaragua and the effort against the obscenity of apartheid: Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua!"

Another meeting was set for August 24 at 1:00 p.m. at the Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Avenue, to further discuss plans for building the October 25 actions in the region. For more information, the center can be telephoned at (202) 234-2000.

For information on the Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice around the country, contact Judy Freiwirth at the Mobilization for Survival in New York at (212) 533-0008.

Lisa Ahlberg is the Young Socialist Alliance's representative on the October 25 actions steering committee.



Susie Winsten/Militant

June 1986 anti-*contra* aid demonstration in Washington, D.C. Mid-Atlantic regional action to be held in capital October 25 will be part of nationally coordinated protests against U.S. war on Nicaragua.

Portland solidarity with Nicaragua

BY CONNIE ALLEN

PORTLAND — Several events were held in Portland, Oregon, on July 19 to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution and to oppose aid to the *contras*.

A rally in downtown Portland drew some 200 people. Speakers included Dave Worthington, president of Painters Local 724, who stated that "U.S. big capital and the U.S. government can't stand the example of Nicaragua. The U.S. media is a mouthpiece for the lies told by the White House. We need to get out the truth."

Markie Wilson, the representative from the Portland Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean, went over the two-pronged attack of the U.S. government and big business against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and El Salvador and against workers and farmers in the United States. She stated, "We don't want our brothers and sisters killed by mer-

cenaries whose fight is paid for and directed by the CIA."

She also mentioned the upcoming October 25 demonstrations called by the Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Justice. She called on unionists to take this call to their coworkers and union meetings to help mobilize the sentiment of U.S. workers against the war on Nicaragua.

Millie Thayer from the Portland Central America Solidarity Committee described a farm co-op she had visited in Polo de Yale, Nicaragua. Fifty families had started the co-op in 1984. It included homes, a health center, and a school. She received a letter the day after the House of Representatives voted for *contra* aid informing her that 17 people had died in a *contra* attack, and 13 houses and the school were destroyed. She pointed out that "in their war against the Sandinistas, the success of a community like Polo is the *contras*' most serious

enemy because of the hope it inspires. . . . Hearts and minds that cannot be won must be terrorized or eliminated."

Other speakers included Kamil Anderson from Portlanders Organized for Southern African Freedom; Dave Weynoth, president of Carpenters Local 247; Richard Brown from the Rainbow Coalition; Mark Weintraub, Lawyers Committee on Central America; and Mary Medved from Catholic Peace Ministries.

Later in the afternoon more than 300 people attended a cultural event to raise money to purchase water pumps for the hospital in Corinto, Nicaragua, Portland's sister city.

On July 18 a program entitled "Lesbians Report Back from Central America," sponsored by the Lesbian Community Organizing Project, drew 60 people. The program included a lively discussion and slide show.

International appeal for Jorge Dumet in Ecuador

An international campaign has been launched to denounce the abduction and disappearance of Jorge Stalin Dumet Aveiga in Ecuador. Dumet, a young man dedicated to popular art and theater and involved in popular organizations near Quito, was taken by government agents on June 25.

His wife, Ana Maria, witnessed the illegal search of their home and the abduction of her companion. Dumet and his wife were on their way to work and were with their three-year-old child when he was taken. Ana Dumet recognized the kidnappers as government agents, who were armed.

Since this time, he has not been seen and cannot be traced either to the police station or to the military barracks. There has been no information given about him despite insistent demands from his family, friends, popular organizations, and the University of Guayaquil, where he was studying.

The Ecuadorian police is known to interrogate prisoners by torture, and Dumet's life is in danger.

Protests should be sent to President Leon Febres Cordero, Palacio de Gobierno, Quito, Ecuador.

Copies of all appeals should be sent to the Union Federation of Workers at Guayas, FESTRAG, calles Chimborazo 1708 y Brasil, Quito, Ecuador.

Socialist educational & activists gathering will feature African, Latin American music

BY WILL REISSNER

Music will be a prominent feature of the upcoming Socialist Educational and Activists Conference to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 9-14.

The conference, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, will bring together activists from around the country and throughout the world to discuss and learn more about the struggles of working people in the United States and internationally.

There will be major talks given by leaders of the SWP, including talks on "Why We Need a Revolution in the United States," "Class Struggle Trade Unionism," and "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." Classes on Marxism and revolutionary politics, as well as workshops, will also take place.

Those attending the gathering will get a chance to enjoy top quality entertainment, as accomplished musicians bring their varied styles to the conference.

Performing at the gathering will be:

- Cabaret singer Claudia Hommel, accompanied by pianist John Walters;
- The Sechaba cultural group of the African National Congress of South Africa;
- Thiago de Mello and the 13-piece, all-star band Amazon.

On Sunday, August 11, Claudia Hommel will perform her New York cabaret act "Canciones a la Vida" at the conference. In

a *New York Times* review of her performance, critic John S. Wilson noted, "Hommel, a singer and actress who performs in both theater and cabaret, brings a sense of theater with her when she goes into cabaret."

"Canciones a la Vida" takes the form of a musical visit to Cuba and Haiti. *Times* critic Wilson wrote: "Miss Hommel's voice can be strong and soaring, and she uses it to excellent dramatic effect in her Spanish and French songs."

Last year, Claudia Hommel performed a very successful "Workingperson's Cabaret" at the Oberlin conference.

Hommel has also been active in mobilizing artists and performers in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Sechaba, the cultural group of the African National Congress of South Africa, will perform a salute to South Africa's freedom struggle with songs, dance, drama, and poetry on Monday, August 11.

Sechaba, meaning "nation," was formed by young exiles in New York City in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprisings in South Africa. The group views culture as part of the political struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, and projects that struggle in a performance blending traditional and modern dance and music and poetry.

The South African group embodies

ANC President Oliver Tambo's call for cultural workers to use "their craft to give voice, not only to grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited."

The New York-based Thiago de Mello and Amazon will be joined at a Tuesday, August 12, concert of Brazilian and Latin jazz by Los Angeles-based Llew Matthews, who delighted audiences at several socialist activist conferences in past years.

Matthews has written three new pieces for this year's performance.

Thiago de Mello and the members of Amazon have performed at many of New York's leading nightspots, as well as on national television and on numerous recordings.

Most recently, Thiago de Mello appeared at the "New Song Festival 1986" in Managua, Nicaragua, in July, during a visit to that country at the head of a delegation of artists invited by the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers.

He has long been active in organizing artists to oppose U.S. military intervention in Central America, as well as in defense of Latin American political prisoners.

Conference organizers urge everyone interested in attending the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference to contact the nearest Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party office listed in the directory on page 16.

Winnie Mandela:

'No way open for us other than sanctions'

Anti-apartheid fighter on Radio Havana

The following interview with Winnie Mandela, the anti-apartheid leader who is married to imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, was carried on Radio Havana Cuba (RHC). It was issued June 14, two days after a nationwide state of emergency was imposed on South Africa by the regime of President Pieter Botha.

Radio Havana also carried a month of special coverage on the anti-apartheid struggle beginning June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, and ending July 18, the 68th birthday of Nelson Mandela.

The programming included anti-apartheid music and poetry, an interview with ANC President Oliver Tambo, special coverage of anti-apartheid protests inside and outside of South Africa, messages from prominent people in solidarity with Nelson Mandela, and birthday greetings from listeners to the imprisoned hero of the freedom struggle.

The introduction to the interview with Winnie Mandela describes the banning orders that she has lived under for many years. The ban was lifted July 7.

* * *

Winnie Mandela was first banned by the South African regime 24 years ago. The same 24 years her husband, Nelson Mandela, has spent in prison.

"Banning" is a curious perversity of apartheid law: it is meant to cut off all social contact, and nearly all human contact. To make a person invisible to their neighbors and friends, lock up their ideas, silence their opinions. Winnie Mandela is forbidden to speak to more than one person at a time, to speak her mind on apartheid at all. And she is banished as well as banned, forbidden to live in her own home in Johannesburg. But that was where we found her for this telephone conversation.

Question. At this point, Mrs. Mandela, what is the current status of your banning order?

Answer. Well, as far as the government is concerned, I am banned as I have always been. The only difference is that I brought myself home, and I ignored the physical restrictions of my banning order. Then they tried to reimpose certain aspects of the banning order and not the others. So at this moment, not even the government is clear of what it is trying to do to me and to people like myself. As far as I am concerned, I've reached a stage where I had taken more than enough and I could take no more!

Q. People like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher have told the international community that P.W. Botha is making changes and that apartheid is dying, that there are reforms going on.

A. They would only say so of course from the comfort of their palaces. They can afford to say that. They are not burying their people as we do every day. To them, we are nothing more than their vested interests. We are nothing more than their trade. They are not interested in the welfare of our people. They are propping up Pretoria. They are propping up the immoral racist regime. Had it not been for Margaret and Ronald, apartheid would have long been dismantled. But as long as Pretoria has these allies, the most powerful countries in the Western world, the United States and Britain, it will continue perpetrating acts of the most tragic violations of civil rights humankind has ever seen.

Q. Mrs. Mandela, can complete and worldwide economic sanctions against South Africa help bring an end to apartheid?

A. Absolutely! Those are the only peaceful doors that are open to us. We are originally a very peaceful people. Up until the '80s, the African National Congress did

not rise up against our oppressors. Up to that stage, the black man bore the country's racism, bore the worst insult any human being could endure: the insult to his dignity, a violation of the most fundamental of basic human rights. It is now apparent that the government was and is in no way prepared to change whatsoever.

And we could no longer stand the humiliation of being oppressed by a minority. We took the only honorable stand that was open to us, that of accepting the inevitability of armed struggle. All we are saying is we can no longer give the other cheek: you have been hitting us all these years. The government then found a way of not attacking us individually, but literally occupying our townships, and unleashing the worst violence any country has ever seen.

We see no other way towards a peaceful solution other than methods whereby this country could be strangled economically. That the country be isolated. That foreign companies leave us to fight our battles and not finance our bloodshed, and not finance the armaments that kill us every day. Each time we lower each coffin, each time we pick up a body of our people in the streets, we know the allies of that bloodbath are America and Great Britain.

We know of no other way, no other viable avenue that is open for us other than sanctions against our country, disinvestment. And not just token sanctions, mandatory sanctions in their entirety. That way, the minority regime will be brought to its knees. Already the downfall of the rand has been a very telling lesson to our oppressors. And for the first time, we saw white South Africa reacting to the country's repression, only because its pocket was beginning to be hit hard.

Q. In this period of heightened struggle within your country, with the anniversary of the massacre of the children of Soweto, what does the international solidarity movement mean for the South African people?

A. If we did not have the brotherliness and the sisterhood of mankind, if we did not have that solidarity, I hardly think mankind would have known of the immorality of our society. If we have had the courage to go on against such odds in our fight against apartheid, in part it has been because we know on our side and behind us we have the caring international community. And those countries who have gone out of their way to identify themselves with our painful struggle, such as Cuba. You have morally boosted us, helping us to go on against those odds, against machine guns. Even our children have been encouraged to go forward towards liberation against one of the most armed armies in the world. Our children, our beleaguered brothers and sisters, have gone on against the enemy's machine guns with bare hands.

Q. Monday will be the anniversary of the Soweto massacre. What is being planned? And what is the difference between the Soweto of today and the Soweto of ten years ago?

A. Well, the Soweto of 1986 is perhaps even more tragic than the Soweto of 1976. 1976, as we all know, was a spontaneous reaction of a people's bottled emotions, bottled over generations. A people that continued knocking on deaf doors of Pretoria, of the racist minority regime which was not prepared and still is not prepared to listen to the aspirations of the oppressed people of our country.

What happened? The struggle became more protracted. It has been an ongoing struggle, an ongoing sacrifice on members of the community, of all ages, not only children. It has been a very painful scenario to us to stand by and see the blood of our people shed so unnecessarily, and shed by people who do not care at all for the value of our lives.

1986 is much more violent than 1976.



Winnie Mandela with portrait of Nelson. Asked if worldwide economic sanctions would help bring end to apartheid, she replied: "Absolutely!"

The government has unleashed its worst force. The government has continued to pass more and more repressive legislation. As a matter of fact, we are now faced with a situation where the people, the oppressed people, must accept the fact that the minority regime is challenging them in a very daring sort of way. The banning of the '70s, of the 16th and the 26th of June, is a gigantic affront to the oppressed people of our country, and nothing less than a declaration of war on the oppressed people of our country.

I'm afraid 1986, 16th of June, may even be uglier than 1976. Because we do not see any way how the oppressed people can accede to the demands of the government, and not mourn in a dignified way the deaths of thousands of our people. We cannot even mourn peacefully.

The minority regime must determine even the manner of how we should express our emotions. The government has gone too far in its challenge.

Q. Mrs. Mandela, I understand from the international wire service that both black and white students have been out on somewhat of a school strike and that among their demands are freedom for Nelson Mandela and an end to apartheid education.

A. It is true: both black and white students have been fighting our cause, although of course we have the usual problems that emanate from the apartheid concept which is a divisive measure that divides communities, that divides groups; and the emphasis is laid on the question of color. We do not have the majority of white students on our side. This is precisely what we are fighting for. And we have been gratified about the level of consciousness that has emanated from those students of other colors. As far as we are concerned, of course, as you know, we have no concept of color at all. Our struggle is a just struggle of all who live in this country who are oppressed as we are.

Q. Did you know that the Cuban

Mandela book called 'must reading'

BY RASHAAD ALI

"This book is must reading for those who work toward worldwide brotherhood," states author Ellen Tarry in her review of *The Struggle Is My Life* by jailed South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela. The review appeared in the June 28 *Amsterdam News*, the largest circulation Black weekly in New York City.

Mandela's new book was just published by Pathfinder Press, which Tarry says "could not have found a more opportune time to publish this volume of writings, speeches, and biographical sketches" by the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

She also explained that "activists and scholars will see a possible blueprint for revolution by an oppressed majority under the heel of [the] self-imposed minority" in South Africa.

"Any person, Black or white," she says, "will stand a bit taller after he reads Mandela's statement" to South African President Pieter Botha in 1985 concerning the conditions for his release from jail. The apartheid president demanded Mandela re-

Pioneers collected money to rebuild your home?

A. I am so touched. I am aware that your country is not a rich one, and I know how much of a sacrifice it is. And much more touching is the fact that this is a humble gesture from children, whom I wouldn't have expected to be so aware of our deep problems in our country. Thank the children who have shown so much commitment. With their tender hearts, it is their love, the love of the rest of mankind that will assist us in attaining our hard-fought peace and our aspirations.

Q. Your husband will be 68 on July 18th. We would like you to know that through our radio station, young people and children, figures from around the world, will take that opportunity to send their greetings to Nelson Mandela and to the other ANC leadership in jail.

A. It is that warmth that exudes thousands and thousands of miles away which we feel so far. Had it not been for the love of the caring world, had it not been for you, for all those who cared, for all the countries that have recognized our struggle, for all those countries that have identified with our plight, with our pain, I hardly think we would have had the courage to go on. It is that love that continues giving us the inspiration; it is that love, that has given us that strength. And to those throughout the world who find themselves in the same position as we are, although it might not be to the same degree, to them we say: You must hold on! And it is that brotherliness, that sisterhood of mankind, God's gift of love, that has made us sustain this protracted struggle. We hope for that day when we shall be able to express our gratitude in a dignified and acceptable manner, when we shall join hands and beam with joy after we shall have overcome our painful and protracted struggle.

Q. Thank you, Mrs. Mandela. ... Thank you very much and Venceremos!

A. Of course we shall win. With your love, we can only win!

nounce violence, to which he replied, "I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

In his review in the *Newark Star Ledger*, Roger Harris states that "Mandela's style is frequently rich and beautiful and the beauty is augmented by his inspirational qualities and the logic and determination behind his writing." He goes on to say, "It is a work that enriches our understanding about the long struggle for freedom" in South Africa.

Announcements of the publication of *The Struggle Is My Life* have been carried in a number of different magazines and newspapers around the country.

The most notable of these is the July 21 issue of *Jet* magazine, a prominent Black periodical published in Chicago and distributed in the hundreds of thousands in the United States.

Haiti Progrès, a French-language Haitian newspaper published in New York, carried a notice of the book's publication, as did the *People's Daily World*. Newspapers in Phoenix; Milwaukee; San Diego, California; and Portland, Oregon, also announced publication.

Giveback contract forced on striking woodworkers at Weyerhaeuser

BY TIM MAILHOT

OLYMPIA, Wash. — Following two weeks of threats from Weyerhaeuser Co. that it would cut 2,300 logging jobs and begin hiring scabs if a current contract offer was turned down, striking members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) voted 2,833 to 1,458 to accept the offer. The contract included wage and benefit cuts of \$4.00 an hour, profit-sharing based on each operation's yearly profitability, a no-strike clause, and a no-amnesty clause that will allow the company to victimize strikers for their picket line activity.

Members of the Lumber Production and Industrial Workers (LPIW) union also voted to approve the same contract.

The results of the IWA vote were announced July 25, only hours after 2,500 striking loggers and mill workers and their supporters rallied at the state capitol here in Olympia to demonstrate opposition to Weyerhaeuser Co.'s "last and final" contract offer.

The rally came at the end of a four-day, 100-mile march, which began at the logging towns of Raymond and Aberdeen and wound through many of the smaller logging towns that have been hard hit by the closing of mills over the last five years.

As the marchers arrived at the capitol grounds, they clearly showed their frustrations with this latest blackmail threat. They put both hands behind their heads as if pris-

oners and chanted back and forth, "We're fired up, won't take it no more."

The tone of the speakers at the rally was that whether or not this contract was approved, working people need to unite to fight corporate greed. Mike Draper from the LPIW said, "Rallies like this send a message to not just the state politicians, but to the federal ones too. Maybe what we need is a march on Washington, D.C."

He closed by addressing the children at the rally. "This fight isn't for me or the other strikers. We don't stand to gain much. It's to make the workshop a better place tomorrow for you," he said.

Responding to Weyerhaeuser's announcement that it made profits of more than \$118 million for the first half of the year, Keith Johnson, International president of the IWA, said, "Weyerhaeuser did not engage in collective bargaining, but in threats, ultimatums, and deadlocks. When we see companies acting so arrogantly, perhaps the people should consider taking them over and running them for their benefit."

One speaker who didn't receive a warm welcome was Gov. Booth Gardner. His election campaign in 1984 was backed by many of the official labor bodies of the state. His refusal to intervene in favor of the strikers didn't surprise too many workers. He is married to an heir to the Weyerhaeuser fortune.

"We all have to learn to accept change if this industry is going to survive," Booth said to a chorus of boos. His speech was cut short.

Hugh Cruickshank, a striking LPIW member, expressed the sentiment of many at the rally, "If you don't fight, you won't get anywhere. You just roll over and die. They'll just keep kicking you and kicking you."

Anti-apartheid movement wins divestment fight at U. of California

BY ANDREW HUNT

SANTA CRUZ, Calif. — On July 18 the anti-apartheid movement won an important victory when the regents of the University of California voted to divest its funds from all companies doing business in South Africa. The University of California has \$3.3 billion invested in corporations operating in South Africa.

The divestment plan, which was approved by a vote of 13 to 4, with one abstention, calls for phased divestment over three years after a one-year "grace period."

The action came the day after California Gov. George Deukmejian, who is a regent, called for divestment for the first time. The phased plan was his proposal.

The second-largest divestment in the United States so far came as the result of a sustained campaign, which included sit-ins, thousands of arrests, police riots, and the building of shantytowns at campuses throughout the UC system.

About 200 students from all over the state rallied outside the Board of Regents meeting at UC Santa Cruz where the vote was taken. When the vote was announced, they cheered and began to chant, "UC regents, you remember, we'll be back in September" and "Freedom for South Africa!"

Ken Shaffer, a leader of the Coalition of Concerned UC students at Santa Cruz, told the *Militant*: "This is a positive first step, although we recognize the problems of phased divestment. It falls short of the ultimate goal, which is one person, one vote in Africa. Our ultimate goal is total divestment now."

After the vote students from UCs at Berkeley, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and other campuses met and discussed plans for coordinated statewide actions on October 10-11 for South African Political Prisoners' Day in response to a call for action by anti-apartheid conferences in San Francisco and New York June 27-29.

Andrew Hunt is a member of the Mandela Coalition at San Jose State University.



Militant/Tim Mailhot
Striking woodworkers and supporters rally at State Capitol in Olympia, Washington, July 25.

Oscar Mayer locks out workers, recruits scabs

BY OMARI MUSA

CHICAGO — The Oscar Mayer company here locked out nearly 700 meatpackers July 21 and began taking applications for "temporary workers." The locked-out workers are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local 100.

This was the company's answer to the rejection of its latest contract proposal. The day before the lockout, more than 600 meatpackers met to discuss and decide on the company's offer.

Oscar Mayer proposed a 10-month contract with a wage and benefits freeze. Oscar Mayer initially proposed more deep-going cuts in wages and benefits. After the workers overwhelmingly rejected that offer, the company promptly "laid off" 600 of the 685 workers at the plant.

While Local 100 members did not voice opposition to the wage freeze, to have accepted the 10-month contract would have meant facing the company from a position of weakness next May.

During the July 20 meeting, several

workers pointed out that the contracts of the more than 2,300 UFCW members employed at the Madison, Wisconsin, and Davenport, Iowa, plants expire August 31. They reasoned if they could hold out until September 1, all three locals would be in a much stronger position to halt and turn back the giant packinghouse chain's drive for concessions.

Only one worker took the floor to urge a yes vote on the company's proposal. After two hours of discussion, the workers voted down the proposal 367 to 146.

Both Local 100 Secretary-treasurer Walter Piotrowski and UFCW Vice-president Lewie Anderson, who is director of the national union's Packinghouse Division, struck militant postures in their presentations, urging a no vote on the proposal.

I asked several workers attending the meeting why they thought Anderson opposed the company's offer.

"The specter of what he did to P-9 is in the room. He's trying to get the mud off his face," one sister told me, referring to his

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Socialist candidates campaign in Albany

BY ANDY COATES

ALBANY, N.Y. — "July 19, 1986 — 300 Years of Albany. Seven years of freedom in Nicaragua! Stop U.S. intervention in Central America! — Central American Solidarity Alliance." This banner led a contingent of about 20 activists in Albany's Tricentennial Parade.

The biggest contingents in this parade were in uniform. And the uniform of the day was camouflage combat fatigues. The Central American Solidarity Alliance banner stood out strongly against this background and received a noisy welcome of applause and cheers all along the parade route.

Mike Shur, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, joined the solidarity alliance contingent a third of the way through the parade. Six others also joined in along the way.

Two antiwar activists flanked the banner, passing out hundreds of leaflets on Nicaragua and the U.S. government's effort to overthrow the Sandinista government. Following the parade, this group of marchers signed petitions to put Mike Shur and local SWP congressional candidate Jim Callahan on the ballot.

A petitioning team of 10 also took the Socialist Workers Party campaign to the streets of Schenectady, Albany, and Troy that day.

After the petitioning team was joined by others at an Albany campaign headquarters open house where a Young Socialist Alliance class on the Nicaraguan revolution took place. Two people formerly from Soweto in South Africa, but now living in Troy, were among those attending.

The YSA class on Nicaragua was the

most recent in a weekly series, cosponsored by the Socialist Workers campaign, that began in June. About 50 different people have come to the classes.

Petitioners in the Albany Capital District have reported an especially good response when they explain that the Socialist Work-

ers campaign is for a workers' and farmers' government. Farming in the area around the Capital District has suffered devastating blows in the last 15 years. This crisis accelerated greatly this year when the U.S. government sponsored the slaughtering of dairy herds.

Detroit city workers reject contract

Detroit city workers, members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District 25, voted July 28 to reject the city's contract offer and continue their strike.

The 7,000 city workers went out on strike July 16. Those on the picket lines include public health employees, clerical workers, bus mechanics, and zoo workers.

Trash collectors and bus drivers are honoring the picket lines.

The workers are demanding a 26 percent pay raise over the life of the contract.

In the rejected contract, the city administration proposed a pay increase of 5 percent in the first year, but tied raises in the second and third years to the city's "financial condition."

Mayor Coleman Young's administration modeled its offer after the contracts the United Auto Workers signed with Ford Motor Co., Chrysler Corp., and General Motors Corp., which gave the auto workers lump-sum bonuses and profit-sharing schemes instead of pay raises.

Young has also been trying to get a court injunction that would force the workers back to their jobs.

Leaders of the union had recommended approval of the contract.

Anderson Briggs, a striking sewage plant worker, summed up the feelings of those who were instrumental in having the pact voted down. "You know when the time comes, the city's going to be crying poor."

"We don't want any formula. We want guaranteed raises over the whole three years," said striker Sheldon Donald.

New York petitioning

Continued from back page

Campaign supporters will be organizing an extensive effort to secure messages of support for the party's ballot rights from prominent trade unionists and civil libertarians.

In the week ahead the campaign headquarters will remain a beehive of activity as teams of volunteers prepare the thousands of petition sheets for formal presentation to state officials. Capping the drive will be a campaign picnic in Brooklyn's Prospect Park, Sunday, August 3, at 2 p.m., to which all campaign supporters are invited.

Call (212) 925-1668 for more information or stop by the campaign headquarters, located at 79 Leonard Street in Manhattan.

Symposium salutes Nicaragua autonomy plan

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "We have been treated like strangers in our own land ever since the arrival of the Spanish and Anglo-Saxons, beginning in 1492," declared Indians from North and Latin America at an international symposium here.

"We condemn the U.S. government for giving \$100 million to the contras [attacking Nicaragua] just as we repudiate the genocide the U.S. government is carrying out against the Hopis and Navajos of Big Mountain [Arizona] and the life sentence imposed on Leonard Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement," the declaration said.

"We agree to support the autonomy project under way for the Atlantic Coast [of Nicaragua], which the indigenous peoples and Sandinista government are offering as a means to resolve the ethnic-cultural problem, with the goal of achieving full unity of the Nicaraguan nation."

This statement was one of several issued by delegates at the International Symposium on the State, Autonomy, and Indigenous Rights, held here July 13-15. The symposium brought together representatives of Indian and Black groups, as well as sociologists, anthropologists, and intellectuals. More than 100 people attended.

The meeting was organized by Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission to spur international support for the autonomy project being carried out on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Background to autonomy

Unlike Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, peopled mainly by Spanish-speaking *mestizos*, the Atlantic Coast is made up of Miskito, Rama, and Sumo Indians; Garifonas, who are descendants of Caribe Indians and African slaves; Creoles, also descendants of slaves; and mestizos.

Each of the Indian and Black groups has its own historical language, culture, and traditions. These were suppressed by the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and British and U.S. corporations who dominated the Atlantic Coast until Somoza's overthrow in the Sandinista revolution of July 19, 1979.

The symposium heard Ray Hooker, coordinator of the National Autonomy Commission, describe the "mutilation" of racial pride on the Atlantic Coast under Somoza. "Before the triumph of the revolution,"



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Nicaraguan autonomy commission president Tomás Borge: for U.S. imperialists to support autonomy "would be like putting a gun to their heads and pulling the trigger."

he explained, "Miskitos who emigrated to the Pacific usually denied their Indian identity, pretending they were Spanish-speaking mestizos."

"The Ramas and Garifonas virtually lost their language. As late as July 19, 1979, Black parents gave preference to the lighter-colored children of the family. The Sumo child was required, as if by miracle, to learn Spanish the first day of school."

Nicaragua's new, revolutionary government initially sought to overcome the discrimination, economic backwardness, and political isolation of the Coast through massive investment in social and economic projects, Hooker said. But active participation in the revolution by Atlantic Coast residents, known as Costeños, remained far less than that of people on the Pacific.

Effect of war

Then the U.S.-backed mercenary war began in 1981, targeting the Atlantic Coast in particular. More than 35 percent of all the war damage to Nicaragua has occurred on the Atlantic Coast.

"This policy of death and destruction forced the revolution to introduce a military component to its original approach to the problems of the Atlantic Coast," Hooker explained. "It soon became apparent, however, that the military component

— while necessary to repel foreign aggression — exacerbated the difficult problems of the Atlantic Coast."

Washington succeeded in recruiting Miskitos and other Costeños to its counter-revolutionary bands, while the process of winning Costeños to participation in the revolution still lagged.

Through a process of discussion between the Nicaraguan government and Costeños, the autonomy project emerged. Its goal is to establish autonomous government structures on the Atlantic Coast that will promote the region's several languages and cultures, control use of local natural resources, and strengthen the voice of Costeños in national affairs.

For almost a year, a draft document outlining the autonomy proposal has been discussed in villages and towns on the Coast. The discussion has begun to attract Miskitos and other Costeños who originally took up arms against the government and are now joining in cease-fires and dialogues with the Sandinistas. Participating in the symposium here, for example, were four commanders of the armed Miskito group Pro-Peace Kisan.

'An example for millions'

In a major speech to the symposium, National Autonomy Commission President Tomás Borge pointed to the autonomy project in Nicaragua as an example for the tens of millions of Indians and Blacks throughout the continent who are denied their rights. Borge is a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Historically, said Borge, Nicaragua's Indians and Blacks were not even considered human beings by the U.S. government. Then the Sandinista revolution took power in 1979.

"All of a sudden," said Borge, "the murderer of the U.S. Indians discovers that the Miskitos are men. He discovers they are victims of 'Sandinista genocide,' and from then on, allocates huge resources to organize them in the counterrevolutionary army."

Washington's scorn for Indians in Nicaragua is matched by its contempt for Indians in the United States, Borge pointed out. He condemned U.S. Public Law 93-531, which divides the territory of Hopi and Navajo Indians in Big Mountain,

Arizona, and is forcing thousands of them off their land so that the Peabody Coal Co. can get at the mineral resources beneath the soil.

Nicaragua's autonomy project, said Borge, "means rights, it means land, it means rejecting the big landowners and the transnationals, and above all it serves as an example to the millions and millions of Latin Americans discriminated against for ethnic reasons."

"Imperialism can map out answers to some of the problems of Latin America, but it can never resolve the ethnic problem. For the imperialists to support autonomy would be like putting a gun to their heads and pulling the trigger."

In the spirit of the new dignity Indians are achieving in Nicaragua, various delegates put forward proposals for deepening the Indian rights struggle throughout the continent. One proposal was to organize against the international celebration planned by the Spanish government on Oct. 12, 1992, the 500th anniversary of the landing of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. The colonial destruction of Indian culture and life dates from this time. Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt), a delegate from the International Indian Treaty Council and the American Indian Movement, told the *Militant* the date should instead be turned into "an international day of solidarity with the struggle of indigenous peoples."

Panamanian Indian struggle

Indian delegates to the symposium from Panama asked for support to the struggle of Kuna and Guaymie Indians whose land is being stolen by large landlords in that country. In an interview with the FSLN daily *Barricada*, Marcial Arias from the Movement of Kuna Youth also called for solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions.

"We as Kunas join the appeal for unity to confront the situation facing the Nicaraguan people," he said. "We have stood with the Cuban revolution. We believe in both these revolutions because it is only within a revolutionary process that the problems of the Indians have become known."

The symposium as a whole studied and debated Nicaragua's draft autonomy document. At the conclusion of the gathering, a general declaration was issued by delegates stating that "the Sandinista People's Revolution is working to make effective, through the autonomy process, the full exercise of the historic rights of the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua."

The declaration condemned "the aggression the Nicaraguan people are suffering from U.S. imperialism" and offered "unconditional support to the defense of the Nicaraguan people's sovereignty."

Other resolutions emerged from the symposium signed by some, but not all, delegates. The declaration backing the Hopi-Navajo land struggle and Leonard Peltier, which also called for protesting the Spanish government's 1992 celebration and the attacks on Panamanian Indians, was signed by Indian representatives from the United States, Canada, Nicaragua, Mexico, Brazil, Panama, and Honduras.

Indian delegates also organized a separate caucus meeting during the symposium to discuss the autonomy proposal and the Indian rights struggle as a whole.

Another resolution was issued by some delegates calling on social scientists "to link themselves to the people's movements." This was drawn up in response to objections raised during the symposium that some academics studying the Indian question in other countries have traditionally failed to speak out against suppression of Indians in their own countries.

Wabun-Inini and Troy Lane, another delegate from the International Indian Treaty Council, told the *Militant* they would return to the United States to get out the truth about the autonomy process in Nicaragua.

"We are going to take this message back to the American people," said Wabun-Inini. "That we support the autonomy process, which is moving forward and is the model; that we should halt the U.S. war on Nicaragua; and that we should halt the \$100 million going to the CIA."

International youth conference in Managua

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A Meeting of Latin American and Caribbean Youths and Students took place here July 16-18. The 166 delegates discussed the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America, the struggle for self-determination and democracy throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, and the foreign debt.

The gathering was a follow-up to the Conference of Political Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean on Peace and Nonintervention in Central America held here last February to promote solidarity with Nicaragua.

The July meeting brought together delegates from 110 youth and student organizations in 26 countries. They came from a broad range of diverse political currents: youth groups of social-democratic, communist, and capitalist parties; national liberation movements; church organizations; and student groups.

José David Ramos, a delegate from the Puerto Rican Independence Party, told the *Militant*, "Although the various groups of Puerto Rico have differences, here we are united because we understand that Nicaragua is in the forefront of the fight against imperialism."

"We fight so that imperialism will not intervene in our countries," explained Enith Alern Prieto. She came representing the Cuban High School Students Federation.

"I participated in the discussion on the foreign debt and the influence it has on each country," she said. "One of the proposals made was for students and youths to build actions against the debt throughout the world on October 23. Also, for us to build demonstrations and activities in soli-

arity with the Nicaraguan people and against U.S. intervention."

Although the conference did not adopt action proposals, at the final session Sandinista Youth leader Pedro Hurtado Vega reported on the various ideas for action discussed by delegates. The Sandinista Youth sponsored the conference, along with the National Union of Nicaraguan Students and the Federation of High School Students of Nicaragua.

Hurtado said the ideas for solidarity actions with Nicaragua had been put forth "in accordance with the particular conditions and possibilities in each country and organization." They included organizing brigades to pick coffee in Nicaragua; campaigns to raise funds and material; the formation of a Latin American youth front against U.S. intervention; a continental day of solidarity with Nicaragua; protesting the U.S. mercenary war during the October 23 debt demonstrations; demonstrations on Nicaragua's behalf at U.S. embassies; and gathering petitions and letters of protest to the U.S. Congress.

Delegates to the conference also met with Sandinista Youth in the Ministry of the Interior and with garment and construction workers.

Terence Albert Marryshow from the Maurice Bishop Youth Organization in Grenada said he was impressed with the combative spirit of the Ministry of Interior youths. He also condemned the \$100 million voted by the U.S. House of Representatives for the mercenaries attacking Nicaragua.

"We believe Nicaragua deserves to be left alone," he told the *Militant*, "so they can develop their own process as they see

fit."

Danny Roberts, vice-president of the Jamaican People's National Party Youth Organization, said, "I'm particularly happy that I'm here to obtain a firsthand experience of what the Nicaraguan people are facing. I'm in a better position to explain how the Nicaraguan people see their struggle."

Roberts addressed the opening day of the conference, stressing the need for greater unity between the peoples of the Caribbean and of Latin America.

The delegates also held a "Face the People" meeting with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who answered questions from the youths about the Sandinista revolution.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Delegates at youth conference in Managua

'Challenger' report exposes U.S. warmakers' disregard for human life

BY ALICIA MEREL

The family of Michael Smith, the pilot of the space shuttle *Challenger* on its catastrophic January 28 flight, filed a \$15-million negligence claim July 15. Named as defendants are the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Lawrence Mulloy, former head of the agency's solid-fuel rocket booster program at the Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama.

This was the first suit filed by relatives of the *Challenger*'s seven-member crew.

If there is any justice, Smith's family will get the \$15 million and more. The June 9 report to Reagan by the presidential commission on the space shuttle accident, headed by former Nixon administration Secretary of State William Rogers, lays bare the chilling disregard for human life that permeates the U.S. war machine.

The crooked handling of the shuttle project was thrown into relief again when NASA belatedly revealed that the crew had not been killed instantly when the craft exploded, as NASA had claimed, and that they knew that a disaster had taken place and activated emergency air supplies.

NASA is pushing ahead with the shuttle program, which plays a part in the U.S. government's plans for the development of space weaponry and for military surveillance over the Soviet Union and other countries. But officials admit to having trouble redesigning the rocket booster that was the immediate cause of the accident. The next flight has been put off until no sooner than early 1988.

Jane Smith, widow of the *Challenger* pilot, stated that the Rogers report exposed "incredibly terrible judgements, shockingly sparse concerns for human life, instances of officials lacking the courage to exercise the responsibilities of their high office, and some very bewildering thought processes."

The commission found that the cause of the accident was failure of the O-rings on the right side booster rocket joint. The rubbery O-rings are supposed to seal the joint and prevent hot gases from leaking through and making contact with burning propellants in the motor. Low temperatures on launch day stiffened the rings so they could not seal off the gases. The explosion resulted.

This was not a mere equipment flaw but, as the commission put it, "an accident rooted in history." The fact that the joint did not work properly was known to NASA engineers at Marshall since 1977, four years before the first shuttle flight.

The report states: "The space shuttle's solid rocket booster problem began with the faulty design of its joint and increased as both NASA and contractor management first failed to recognize it as a problem, then failed to fix it, and finally treated it as an acceptable flight risk."

It goes on to state, "As tests and then flights confirmed damages to the sealing rings, the reaction by both NASA and Thiokol [the corporation that had the booster contract] was to increase the amount of damage considered 'acceptable.' At no time did management either recommend a redesign of the joint or call for the shuttle's grounding until the problem was solved."

In 1977, two engineers called for redesign of the joint. They wrote that this was "mandatory to prevent hot gas leaks and resulting catastrophic failure."

'Completely unacceptable'

A 1979 memo found the joints "completely unacceptable."

In 1980 a safety review panel preparing for the first shuttle flight wrote that laboratory findings showed the O-rings "inadequate to provide operational program reliability and marginal to provide adequate safety factor confidence." In 1985 there were cases of O-ring damage during flight, including a severe problem during a launch in 53-degree weather.

In July 1985, NASA officials at Marshall imposed a "launch constraint." This was supposed to prevent any further launches from taking place until the problem with the booster joints was fixed. There were six shuttle flights after that date, including the January 28 launch. In each case, waivers were signed by project director Lawrence Mulloy, which allowed the launches to take place.

This pattern continued up to the *Challenger* launch as engineers tried to have it canceled and were overruled by NASA and Morton Thiokol Corp. executives.

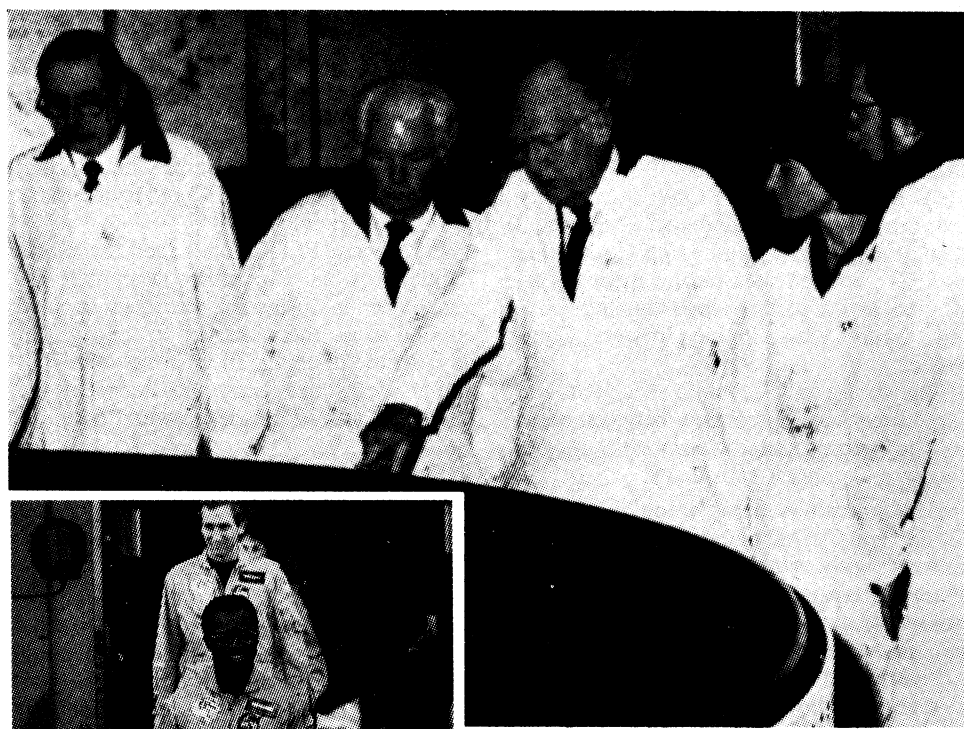
NASA officials told the commission that there was no correlation between launch temperature and O-ring problems on previous flights. The commission disagreed. In all four prior flights that launched below 65 degrees, there was damage to the O-rings; of 20 flights in warmer weather, only 3 experienced damage to the O-rings. The *Challenger* was allowed to launch at a temperature of 38 degrees Fahrenheit, the lowest yet for a launch, after a night of freezing cold.

But the O-rings were not the only part of the shuttle that presented a threat to life. The Rogers Commission report recommended redesign or repairs in several other areas.

The commission noted that shuttle program management "considered first-stage abort options and crew escape options several times during the history of the program but . . . no systems were implemented." "Program cost and schedule" was cited as one reason.

The commission pointed out that there was no indication during testimony at its hearings that a single safety or quality control person had ever been involved in the process of deciding to launch.

The report also notes that "at Kennedy Space Center, numerous contract employees have worked 72 hours per week or longer and frequent 12-hour shifts. The potential implications of such overtime for safety were made apparent during the attempted launch of mission 61C on Jan. 6, 1986, when fatigue and shiftwork were cited as major contributing factors to a seri-



Challenger commissioners examine rocket segment and O-ring. A 1979 memo found design of rocket booster joints "completely unacceptable." Yet NASA officials went ahead with frequent space shuttle launches, sacrificing crew (inset).

ous incident involving a liquid oxygen depletion that occurred less than five minutes before scheduled liftoff."

Push for more flights

The drive to increase the number of flights was one factor in the brutal disregard for safety at NASA. In 1985 NASA projected reaching 24 flights per year by 1990. For 1986, the goal was a record 15.

Supposedly nonmilitary flights played an important part in public relations efforts to create a peaceful image for what was essentially a war preparations program.

Before the *Challenger* disaster, one-third of NASA's payloads through 1994 had been reserved for the military. Forty percent were for the use of NASA and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for weather satellites and for various, supposedly nonmilitary, scientific investigations.

Commercial flights were also encouraged in hopes that corporate users would eventually underwrite more of the costs.

The patriotic hoopla whipped up by the media around each shuttle flight — and the use of gimmicks such as placing a congressman or teacher on the flights — was used to gain support for the program.

The accident has forced shuttle program planners to strip the program down to ba-

sics. As many as seven of the next nine projected flights are to be military.

Only one of the three remaining shuttles, the *Atlantis*, has *Challenger*'s capacity to carry a Centaur upper rocket stage. This makes it possible to lift satellites and other spying equipment from the low orbit of the shuttle to the 23,000-mile-high orbit required for surveillance of the Soviet Union. The longer the resumption of shuttle flights is delayed, the more pressure will grow to push on with the program in order to get those spy satellites into orbit.

The Rogers Commission report recommended that "no design options should be prematurely precluded because of schedule, cost or reliance on existing hardware." But now NASA says it hopes to redesign the booster rockets so that existing hardware can be used. Only if this equipment proves unable to pass safety reviews and tests will it develop a totally new design.

This is one of many indications that the NASA decision-making process, sharply criticized by the Rogers Commission as contributing to the crime of the *Challenger* launch, has not basically changed.

These decisions, like the U.S. government's entire space program, are rooted in the antihuman priorities of the U.S. warmakers — the capitalist government and the corporate profiteers.

Marcos admits his cops spied on Filipinos in U.S.

BY HARRY RING

Ex-dictator Ferdinand Marcos has admitted under oath that during his rule three different Philippine agencies maintained secret police operations in the United States. Their main purpose was to spy on Filipino residents of this country opposed to the Marcos regime.

Marcos further testified that these secret police operated under cloak of the Philippine embassy in Washington and consulates in several cities. This is a violation of U.S. law since none of these cops were registered as foreign agents.

The Marcos admission came in the form of a pretrial deposition related to a civil rights suit initiated by the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

Domingo and Viernes were leaders of the anti-Marcos movement in this country who were gunned down in Seattle five years ago. From the outset many insisted that the Marcos government was involved in the murders, and documents obtained since he fled to Hawaii offer important evidence confirming this.

Marcos was deposed at his current residence in Honolulu for a total of about eight hours July 14-15. Further sessions were postponed until August 11 because of a prior commitment by his lawyer.

Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo were both officials of Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, as well as leaders of the Union of Democratic Filipinos. They were gunned down June 1, 1981, while working at the union hall.

Viernes died instantly, but Domingo lived long enough to name their assailants.

Three men were convicted of the killings, but a key suspect in the conspiracy to commit the crime, Tony Baruso, was not prosecuted.

In his Honolulu deposition, Marcos admitted that his National Intelligence Security Agency, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and the National Bureau of Investigation all maintained U.S. surveillance operations through the embassy and consulates, collecting information on the movement here in opposition to his rule.

Cindy Domingo, a leader of the Domingo-Viernes justice committee, said that Marcos initially tried to avoid answering questions in relation to secret police operations here, on grounds of Philippine "national security."

But, Domingo said, this was countered by attorney Mark Bernstein, who represented the current Philippine government at the Marcos deposition. Since his ouster, Bernstein declared, Marcos has no basis of any kind to speak for the Philippine government. Marcos then answered the questions.

Domingo said this was the first time that Marcos had acknowledged publicly that his secret police did operate in this way in the United States. She said he also expressed "a growing concern over the links that were being established" between the Philippine and U.S. anti-Marcos forces.

During the trial of the killers of Domingo and Viernes there was sworn tes-

timony that Tony Baruso had provided a gun and promised to pay the hitmen \$5,000.

When Marcos was brought to Hawaii by a U.S. plane, some of the things he brought with him were confiscated by U.S. Customs. Some of the confiscated material was turned over to the new Philippine government.

Among these was a "strictly confidential" document pointing to a link between Baruso and a top Marcos henchman in this country.

The document records expenditures of a San Francisco corporation controlled by longtime Marcos crony Dr. Leonilo Malabed.

In addition to listing contributions to the Reagan and Carter presidential campaigns, the document includes a section on "special security projects."

Under that heading there is a May 17, 1981, expenditure of \$15,000. The Domingo-Viernes committee has established that on that date, Tony Baruso was in San Francisco for 24 hours, staying at a hotel within blocks of the Philippine consulate.

Pinning down the Marcos role in the murder of Viernes and Domingo will also renew another issue pressed by the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes: the issue of U.S. complicity and cover-up in the crimes.

The Committee for Justice can be contacted at P.O. Box 14304, Seattle, Washington 98114.

Ohio growers try to bust farm workers' union

BY JOE CALLAHAN

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio — On July 13 more than 100 members and supporters of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) gathered at a public meeting organized to counter a union-busting campaign by the Vlasic Pickle Growers' Committee.

This spring FLOC won a precedent-setting, three-way agreement between farm workers, growers, and Campbell Soup and Vlasic, a Campbell subsidiary.

The contract is being implemented by Vlasic and 12 cucumber growers under contract with Vlasic in Michigan. But cucumber growers in Ohio are fighting against the agreement.

A group of six growers led by grower and attorney Jodie Stearns are leading the opposition. The "gang of 6," as FLOC calls them, has gotten backing from 56 other growers under contract with Vlasic, and they have brought in union-busting attorney Mark Roberts.

Roberts previously worked for the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board and later led several union-busting drives against the United Farm Workers.

Last year FLOC won union representation elections at seven cucumber farms in northwest Ohio. These are not being honored at these farms, and some FLOC members have been blacklisted and not rehired.

Mark Roberts and Jodie Stearns have been telling growers that they will have to pay the increased costs of FLOC contracts out of their pockets. FLOC points out that the company is paying all increased costs.

Roberts and others have visited a

number of migrant camps and farms, spreading lies about FLOC and trying to intimidate workers.

In response FLOC challenged the Vlasic Pickle Growers' Committee to a public debate. The union-busters declined to send anyone to air their charges in the light of day. At the meeting, FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez answered many of the lies being spread by the growers' committee.

Velasquez refuted the charge that FLOC is going to separate families through a hiring hall. He explained that FLOC is not striving for a hiring hall, but for a seniority system.

The growers alleged that FLOC wanted workers paid by the hour, and that union dues would be 10 percent of wages.

In truth FLOC does not seek payment by the hour. Rather FLOC wants to change the workers' current status as "independent contractors," which results in their being denied unemployment and Social Security benefits, while still paying 12 percent to the IRS.

Instead of 10 percent, union dues are actually 2.5 percent, and this amount is to be paid by the company in addition to the wages.

The union-busters charged that FLOC would destroy the industry, and have said that Vlasic would move to Mexico.

Velasquez replied to this by saying that FLOC wants to improve conditions for farm workers, and that FLOC is not out to eliminate the industry and the jobs through which the farm workers earn their meager wages. He also pointed out that in Michi-



Militant/Dee Scalera

FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez with his son

gan the agreement is being honored, and Vlasic isn't moving to Mexico.

The growers' committee has been saying that FLOC is using "fake religious people." This is a reference to the fact that two of FLOC's organizers are Catholic nuns. But there is nothing fake about these people.

Perhaps one of the most ridiculous charges by the "gang of 6" is the slander that Velasquez is doing this to get a lot of money, fancy cars, and big houses. In reality the salaries of Velasquez and other FLOC officers and staff members are very modest.

The campaign of intimidation has been

so severe that many workers are afraid to talk to FLOC organizers.

The process of union representation elections is being overseen by a commission headed by John Dunlop of Harvard University. FLOC has requested that the Dunlop commission immediately address the flagrant violations of the terms agreed to for union election proceedings.

The spirited determination of the FLOC members and supporters at the July 13 meeting showed that it will not be easy to turn back gains made by farm workers in northwest Ohio and Michigan.



Militant

A July 19 anti-Klan rally in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, was called by 19 branches of the NAACP in response to an announced Klan rally that night in the area. More than 350 people came to the anti-Klan rally; newspapers reported that 200 showed for the Klan rally.

700 say 'Let Nicaragua Live'

BY SANDI SHERMAN

MILWAUKEE — Ed Asner, actor and former president of the Screen Actors Guild, was the featured speaker at a celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution here. The July 19 meeting, entitled "Let Nicaragua Live" and organized by the Central America Solidarity Coalition, drew a standing-room only crowd of 700 people at the Milwaukee Public Library.

Asner shared the platform with leaders of the Latino community in Milwaukee, sanctuary activists, anti-apartheid and farm activists, and Nicaraguans living in or visiting Milwaukee. A presentation of Nicaraguan poetry, dramatic readings, and folk-singing were also part of the event.

Barrington M'Belle, a Black South African student at Marquette University who participated in the 1976 Soweto student uprising, described the struggle of the Blacks in South Africa. Noting their determination to win their freedom he said, "We look forward to our revolution. We look forward to the time when we, like Nicaragua, can say that we have self-determination."

Dennis Boyer, a labor attorney for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union who is involved in support work for Wisconsin farmers, drew the links between the struggle of working farmers in the United States and those in Central America. "The same policy driving peasants off the land throughout the world is driving people off the land here," he said. Boyer also pointed out that Nicaragua has invited Wisconsin farmers who have lost their land to come to Nicaragua to farm.

Asner, who recently returned from a tour to Nicaragua, began his remarks saying, "I'm glad to be in Nicaragua's partner state to celebrate seven years of Nicaraguan independence and to denounce what this administration is doing to those people." The state of Wisconsin maintains a "sister state" relationship with Nicaragua that was established in 1964.

Asner had visited a farm cooperative in Matagalpa province that was attacked by the contras on May 31, resulting in 16 killed, including an 8-year-old girl. He also visited an army hospital in the northern Nicaragua town of Jinotega and interviewed some of the victims of Washington's war.

Referring to the June 25 House of Representatives' vote in support of contra aid, he said, "That this country aided the contras

— that's old news. But for the first time, we have legitimized and approved the aid, flying in the face of the World Court and the principles upon which this country was founded.

"I recall in 1963 there was a fantastic march on Washington," Asner said, referring to the huge civil rights march led by Martin Luther King, Jr. "I hope to see some kind of massive march in Washington, D.C., before the November elections to celebrate America in a true liberty weekend."

In a request for funds that netted some \$1,700 from the crowd, Daisy Cubias, a Salvadoran active in Medical Aid for Nicaragua/Ecumenical Refugee Council, noted that \$3 million of medical aid has been sent to Nicaragua from Wisconsin over the last seven years.

The meeting, which was followed by a reception, was endorsed by solidarity groups, religious organizations, the Free South Africa Coalition, Mobilization for Survival, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Jobs with Peace, Wisconsin Action Coalition, and many others.

Daniel Ortega

Continued from front page

He sharply condemned the U.S. House of Representatives for its recent vote of \$100 million to finance the illegal CIA-organized *contra* war against Nicaragua.

He predicted the \$100 million would prove "only a down payment" on an escalated war and held the members of the House responsible for bringing "death and destruction" to the people of Nicaragua.

But, he emphasized, "nothing can bend the firm will of our people." To defend their sovereignty, he declared, "we are prepared to give our lives."

Reiterating that Reagan's policy is "driving toward a Vietnam in Central America," he repeated Nicaragua's offer to enter into negotiations with Washington to achieve a peaceful resolution of the war.

He concluded by urging the Security Council to declare its support for the World Court decision.

Meanwhile, as Ortega spoke, Nicaraguan radio announced that the contras had killed five people, including a Swiss, a French, and a German volunteer. The three volunteer workers and two Nicaraguans were murdered on a road in Jinotega province when a truck they were riding in was ambushed by the U.S. mercenaries.

TOUR NICARAGUA

November 1 - 15

Visit Managua, Masaya, Esteli, Matagalpa, and Bluefields (Atlantic Coast)

View the accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution and the impact of the U.S.-sponsored war. Express solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. Participants will visit factories and farms, meet with activists from the unions, farmers', women's, and youth organizations, learn about economic planning, health care, education, and culture.

Tour cost: \$950 from Mexico City

Tour price includes roundtrip airfare from Mexico City to Managua, all transfers and ground transportation, three meals daily, hotels, and translator and guide. A \$150 deposit reserves a space, with full payment due October 3. Space is limited to 20 people. Participants must have a passport valid for at least 6 months after the date of entry into Nicaragua.



Write to: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial tours, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014
Telephone: (212) 929-3486

Castro on overthrow of Grenada revolution

A selection from Fidel's 'Nothing Can Stop the Course of History'

The following comments by Cuban President Fidel Castro are reprinted by permission from *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, to be published by Pathfinder Press. (See box below.)

The subject of this excerpt is the October 1983 overthrow of the revolutionary government of Grenada headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the execution of Bishop and others by the new regime, and the subsequent invasion of the Caribbean island by U.S. troops.

The coup was carried out by a grouping headed by Bernard Coard, which had taken control of the New Jewel Movement, the governing party. It began while Bishop was on a trip to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Cuba that began in September 1983.

On October 12, shortly after his return, Bishop was placed under house arrest. On October 19, many participants in a huge demonstration supporting the ousted revolutionary government were shot down by Coard's forces. Bishop and other central leaders of the revolution were executed.

On October 25 U.S. forces invaded and quickly occupied the country.

Those seeking further information about the Grenada revolution will want to read *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution, 1979-83*, also published by Pathfinder Press. It is available for \$7.95 from bookstores listed on page 16, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add 75 cents for postage and handling.

* * *

Mervyn M. Dymally. Let's shift to Grenada. How do you explain the failure of the socialist revolution in Grenada? Was failure inevitable?

Fidel Castro. In effect, what was taking place in Grenada was not a socialist revolution, but a process of social changes. I believe that the basic factor that opened the door — that served the United States a pretext on a silver platter for invading that country, at a lower political price — were the activities of an ambitious and extremist sectarian group. In my view, the main responsibility for the domestic situation created there lies with [Bernard] Coard. An alleged theoretician of the revolution who had been a professor of Marxism in Jamaica, he profited from his reputation as a theoretically well-prepared man and used his reputation as a theoretician to promote his personal ambitions and conspire against Bishop.

Coard's conspiracy

Bishop had great popular support and was well liked by the population. But Coard and his group — who belonged to one of the organizations that joined with Bishop to form the New Jewel Movement — didn't work with the masses. That is, the Coard group didn't work with the masses;

it worked among the party members — who were a small group of about 200 — and with the cadres of the army and the Ministry of the Interior. This fifth column, this undermining of Bishop's authority, coalesced at a moment when Bishop — though he had the support of the immense majority of the people — lost the majority within the party, both in the Central Committee and among the membership. This was the fruit of the conspiracy led by Coard and his group. It explains the senseless and mad step of arresting Bishop and, even worse, of firing upon the people and assassinating Bishop. It was that unfortunate event that made it possible for the Reagan administration to perpetrate the cynical and opportunistic invasion of the country.

If Bishop had been alive leading the people, it would have been very difficult for the United States to orchestrate the political aspects of its intervention and bring together that group of Caribbean stooges in a so-called coalition that didn't include a single policeman from the Caribbean — it was exclusively U.S. soldiers. In short, Coard and his group served the United States, on a silver platter, ideal conditions for the invasion of Grenada.

Naturally, they were not going to be met with the people's resistance, for the simple reason that the people were outraged, traumatized by the attitude of this group that had fired upon the people and assassinated Bishop. Thus, a divorce took place; those involved in the coup gathered the weapons of the militia. They disarmed the militia on various pretexts, precisely for fear of the people after what they had done.

Despite everything that happened, the United States had no right to invade that nation. Nor does it even have the right to keep that extremist group in prison or to try them, because no invading force has the right to run the courts and enforce the laws. I think all that is illegal.

While Bishop was abroad, those people worked actively in Grenada. A member of Bishop's personal security team even turned out to be one of Coard's sworn men, who informed on the details of the trip. Now, since those problems were already present, they took advantage of Bishop's absence.

When Bishop returned to Cuba, he didn't say a single word about this problem. As I see it, this was for two reasons. First, he underestimated the problem and, second, he may have been embarrassed by the idea of raising an internal problem of his party.

Could something have been done?

Now, I wonder: if we had known at that time of the discussions which had taken place, could we have done something? Could we have helped to prevent what happened there? Perhaps not. Had he told us that there were problems, he would have conveyed his impression and reduced the issue to something unimportant. We would have listened to him, but nothing more. He himself was not aware of the importance and the potential gravity of the charges, in the form of criticism, that were being addressed to him. But the fact is he went back, and by that time, Coard and his group — who by then had gained control of the majority of the leadership bodies — had already made some major decisions. They decided to leave him as head of the government, but relieve him of his responsibilities as head of the party. When Bishop arrived at the Grenada airport, Coard was not there to welcome him, as was usual. Practically no one was there to welcome him. A short time later — within a few days — there was a meeting, and he was now in an obvious minority. He was already in a minority in the party leadership! Events rushed ahead.

It might have been possible to do something if the gravity of the problem had been known two months earlier — perhaps a month before the events — and some delegation of ours could have talked with them. It's possible that we might have been able to do something to avert the catastrophic outcome. But no one can guarantee this. Coard's conspiracy, his intrigues, and his demagogic behavior had already undermined Bishop's authority within the party almost irreversibly. But Bishop was a noble man who was capable of any sac-



Fidel Castro (right) with Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop (center) and Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega, Havana, May 1, 1980.

rifice to help his country. The new majority must have known that it needed at least his cooperation to move forward. Nevertheless, nothing that Coard did was sane, sensible, or reasonable.

How did Coard's group interpret Bishop's stopover in Cuba on his return? I had asked him to stay for two days. How did they interpret the tour we made and the reception we gave for him, where almost all the leadership of the party was present? Their interpretation was that Bishop had informed us of their internal problems and that the attention offered him in Cuba was an expression of support for Bishop. So, the first charge they made against him was that during his trip Bishop had informed other parties of the internal situation in Grenada. That was the first charge made by this factional, conspiring group. A few days later, Bishop went to our embassy in Grenada and explained that there were problems — he said clearly then that there were problems. He said he feared, he was worried, that they might even attempt to assassinate him. But he said he thought he would solve the difficulties, that he could solve them.

Almost immediately, the conspirators launched another charge against Bishop. They accused him of slandering Coard, of gross defamation, of spreading the rumor that Coard wanted to assassinate him. That was the most serious charge against him, and the events were triggered almost immediately. As a matter of fact, Bishop did consider the possibility that there might be an attempt to eliminate him physically.

Now then, the situation for us was delicate. We couldn't meddle in the problem. First, as a rule, we adopt the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of any country with which we are cooperating. This rule is strictly observed. We contribute to unity and help resolve this type of problem if the parties involved request our cooperation. No matter how much we liked Bishop, we couldn't have violated this principle. In fact, it was Bishop who asked that the Cuban construction personnel have weapons. They were not to be used in internal conflicts, but only in case Gairy and the CIA organized a mercenary expedition and the revolutionary forces needed help. The Cuban construction personnel had only infantry weapons; they were not supposed to fight against the U.S. Army. They didn't even have an "Arrow" [an anti-aircraft rocket launcher] to shoot down the airplanes and helicopters. It was on Bishop's request and insistence that the airport construction personnel received weapons. But Bishop wasn't contemplating a U.S. invasion — rather, a mercenary invasion, a dirty war, a Bay of Pigs-type invasion. To fight against U.S. troops would have called for a different type of personnel, different weapons, and a different kind of war. Above all, there would have had to be a government worth defending, one supported by the people.

When the internal conflicts erupted, we adopted a policy of not getting involved in any way. First, because, as I said, it is our

rule. Second, because there was no legal basis to justify giving support to Bishop. A decision to relieve him of his position in the leadership of the party could not be challenged, because it had been adopted by a majority. In this case, the conspiracy assumed "democratic forms"; they had achieved a majority within the leadership group. Third, any action on our part would have provoked armed clashes between the Cuban personnel and the Grenadan soldiers, whose command was controlled by the Coard group. That would certainly have given the United States a perfect pretext for its intervention: a war between Cuban and Grenadan personnel.

When the people's uprising took place, and Bishop was taken out of prison, one of Bishop's comrades went to the embassy to seek our support. A wire was sent to Havana saying that Bishop was asking for support from the armed Cuban personnel in the construction brigade. The wire was accompanied by public reports on the repression, the people's demonstration, and Bishop's assassination.

Frankly, it would have been a serious political mistake to have authorized the Cuban personnel to become involved in the Grenadan revolutionaries' domestic troubles. Bloody combat would have ensued, and, even if things had turned out in Bishop's favor and the U.S. intervention hadn't occurred, Bishop would have had to rule the country without his party, without the army, without the police and security units, and without the revolutionary cadres. Coard had gained control of those institutions, and many of their members believed — almost blindly — that they were serving the revolution. It was an absurd situation. I would never, under any circumstances, have authorized the Cuban personnel to have become involved. Of that you can be sure. Our answer would have been "No." But there wasn't even time to answer; there was no need to answer.

Our relations with the coup group were very bad throughout the crisis and even worse after they fired upon the people and killed Bishop. When we learned that they had made those accusations against Bishop, I immediately made it clear that Bishop hadn't said anything at all to us concerning the existing problems when he stopped over in Cuba. And I also made it clear that we hadn't interfered — nor ever would — in their domestic affairs. Several messages were exchanged. Ours were quite harsh and critical. We were really indignant. We hadn't even issued an official statement, as we were waiting for the situation to become clear. When Bishop's assassination was reported, we issued a very harsh statement, making it clear that our political relations with the new leaders of Grenada would have to undergo profound and serious analysis.

What kept us from withdrawing? We might have had to withdraw in a week, in view of the tenseness of the relations between us. What kept us from doing so was

Continued on Page 15

Forthcoming from Pathfinder

Pathfinder Press in New York has announced publication of a major new book, *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*.

It will be available September 15, and the paperback edition will cost \$7.95.

The Cuban leader was interviewed by Congressman Mervyn Dymally and Prof. Jeffrey Elliot. A California Democrat, Dymally is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Elliot, editor of *Black Voices in American Politics*, is a professor of political science at North Carolina Central University.

The extensive interview took place in Havana, Cuba, on March 27, 28, and 29, 1985.

Important political issues such as the U.S. war against Nicaragua, the Latin American debt crisis, the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the struggle against South African apartheid are discussed by Castro.

Creating more effective socialist public

'Intercontinental Press' merges resources with the 'Militant' and 'New Intern'

The following article is reprinted from the Aug. 11, 1986, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

BY DOUG JENNESS

Intercontinental Press is merging its resources with those of the *Militant*, a socialist weekly, and *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, both published in the United States. This is the last issue of *IP*.

This move is aimed at strengthening both the *Militant* and *New International*, helping to make these publications more attractive and useful to militant workers and

IP. Both the editor and managing editor of *IP*, Doug Jenness and Ernest Harsch, are joining the *Militant* staff. Jenness is becoming coeditor, along with Margaret Jayko, currently the *Militant*'s managing editor. The current editor, Malik Miah, is assuming the responsibilities of *Militant* circulation director. All will also be writing for and helping in the publication of *New International*.

Some of the speeches, interviews, background articles, and other politically useful features our readers have come to expect in *IP* will now appear in the *Militant*. Other materials, including debates, will be pub-

that they enjoy reading, will share with friends and coworkers, and are proud to help distribute and raise funds to help maintain.

In fact, what *IP* brings to the merger came originally from the *Militant*. Both Joe Hansen, who edited *IP* from 1963 until his death in 1979, and Reba Hansen, who served for many years as *IP* business manager, received their training on the *Militant*. Joe had been both a business manager and editor of the *Militant* for a number of years and Reba served both as a writer and as business manager for a time. From their experience on the *Militant*, they brought to *World Outlook* (renamed *IP* in May 1968) journalistic know-how, expertise in promotion and circulation, and above all, professionalism.

Central publication

Since it began nearly 58 years ago, the *Militant* has been the central publication for the revolutionary workers' movement in the United States. It has been the trunk from which other publications, including periodicals, books, and pamphlets, have branched off and the skills and experiences to publish them have come.

In November 1928, when communist fighters who were striving to continue their activities as revolutionary Marxists were expelled from the Communist parties in the United States and Canada, they immediately began publishing the *Militant*—even before they established the Communist League of America (CLA). The editorial board included prominent communist leaders from both the United States and Canada.

From its beginning, the *Militant*, which was then published twice monthly, reported on the struggles of workers and oppressed peoples in North America and throughout the world. It uncompromisingly spoke in the interests of working people and conducted special drives to increase the circulation of the paper among working-class fighters and activists in social protest movements.

From the first issue, the *Militant* also began serializing major articles and documents by international communist leaders, especially Leon Trotsky, who had been purged from the leadership of the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party by the bureaucratic leadership headed by Joseph Stalin. It also reprinted articles and speeches by Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders. All of these materials defended the revolutionary perspectives of the Communist International under Lenin's leadership during the first five years after its founding in 1919.

From the outset, the *Militant* was distributed internationally and attempted to link up with other revolutionary forces in the world.

In less than two months, the *Militant* published its first pamphlet; others soon followed.

By 1931, *Militant* supporters had gained sufficient strength and resources to launch Pioneer Publishers (later renamed Pathfinder Press). In the 55 years since, this has remained the principal publisher and distributor of books and pamphlets in English by revolutionary fighters of our time.

Today, Pathfinder Press publishes a wide range of books and pamphlets and distributes them throughout the world, as well as distributing *New International* and the *Militant*.

It has undertaken a long-term project of publishing the documents of the early years of the Communist International. Much of this material has never before been available in English or in any language in such complete form. Two volumes have come out so far.

Other recently published titles that Pathfinder is currently promoting include: *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters; *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* by Fidel Castro; and *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela.

Pathfinder has also published collections

of speeches and interviews by Malcolm X and a 14-volume series of the writings of Leon Trotsky from 1929 to 1940. And it is beginning to put out a few Spanish-language titles.

In 1932, supporters of the *Militant* in Canada started publishing the *Vanguard*. This newspaper was a forerunner of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* put out by the revolutionary workers' movement in Canada today.

In July 1934 the supporters of the *Militant* in the United States and Canada launched the magazine *New International*, which has appeared since under the names *Fourth International*, *International Socialist Review*, and today once again *New International*.

A French-language sister publication, *Nouvelle Internationale*, is now coming out too, giving the Canadian revolutionary workers' movement a French-language magazine of this kind for the first time. This has great importance for the development of the workers' vanguard in Quebec.

When *New International* began appearing in the 1930s, it carried some of the same kinds of documents and longer political features that were run in the *Militant* in its first years, as well as materials that space limitations had prevented the *Militant* from running.

The editors, many of the writers, and above all the professional standards of this publication and its continuators originally came from the *Militant*.

Today, both Mary-Alice Waters and Steve Clark, coeditor and managing editor respectively of *New International*, are former editors of the *Militant* and of *Intercontinental Press*.

When *New International* was relaunched in 1983, its inaugural editorial stated that the magazine "aims to be part of the political discussion and exchange that must accompany progress toward building an international revolutionary leadership of the working class. That has been the goal of conscious proletarian revolutionists since 1847."

This discussion arises out of the political convergence on a world scale of forces committed to subordinating all other considerations to the struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression and toward the socialist revolution.

As part of participating in this discussion, the first five issues of *New International* have carried translations of articles and documents from working-class leaders



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Socialist literature table at March 9 March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., to defend abortion rights. Sales at such demonstrations and by sales teams that traveled throughout Midwest show rise in receptivity to the *Militant*.

other fighters for social justice. The goal is to do a better job with these two publications than we were able to do with the three in serving our readers in the United States and around the world.

By combining *IP* with the *Militant* the aim is to help create an even more effective weapon for getting out the truth about the meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, who are locked in a fierce struggle with the Hormel meat company over the right to have their own union; an even stronger voice against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and in solidarity with revolutionary Cuba; and an even better fighter against apartheid in South Africa.

As part of these objectives, the *Militant* is launching a major campaign to significantly increase its circulation among class-struggle fighters and the vanguard of the social protest movements.

This will go hand in hand with a drive to increase the number of readers to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Militant*'s Spanish-language sister publication in the United States, which has just announced a new monthly schedule. Part of this effort is also to increase the number of Spanish-language pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press and to promote them widely.

The merger will bring to the *Militant* part of the *IP* staff. The *Militant* will publish some of the same kinds of materials that have been appearing in the pages of

lished in *New International*.

Our reporters Russell Johnson and Deb Shnookal, whose first-hand reports on the Philippines were carried in *IP* earlier this year, are again in that country, and their articles will begin appearing in the next issue of the *Militant*.

Harvey McArthur, from our Managua bureau, and Margaret Jayko, whose articles from Haiti were printed in *IP* a few months ago, will be returning to that country and sending on-the-scene reports to the *Militant*.

Our readers can expect to find in the *Militant* reporting aimed at breaking through the systematic press boycott of Cuba, like our on-the-spot coverage of the Cuban Communist Party convention last February.

Our bureau in Managua, currently headed by former *Militant* editor Cindy Jaquith, will continue to provide the truth every week in the *Militant* about the development of the revolution in that country and the people's effort to defend it.

The article by Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Tomás Borge in the current issue of *IP* is an example of the kind of feature that has been appearing in *IP* that will now be available in the *Militant*.

Moreover, the professional standards and high regard for accuracy that *IP* has strived to maintain will reinforce the *Militant*'s goal of offering working people a publication that presents the truth — one

International publications in English

Militant readers can subscribe to *International Viewpoint* and *International Marxist Review*, English-language magazines published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, by writing to 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France.

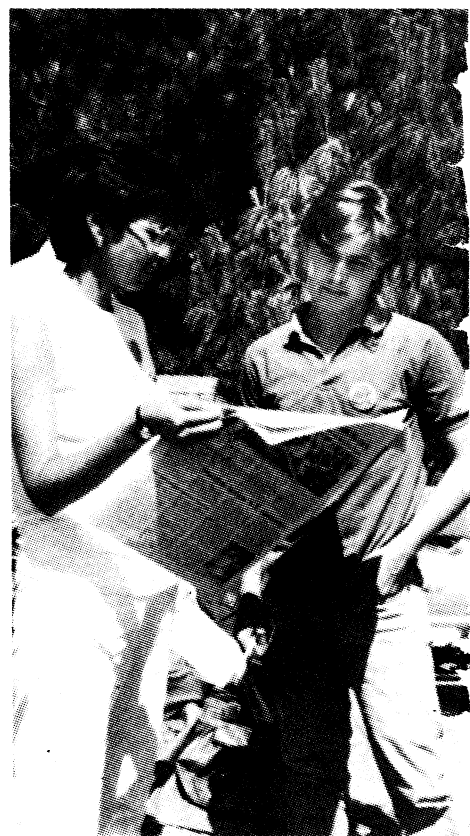
A six-month subscription to *IV* is US\$16 by surface mail. Airmail rates are \$19 to Europe, \$22 to the Americas and Africa, and \$25 to Asia.

IMR subscriptions are three issues for

\$14 by surface mail or \$18 by airmail.

To follow the newspapers published regularly by socialist workers in Britain, Canada, and New Zealand, send for information about subscriptions to:

- *Socialist Action*, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, Britain.
- *Socialist Action*, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland, New Zealand.
- *Socialist Voice*, C.P. 280 Succ. de Lorimier, Montreal, Quebec, H2H 2N7, Canada.



Militant/Norton Sandler

Hundreds of demonstrators at June 1 anti-apartheid march of 100,000 in New York City bought copies of socialist press. *Militant* will launch major campaign to increase circulation among anti-apartheid and class-struggle fighters.

ations

rtional'

in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba. At the same time these issues have carried documents and articles that trace the continuity of the struggle to forge an international revolutionary leadership today back to the roots of the communist movement.

'World Outlook' launched

Although *IP* was marked by standards and experiences that came from the *Militant*, its origin was different than other publications that owe something to the *Militant*. And its character has evolved over the years, making it today a different kind of publication than it was when it began as *World Outlook* in 1963.

World Outlook began as a weekly international labor press service published in Paris as a joint effort by a staff of revolutionary leaders and journalists from several countries.

It was launched in response to big world events — the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 and the Algerian revolution in 1962 — and to the beginning stages of the international youth radicalization.

In its first issue, dated Sept. 27, 1963, *World Outlook* stated that its main aim "is to provide specialized political analysis and interpretation of important events for the labor and socialist press. Factual studies and feature articles by competent observers and writers of independent views will also be a regular service."

"We will not observe any official or unofficial censorship, nor will we modify anything because of partisan considerations. Our commitment is to report the truth as accurately as we can without favor or slant."

The statement noted that "unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the position we stand on — revolutionary Marxism."

The staff of *World Outlook* included Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel, all leaders of the Fourth International.

Among other revolutionists who contributed articles were Hugo Blanco (Peru), J. B. Chandra (India), and Sirio Di Iulio (Italy), George Novack (United States), S. Okatani (Japan), and Michel Raptis (France).

The day-to-day tasks of editing, producing, and mailing out the mimeographed weekly were handled by Joe and Reba Hansen and Pierre Frank, who in addition to writing top-notch articles on French politics served as the publication's first business manager.

Speaking at the 10th anniversary celebration of *IP* in New York on May 5, 1974, Reba Hansen described how this publishing operation worked. "Joe knew the English language pretty good," she said, "and had some experience in editing. I could make out with a typewriter so long as it had an English keyboard. Pierre Frank knew all about how to get the issue into the post office at the lowest possible rates."

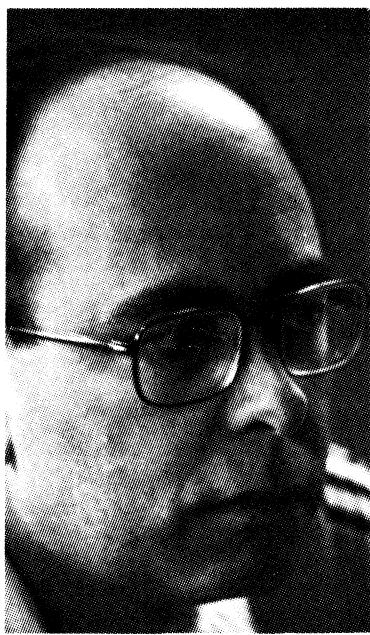
"Our plan of work was simple. Joe would edit the copy. I would type it, mimeograph it, and then manage the staff of collators which consisted of Joe and Pierre."

There was a regular stream of articles from the staff and the contributors. Some of their longer articles and series were later published as pamphlets by Pathfinder Press.

In its first months, *World Outlook* especially carried news reports and analyses on Cuba and Algeria as well as speeches, articles, and interviews by Cuban and Algerian revolutionaries. This practice of making available the views of revolutionary leaders from South Africa to Grenada and Nicaragua to El Salvador has continued up through this final issue.

World Outlook also published other documents of interest to the workers' movement, including resolutions of the Fourth International.

Joe and Reba Hansen had been in Europe for a period before *World Outlook* was launched. They had participated in the process of reunifying the Fourth International,



New coeditors of *Militant*, Doug Jenness (left) and Margaret Jayko (right). Current editor Malik Miah (center right) will assume responsibilities as newspaper's circulation director. Head of Managua Bureau is Cindy Jaquith (center left).

tional, which had been divided by a split for 10 years. There had been two public wings of the International — the International Secretariat and the International Committee.

The political differences that had led to that rupture were receding by 1956. However, it was the enthusiastic response to the Cuban revolution and the campaign of support to defend it that demonstrated that the majority in both wings of the Fourth International stood on substantially common political positions. The reunification congress took place in June 1963.

In October 1965 Joe Hansen became ill, and *World Outlook* suspended publication for three months. Joe's illness forced him and Reba to return to New York where they resumed publication of *World Outlook* in February 1966.

With this new situation, the character of *World Outlook* changed. It began a transition from an international news service to a weekly international news magazine.

It was no longer put out by a staff in Paris. At first it was published from Joe and Reba's apartment with the help of volunteers — proofreaders, typists, collators, translators, and artists — who were collaborators of the Socialist Workers Party. The previous staff in Europe now became contributors, which was formally registered by naming Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, and George Novack as contributing editors in the late 1960s.

About this time, major debates developed among revolutionists internationally, particularly in Latin America, over the road to revolution. Much of the discussion centered on how to repeat in other Latin American countries the overturn of capitalist rule that the workers and peasants had carried out in Cuba. The role of guerrilla warfare and the kind of revolutionary organization needed were hotly disputed.

The overturn of the hated tyranny in Portugal in 1974 brought forward further debates on revolutionary strategy.

These big events and discussions were reflected inside the whole workers' vanguard, including in the Fourth International, where two public voices emerged, the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

IP published many documents, speeches, and articles presenting a wide range of views on the issues under debate among revolutionists around the world. The differences among the two currents in the Fourth International were also reflected in this coverage.

This was a period of growth for the Fourth International, and increased resources and opportunities made possible in May 1974 the launching of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published in French and English in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The English-language edition suspended publication at the end of 1977. Its French counterpart and *IP* each agreed to allocate a portion of their pages to publishing some of the same articles. This agreement was reflected in the flag on both publications, where the two names were combined.

The revolutionary overturns in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979 and the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in those countries inspired working people around the world. This stimulated discussion by revolutionists who were actively mobilizing solidarity with these revolutions. This discussion has been reflected in documents and debates in *IP*.

In early 1982 the United Secretariat was once again able to put out a fortnightly magazine in English, this time called *International Viewpoint*. The February 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International registered the fact that *IV*, along with the French-language publications, *Inprecor* and *Quatrième Internationale*, are official

publications of the United Secretariat.

The World Congress also decided to publish *International Marxist Review* in English, the first issue of which recently appeared. *IMR* is published three times a year under the auspices of the United Secretariat.

Following the World Congress, *IV* was able to publish the political resolutions adopted by the congress. In the absence of an official English-language publication of the Fourth International, *IP* had published the resolutions following the previous three world congresses in 1969, 1974, and 1979.

Why now?

Why are we merging with the *Militant* now?

There are clear signs that there is a rise in receptivity to the *Militant*. This was demonstrated earlier this year by the sales made by teams that traveled from town to town in the U.S. Midwest. Particularly noteworthy was their success in selling at numerous factory gates. Moreover, *Militant* supporters throughout the country report more openness at plant gates and mines to sales of the paper.

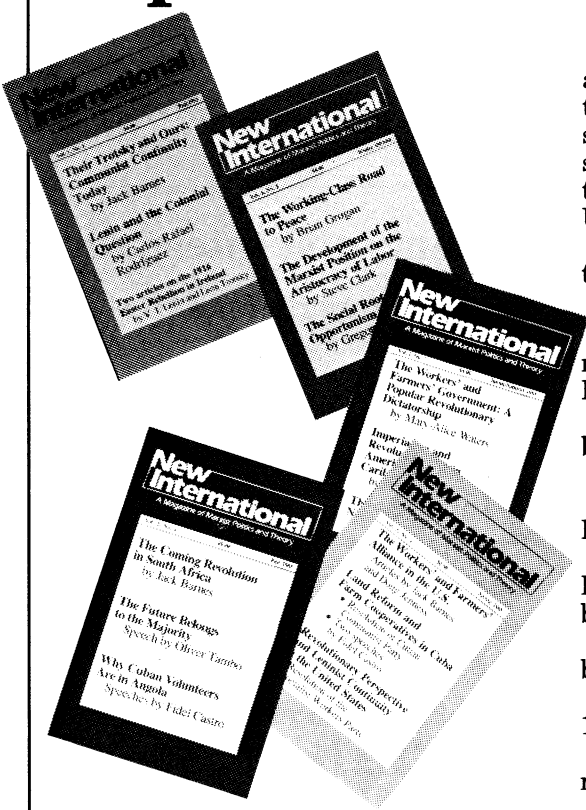
A similar response — maybe even deeper and wider — has been shown in Canada, where supporters of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* have had good sales, especially around their first-hand coverage of the meatpackers' strike in Alberta and the public employees' strike in Newfoundland.

The interest in the *Militant* has also been shown by good sales at recent anti-apartheid demonstrations, abortion rights actions, and protests against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

Petitioners collecting signatures required to achieve ballot status for SWP candidates have also reported selling hundreds of copies of the *Militant*.

All of this adds up to the conclusion that a strengthened *Militant* and a big drive to promote it and increase its circulation is the road forward.

Special offer for 'New International'



All five issues of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York, are still available. If *Militant* readers send their order by September 15, they can receive all five issues for US\$10, which is a big saving.

The following is a partial listing of the contents of the issues:

- Vol. 1, No. 1 — Fall 1983
"Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by Jack Barnes
"Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
• Vol. 1, No. 2 — Winter 1983-84
"The Working-Class Road to Peace" by Brian Grogan
"The Development of the Marxist Position on the Aristocracy of Labor" by Steve Clark
"The Social Roots of Opportunism" by Gregory Zinoviev
• Vol. 1, No. 3 — Spring-Summer 1984
"The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters
"Imperialism and Revolution: A Dictatorship" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez
"The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters
"The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes
"The Future Belongs to the Majority" Speech by Oliver Tambo
"Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola" Speeches by Fidel Castro

tatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters
"Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean" by Manuel Piñero
"The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge

- Vol. 2, No. 1 — Spring 1985
"The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.," articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness
"Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba"
- Vol. 2, No. 2 — Fall 1985
"The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes
"The Future Belongs to the Majority," Speech by Oliver Tambo
"Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," Speech by Fidel Castro

Send \$10 if you want all five issues, or \$3 each, to *New International*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include the number and date of the issues along with your name and address.



Armed workers and soldiers demonstrate in Berlin, Jan. 6, 1919.

1918-19 German revolution is focus of new book in 'Communist International in Lenin's Time' series

In June, Pathfinder Press began distribution of a new volume of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. The book, *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*, contains a collection of firsthand materials on the German revolution of 1918-19 and the preparations to launch the Communist International.

The *Militant* spoke with John Riddell, the editor of the series.

* * *

Question. Why has the Communist International publishing project produced a book on the German revolution of 1918-19?

Answer. The German revolution was a major event in world politics.

The German workers and soldiers overturned the monarchy and forced the establishment of a republic. The revolution brought an immediate end to World War I. And coming a little more than a year after the revolution led by the Bolsheviks in Russia, this uprising opened a second front in the struggle against the international imperialist system.

Q. But what did it have to do with the formation of the Communist International?

A. When revolution broke out in Germany and neighboring Austria-Hungary, this led rapidly in several countries to the formation of Communist parties. These represented the first attempts outside the Soviet republic to build such parties.

By far the most important was the German Communist Party. Not only because of the weight and experience of the German working class, but because of the great international authority of the leaders of the party, especially Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

They were among the best-known Socialists to have stood up against the chauvinist hysteria promoted by the capitalist rulers of the major European countries during World War I. In 1914 the majority of European Socialist leaders had joined in the jingoism.

Indeed, Lenin said that when these German revolutionists and the forces they led made a clean break with the procapitalist current in the labor movement and launched the Communist Party of Germany, that was the point at which the foundation of the Communist International (Comintern) "became a fact."

Q. Tell us something about what readers will find in this book.

A. Well, first of all, they will read about the German revolution itself, from the mass revolt in November 1918 through the severe defeat dealt to the working class in January 1919.

Our book tells this story, which is little known in the United States, through firsthand materials from the debate among the contending forces in the workers' movement: the revolutionaries, the conscious defenders of capitalist rule, and those that wavered in between.

It also recounts a good deal of the debate within the German Communist movement itself, including from the party's founding congress in December 1918.

Apart from the articles by Lenin, two-thirds of the documents in the book have never before appeared in English.

Q. What about the leaders of the Bolshevik Party in Russia — do they figure in the book?

A. Certainly. The most vivid picture of key events in the story comes from the recollections of Karl Radek, the only Bolshevik leader who was present in Germany at key moments of the 1918-19 revolution.

We've included assessments of the revolution and its defeat by Radek, Leon Trotsky, and V.I. Lenin. The book helps explain why Lenin felt the key problem to have been that "the German workers lacked a genuine revolutionary party" when the revolution broke out.

Q. The title speaks of a debate over "Soviet power." That's not a commonly used term today. What was this debate really about?

A. The Soviets were committees of delegates elected by workers and peasants, which took power in Russia in the October 1917 revolution.

Soviet power was simply the form taken in Russia by a revolutionary government of these exploited classes.

The capitalists and big landowners in all the imperialist countries raised a hue and cry against the Russian workers' and peasants' republic. They said it was the land of Bolshevik tyranny, terror, militarism, and famine. Much like the lies we often hear about socialist Cuba today.

So, the debate on Soviet power was about whether this workers' and peasants' government was a step forward, and whether working people in other countries — including Germany — should strive to follow its example.

Q. How did this debate affect the international working class movement?

A. It split the movement down the middle. Revolutionary-minded workers rallied to defend the Soviet regime. But most established leaders of Social Democratic parties and trade unions echoed the attacks of the bosses and landlords.

We've included samples of every variety of criticism, from Social Democrats who rallied to the *contras* of 1919, the murderous White Guard armies, to those like Karl Kautsky who claimed to be giving the Bolsheviks fraternal advice.

Since Kautsky had been widely seen before 1914 as Marxism's most authoritative spokesman, his criticisms carried a lot of weight with many workers — in the German Socialist movement in particular.

Q. This collection contains Lenin's reply, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky." That pamphlet is widely available already. Why did you include it?

A. In the context of the struggles and debates recounted in the book, Lenin's reply can be read in a fresh way. Not as a timeless "classic of Marxism" — although it is that — but as a point-by-point answer to the lies and distortions that revolutionary-minded workers were hearing about Soviet Russia.

Lenin writes of the vast social injustice and inequality that make a mockery of capitalist "democracy." He explained why rule by the workers and peasants in Russia, under Bolshevik leadership, was "a million times more democratic." He also explained the relationship between the democratic tasks in Russia — overturning tsarism, the land reform, and so on — and the struggle there for socialism.

Q. How did this debate relate to the campaign to defend the Soviet republic

from counterrevolutionary attack?

A. All the imperialist powers united in an attempt to snuff out the workers' and peasants' government in Russia and stop the spread of revolutionary struggles inspired by it. They employed similar methods to those they use today in Central America: a slander campaign, aid to counterrevolutionary murder gangs, and direct armed intervention.

The anti-Soviet pamphlets of Kautsky and others provided propaganda cover for the capitalists.

Yet when the German revolution thrust Kautsky and his colleagues into government, the Bolsheviks tried to build a united front with them against imperialist intervention. You can read in the first chapter how that worked out.

Q. What about the debate on whether to establish "Soviet power" in Germany?

A. Those who favored a government of the workers and peasants translated "All power to the soviets" into German and made it their central slogan. They wanted to establish a socialist republic.

Just as in Russia, their opponents counterposed to this the call for a "constituent assembly." For them, that was a code word for maintaining a capitalist government, with a few democratic reforms.

These forces were headed by the Social Democratic government set up as a result of the November revolution. This government launched a witch-hunt campaign against the revolutionary workers and soldiers, which is described in the book. In January it unleashed an armed assault in the streets of Berlin, resulting in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Far from "safeguarding democracy," the Social Democratic government boosted the capitalists, landowners, and reactionary generals back into the saddle.

Q. Why did you devote a full chapter to the alliance with the peasantry in Germany? Was that a very important question in a heavily industrialized country like Germany?

A. There was no major peasant uprising in Germany in 1918-19. But there was ferment among exploited peasants and sympathy for the revolution. In addition, peasants and farm laborers made up a fifth of the total population and without support from a significant layer of these rural producers, any attempt by the workers to form a revolutionary government was highly

vulnerable to isolation and defeat.

German agriculture and political life at that time was dominated by the big landowners, the junkers. Especially in eastern Germany, that raised problems of land reform similar to those in Russia before 1917 and in many semicolonial countries today. At the same time, there were many small farmers, especially in western and southern Germany, who were exploited by the capitalist rents and mortgages system in much the same way as farmers in the United States and Canada today.

Q. What was the German Communists' policy toward the peasantry?

A. German revolutionists had never given this question much attention. When the revolution broke out, they had little experience in struggles in the countryside. They had little to say on the peasants' problems.

The Communists did call for expropriation of large estates, but they resisted the peasants' aspirations for land. In fact, in 1918 Luxemburg had written a criticism, included in the book, of the Bolsheviks' distribution of land to small peasants.

The German Communists did make clear that they opposed forcible collectivization of the small peasants' land. But they advocated expropriation of "medium enterprises," which was bound to alarm wide layers of working farmers and make them more open to anticommunist demagoguery.

Q. What about the Bolsheviks — did they comment on the peasant question in Germany?

A. Lenin referred in 1919 to the German Communists' failure to do political work in the countryside as a "real and quite serious danger" to the victory of the German working class.

Q. What contribution did Luxemburg and the current she led make to the shaping of the Communist International?

A. Lenin and other leaders of the Communist International recognized Luxemburg and Liebknecht as outstanding revolutionists, who had withstood the tests of war and revolution, never subordinating the interests of working people to those of the exploiters.

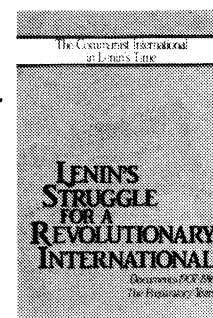
By maintaining a revolutionary course in the difficult days after the German Social Democratic Party's betrayal in August 1914 and through the first months of the revolution, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, and

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Communist International in Lenin's Time

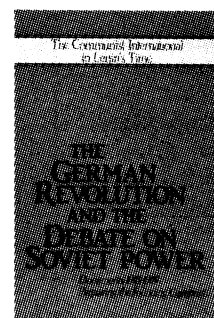
Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International: Documents 1907-1916, the Preparatory Years.

604 pp.
\$12.95



The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power Documents: 1918-19, Preparing the Founding Conference.

540 pp.
\$12.95



Available at Pathfinder Bookstores (see directory on page 16 for one nearest you), or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add 75 cents for postage and handling.

Sub drive will win 5,000 new readers

Continued from front page

• In May, a team of young *Militant* promoters piled into a car and stopped at industrial plants in parts of Iowa and Missouri, where they sold the paper at shift changes. They also visited college campuses in that area. The response was a surprise. For example, at a meatpacking plant in Dubuque, Iowa, with about 1,000 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, the team sold 123 papers to two shifts. At an Oscar Mayer plant with some 600 UFCW members, workers on two shifts bought 60 papers.

While many meatpacking workers were especially interested in the news about the strike against the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota, good results were also obtained at plants organized by the United Auto Workers, United Rubber Workers, and other unions. Sales also went well — better than in recent years — on college campuses. In fact, interest was high enough so that several new members were won to the Young Socialist Alliance on a couple of campuses.

• On June 14, at demonstrations in New York and several other cities demanding an end to U.S. ties with the South African regime, participants bought 1,800 copies of the *Militant* and 50 subscriptions, along with a large amount of Pathfinder books.

In the majority of these efforts, not many subscriptions were sold. But most of those who did the selling are convinced that the small number of subscriptions was the result of not systematically asking people to subscribe. These are missed opportunities.

Organized effort

The purpose of the ambitious campaign for 5,000 new subscribers is precisely to organize all supporters in a concerted effort to take advantage of the opportunities that exist to expand the subscription base of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

From one vantage point, the decision to take steps now to build up the subscription base of these publications is going against the current. The labor movement and the entire working class is continuing to retreat in the face of the unrelenting offensive of the employing class to drive down our living standards, push back our rights, and weaken the organizations of the working class.

But even when the current is moving one way, a shift in the direction of the wind can kick up some waves. The struggle of the Hormel workers and the scope of the response to it from workers around the country, who are looking for ways to fight back effectively against the rulers' offensive, are indications of this change. So is the response among U.S. workers to the deepening of the freedom struggle in South Africa and the interest among many workers and farmers in learning the truth about the revolution in Nicaragua.

These shifts make possible — and necessary — an effort to boost circulation now.

An important component of this new effort is the decision to name Malik Miah,

who has been the *Militant* editor, as the circulation director. Miah will coordinate the circulation effort nationwide, covering its progress in these pages, and staying in touch with participants in the campaign.

With this organized effort to widen the readership of the *Militant*, the paper can increasingly talk to, and be part of, the working class. The *Militant's* aim is to become a popular newspaper of class-conscious workers and activists in social protest movements. It strives to be the leading voice of progressive working-class opinion, and the recognized authoritative source of accurate information — the unvarnished truth — on all questions of general interest to this wide audience.

The value of this kind of writing and reporting — and its uniqueness — is seen in the *Militant's* weekly coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution, provided by our permanent bureau in Managua. Nowhere else in English — anywhere in the world — is there a better source for the truth about the Nicaraguan workers' and farmers' struggle to defend their government and advance their revolution. For all those who are committed to winning more support for that revolution in this country, and building opposition to Washington's proxy war aimed at overthrowing that government, there is no more important task than to help see that the *Militant's* reporting from Nicaragua reaches as many people as possible.

The same holds true for the most important battle now being waged anywhere in the U.S. labor movement: the ongoing fight of the militant meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, to build a fighting union of packinghouse workers. The truth about the Hormel strike needs to be made available to unionists everywhere. And there is no better source for the truth every week than the *Militant*.

The subscription campaign will bring these facts to unionists everywhere who are increasingly convinced by their own experiences of the need to chart a course toward transforming the unions from instruments of collaboration with the employers and their government into instruments of uncompromising struggle for the interests of working people of the cities and the countryside.

In addition to the weekly coverage of the meatpacking struggle in the pages of the *Militant*, a central piece of the subscription drive this fall will be the pamphlet by Fred Halstead telling the story of the 1985-86 strike against Hormel, which has just been published by Pathfinder Press. (See box.) Subscription canvassers will carry this pamphlet with them everywhere they go, making it available to every new subscriber at the special rate of 50 cents. The pamphlet is also being rushed to press in Spanish, to be offered to every new subscriber to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Merger with 'Intercontinental Press'

As we launch this circulation drive, the *Militant* is being strengthened by the decision to combine its resources with those of

Intercontinental Press, a biweekly news-magazine that focused on international news and analysis. Many of the kinds of material that used to appear in *Intercontinental Press* will now be carried in the *Militant*. This will include important coverage of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions — including major speeches by their leaders — as well as reports on discussions and activities of revolutionary organizations throughout the world.

There will also be a combination of editorial staffs. Doug Jenness, who had been the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, will become co-editor of the *Militant*, along with Margaret Jayko, who is currently managing editor. Ernest Harsch, a member of the *IP* staff, will also join the *Militant*.

The addition of these substantial reinforcements has made it possible for four of the current members of the *Militant* writing staff to move on to new responsibilities in building the socialist movement. Rashaad Ali will go to Baltimore, Andrea González to New York City, Pat Grogan to Milwaukee, and Tom Leonard to St. Louis. These new assignments mark a strengthening of the socialist movement in those cities.

A related move is the shift by *Perspectiva Mundial* from twice-monthly to monthly publication. This changeover will make possible improvements in the magazine and an expansion of the Spanish-language publishing program of Pathfinder Press.

Several new pamphlets and a small book in Spanish have already appeared. These include a selection of speeches by Nelson Mandela, *Habla Nelson Mandela* (*Nelson Mandela Speaks*), and a Spanish-language translation of the Socialist Workers Party resolution on "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" (*Sudáfrica: La revolución en camino*). A Spanish-language version of the new Fred Halstead pamphlet on the Hormel meatpackers' strike will be off the press in September.

The decision to devote the resources needed to make these materials available in Spanish, like the decision to organize an effort to increase the readership of *Perspectiva Mundial*, marks a recognition of the fact that an essential component of the working class in this country, including its most advanced fighters, read and speak Spanish, not English.

The drive for new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will formally begin September 6. The campaign will continue until November 15. The spe-



Militant/John Cotman

cial introductory subscription rates will be \$3.00 for three months of the *Militant*, or \$2.00 for five months of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

But the introductory rates will be honored beginning immediately, and all new subscriptions received starting now will be counted toward the goal. The first steps toward making the goal are already being organized. Beginning later this month, full-time subscription-canvassing teams will be spreading out across the country. They will be made up of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters who can take a week or two, or more, away from work or school.

One of these teams will be a Spanish-speaking team that will travel to Puerto Rico. Its aim will be to win new subscribers for *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* and to expand the distribution of Pathfinder Press titles in that country, whose fight for independence from U.S. colonial domination is of crucial importance to working people throughout the United States.

The success of this subscription drive will depend on the participation of everyone who is already a regular reader. Let us know if you want to sign up to get a bundle of the paper every week, along with subscription blanks and a supply of Fred Halstead's new pamphlet, so that you can sell subscriptions where you work or go to school, or in your neighborhood.

If you can be part of one of the full-time subscription teams, get in touch with the *Militant* right away. If you have suggestions on which plants, and which cities or towns teams should visit, let us know that too.

Throughout the drive, we'll keep readers informed in these pages of the progress of the campaign. Let us hear about your experiences, as well as your ideas and suggestions for winning new readers.

New pamphlet tells story of Hormel meatpackers' strike

Pathfinder Press has just published a pamphlet entitled *The 1985-86 Hormel Meatpackers Strike in Austin, Minnesota* by Fred Halstead. The pamphlet will also be out in Spanish by the beginning of September.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be taking this pamphlet to workers, farmers, and students across the country this fall as part of the campaign to sell 5,000 subscriptions to the two periodicals.

Everyone who buys a subscription can also get a copy of the pamphlet for an additional 50 cents.

Halstead gives a lively account of the struggle of meatpacking workers in Austin and elsewhere — starting in 1933 — to build a strong, militant, industrial union.

Union protection is crucial in this industry, where the cold temperature inside the plants and dirty and dangerous working conditions often result in lost fingers and crippled limbs.

The pamphlet focuses on Hormel's attacks on working conditions, as well as wages and benefits, in the last several years, which led to the August 1985 strike. And it traces the attempts by the United Food and

Commercial Workers top International officials to crush the rebellious UFCW Local P-9, which has won support from working people across the country.

Halstead clarifies the stakes for meatpacking workers and the entire labor movement in the current battle over who will represent Hormel meatpackers — the UFCW officials who have taken over Local P-9 or the North American Meat Packers Union, which was recently organized by P-9 members to continue their struggle for a decent contract and a strong union.

Halstead has been active in the labor movement for four decades and is a longtime contributor to the *Militant*. He spent several weeks in Austin this summer, talking to P-9 members, retirees, and supporters about their struggle.

Regional *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* teams will be distributing the pamphlet to workers at Hormel and other packinghouses throughout the country, many of whose contracts expire this fall.

In addition, thousands will be sold to workers in other industries, farmers, college and high school students, and to antiwar, anti-apartheid, Black rights, and women's rights fighters.

1918-1919 German revolution

Continued from previous page

their comrades assembled the initial cadres for one of the Comintern's largest and most influential parties.

These accomplishments are documented in this book and in the first volume of our series, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*.

But on fundamental conceptions of revolutionary strategy where Luxemburg differed from the Bolsheviks, her views were found wanting. Her current made serious errors on many questions: the worker-peasant alliance, policy toward the trade unions, the national question, and the political and organizational character of a revolutionary workers' party. In this latest volume, the reader will learn about Luxemburg's opposition to the Bolsheviks' proposal to move rapidly toward launching a new International.

I believe that the documents in this series confirm the judgment of Luxemburg presented by Farrell Dobbs in the second volume of his *Revolutionary Continuity*, also distributed by Pathfinder Press. Dobbs, who was national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party between 1953 and

1972, wrote that the Luxemburg current "had a bias toward ultraleftism" that "contributed to the miseducation and weakening" of revolutionary Marxists in Germany and elsewhere.

Similar political limitations cropped up in the work of many other parties of the Comintern. They were fully debated in the Comintern's first four congresses, held between 1919 and 1922. The Comintern's decisions in those years, under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, remain a guide for revolutionary-minded workers today.

Q. What's next for the Communist International project?

A. Our next book will contain the complete proceedings of the Comintern's founding congress of March 1919.

The last chapter of the present book provides a bridge to the founding congress, showing how it was prepared during the first two months of 1919. Following this chapter is an appendix containing the 1919 program of the Communist Party of Russia which laid out many key elements of the Comintern's program.

Steel bosses demand more union concessions

Continued from front page

of the contract and reduced vacations. The downturn in the economy, then a result of the worldwide economic crisis, led to thousands of Steelworkers being thrown out of work by plant closings or layoffs. Those factors were used like a club by the large steel companies in pressing demands for concessions from the union. But those concessions only served to whet the appetite of the tiny group of millionaire families who own the U.S. steel industry.

In April 1985 the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. filed a federal bankruptcy petition calling for reorganization of the company. With the court's approval, Wheeling-Pitt officials tore up the union contract and tried to impose wage cuts that would have reduced take-home pay for the Steelworkers to between \$5 and \$6 an hour.

Angered by the cuts, Steelworkers struck the plant for 89 days. It was the first strike against a major steel producer authorized by the top officials of the USWA in 27 years.

The Steelworkers at Wheeling-Pitt returned to work after a hard fight with their wages and benefits cut \$3.40 an hour.

In April 1986 the second-largest steelmaker, LTV Steel Co., was able to impose a contract with \$3.60 an hour in wage and benefit concessions.

Later an agreement was signed between the union and National Steel Co. that imposed concessions totaling \$1.51 an hour.

A contract signed with Bethlehem Steel in June gave up \$2.35 an hour in wages and benefits.

A substantial number of Steelworkers voted against approving the concessionary agreements even though the contracts were pushed by the union tops.

Takeback contracts have not been limited to basic steel. A contract signed between the USWA and Kennecott Copper Corp. in July resulted in a 23 percent cut in wages and benefits. The USWA agreed to a wage freeze and a 95-cent-an-hour cut in benefits in the contract just approved in the aluminum negotiations.

Lynn Williams, president of the USWA, and other union tops have urged approval of the concession pacts as a way of either

returning these companies to profitability or helping to insure their continued profits.

"No party alone can 'fix' the steel industry. The government, banks, and management must join labor at the bargaining table, and all must make equitable sacrifices," said a special report commissioned by the USWA and reported in the January *Steellabor*, the union's newspaper.

After the LTV pact was signed, a USWA spokesperson said, "Although the agreement requires sacrifices on the part of our members, it also offers the opportunity to more than recover those sacrifices."

Rather than mobilizing the membership of the union in a serious fight against the steel company's demands, the union officialdom has joined with the company in blaming foreign imports for the steel crisis.

On June 21 the USWA and five steel companies sponsored a series of rallies around the theme of "Save American Industry and Jobs."

The rallies were preceded by a series of flag-waving ads in major newspapers.

The net result of this drive by the union tops and the steel bosses is to shift the focus for the problems faced by working people here away from the tiny handful of billionaire families who own U.S. industry and control the U.S. government.

Though this reactionary anti-imports campaign has been under way for years, no jobs have been saved. In 1978 there were 700,000 jobs in basic steel. Today there are 140,000. The steelworkers' union had 1.4 million members seven years ago. Today the union has around 700,000 members.

A demonstration of how the ruling rich feel about elderly workers no longer able to create wealth for them began in mid-July when LTV filed its own bankruptcy petition.

At the top of the lists of debts the company canceled after filing the petition were pension payments, life insurance payments, and medical care payments to 61,000 retired Steelworkers.

The scam involved in the reorganization is underscored by the fact that the LTV balance sheet shows assets of \$6 billion and liabilities of \$4.22 billion.

Most of LTV's outstanding debt is owed to Manufacturers Hanover Trust and the Mellon Bank. There is no drive under way to cancel the debts to the banks.

These workers spent their lives creating wealth for the capitalists. The hourly wages, medical benefits, and pension payments they received are a drop in the bucket compared to the profits the billionaires extracted from their hard work each day.

The reorganization petition will also be used to demand further concessions from working Steelworkers. If LTV is successful, other companies are likely to file for reorganization.

On July 25, a total of 4,400 workers struck the East Chicago, Indiana, LTV plant.

The steelworkers officialdom ordered an end to the strike on July 31 after LTV agreed to restore the benefits for six months.

The big-business press says the LTV announcement heralds a new round of demands by the steel bosses to reduce "high

labor costs."

An article in the July 29 *Wall Street Journal* blasts wages in unionized steel jobs as being "an amazing 67 percent above the market rate for nonunion employees with a similar mix of skills."

"The USW did agree to a \$3-an-hour cut in wages and fringes to \$22.80 with LTV last March, but as we'll see in a moment, that's peanuts in terms of getting down to internationally competitive levels," the article states.

The vicious cycle of accepting wage concessions without a fight has come home to roost in the USX battle. That company says it needs the \$3.50 an hour in concessions to remain competitive with the steel companies who have already been granted contract takebacks.

USX officials say they are preparing for a long strike. Reports carried in the papers say the company has ordered tear gas grenades, small arms ammunition, and gas masks for riot control at the Gary, Indiana, mill.

If USX wins this fight and succeeds in lowering wages and worsening working conditions in its mills, the relationship of forces in basic industry will shift further in favor of the capitalists. This will help accelerate the overall antilabor offensive in this country.

It is in the interest of everyone involved in resisting the employers' offensive today to help the Steelworkers fight these attacks. Unionists, working farmers, Blacks, and women all have a stake in the outcome of the struggle.

Steelworkers resist LTV Corp. attacks

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — Retired steelworkers are in the forefront of leading the resistance to the vicious attacks launched on the steelworkers' union by LTV Corp.

LTV filed a federal bankruptcy petition on July 17. The company then immediately cut off all medical benefits, life insurance benefits, and survivor spouse's benefits for retirees.

Within days of the announcement of the bankruptcy filing, informational picket

lines were set up in front of the Indiana Harbor LTV mill.

Retirees staffed these lines and began asking the active workers not to go into the mill.

Bob Johnson, who has worked in the mill that was formerly owned by J & L Steel for 29 years, told me July 26 that all week he had felt badly about going into work.

Finally he decided he would not cross the line and instead went to the union hall to get clarification about what is going on. Johnson's response was typical of that of many other steelworkers at the mill.

That same day the union announced that it had received strike authorization from the United Steelworkers (USWA) International. Strike pickets replaced the informational pickets, and the mill was shut down.

The Indiana steelworkers are waiting for information about whether the picketing will be extended to other LTV mills.

LTV officials are saying that the strike is "illegal." The union has responded by saying that the company's actions are "immoral" and "criminal" and a violation of the contract.

District 31 Director Jack Parton has been quoted in the local papers threatening a companywide strike. However, Local

1033 in Chicago still says nothing has been decided and that they are not on strike. However, they have set up informational picket lines and held a rally of 300 in front of the mill on July 28.

All LTV locals sent representatives to a meeting at the USWA International offices in Pittsburgh July 29 to discuss the situation.

The divisive and rotten game being played by the company can also be seen in the question of sick benefits for active workers.

At first the company said these benefits were also put on hold. Two days later the company said this was not so and that the employed workers would still have full protection.

But workers began calling the union halls as hospital after hospital denied claims and refused them admittance.

Company officials again told the union that the benefits were still in force.

Meanwhile more reports come in every day from workers about claims being denied, scheduled surgical operations being held up, and some hospitals refusing to accept LTV-insured patients.

The union has organized to inform its members which hospitals will accept them at this time.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? The assault on women's rights

As part of their current assault against all working people, the employers have made the rights of women a major target, particularly a woman's right to abortion.

The new August issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes the first half of the introduction to the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. The introduction was written by Mary-Alice Waters, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

The book is about a 1954 debate in the SWP over the relationship of the exploitation of women and the marketing of "beauty aids" and fashions.

Waters explains that "it is useful to see how the reactionary offensive against women's rights in that period found an echo inside the Socialist Workers Party. It helps in understanding some of the pressures today and arms us to deal with them more consciously."

Waters' article places the debate in its historical context, reviewing the significant changes in women's social conditions since World War II. She describes the increasing incorporation of women into the job market, especially into industrial union jobs.

She also relates the "cosmetics controversy" to the capitalist offensive against women's rights today.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist maga-



zine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world. ¡Suscribete ahora!

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BY BILL KALMAN
AND RAY PARSONS

CLEVELAND — LTV Corp.'s decision to cancel hospitalization and life insurance coverage for retirees has provoked outrage among steelworkers here.

The cancellation, affecting some 32,000 retirees in the state, came on the heels of the steel company's filing for bankruptcy.

In fact, LTV has blamed the "high cost" of providing benefits to retirees for the bankruptcy. When asked about the effects of the cancellation on the lives of retired steelworkers, LTV Senior Vice-president Julian Scheer piously maintained, "What we're trying to do is work for the common good."

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has scheduled demonstrations in cities where LTV operates. One such protest occurred in Cleveland on July 22. More than 200 LTV retirees, marching behind a USWA District 28 banner, picketed the LTV offices. Frank Valenta, director of District 28, told the rally that LTV's ac-

tions are "morally wrong and socially unacceptable."

There was a lot of informal discussion among these older workers on how best to stand up to LTV. Some echoed the anti-imports stance of both the company and the union officialdom. Most focused their fire on LTV itself. Handmade signs read, "Concessions, threats, bankruptcy; LTV, what is next?" and "LTV — we gave you our best, now you're taking the rest."

Frank Tutt, a Black steelworker with 33 years in the mill, told the *Militant*, "LTV is a wheeling-dealing outfit. But we also have to go to the source — Ronald Reagan." Several of his friends chimed in, noting that the current antilabor offensive began with the busting of PATCO — the air traffic controllers' union — in 1981.

In a statement released after the protest, LTV said, "Our retirees will not be forgotten in the bankruptcy proceedings... but these things must be dealt with in order."

Bill Kalman and Ray Parsons are members of USWA Local 6825 in Cleveland.

Calif. SWP names Senate choice

BY PETER THIERJUNG

SAN FRANCISCO — Sam Manuel, a longtime fighter for social progress and against U.S. wars, has been nominated as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

Manuel is a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. His struggle experience ranges from the movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam and the struggle for Black liberation in the 1960s and 1970s to the current struggles against U.S. complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In 1972 Manuel toured the southern states, organizing support for the first African Liberation Day parade which targeted U.S. support to Portuguese colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and Washington's alliance with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Recently, Manuel participated in the West Coast Conference in Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa, which was attended by more than 400 trade unionists,

students, and other anti-apartheid activists.

Manuel explained, "One of the key objectives of this campaign will be to help build the October 11 West Coast marches against apartheid."

In 1980 Manuel visited Grenada and saw the revolution led by the government of Maurice Bishop in action. He visited Grenada again in 1985 after the overthrow of Bishop and the U.S. invasion. He is coauthor with Andrew Pulley of the pamphlet, *Grenada — Revolution in the Caribbean*.

He has also traveled to Cuba, Nicaragua, Martinique, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica. As a supporter of the Nicaraguan revolution, Manuel helped build support for the San Francisco marches for Peace, Jobs and Justice on April 20, 1985 and April 19, 1986.

Manuel has been a staunch defender of union rights. He explained, "This will be a campaign defending the rights of working people, such as the fighting meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota."

Backers of Pa. socialist sign up 4,500 on petitions

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

PITTSBURGH — On July 17 supporters of Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Pennsylvania's 14th Congressional District, filed nearly 4,500 signatures in the state capital of Harrisburg to place him on the ballot. That is more than 1,000 signatures above the state requirement.

Weddleton is part of the Socialist Workers statewide ticket, which includes Clare Fraenzl for governor and Mike Carper for U.S. Senate. The undemocratic election law sets such prohibitively high signature requirements for statewide campaigns that Fraenzl and Carper are running as write-in candidates.

The actual petitioning effort was accomplished in three weeks in June — three weeks ahead of the original projections of the socialist campaign committee.

Petitioners reported a high rate of people signing up and a greater desire to discuss the U.S. war in Central America, South Africa, Black and women's rights, jobs, the fight of the meatpacking workers in Minnesota, and the idea of workers and

farmers establishing their own government.

Thousands of campaign leaflets were distributed in the course of the petitioning drive. Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspective Mundial* were also carried out as part of this effort.

There was a notable polarization in response to the petitioning. In one working-class suburb of Pittsburgh, I found that more than half of those asked signed the petition. But in another neighborhood, well-off middle-class people sometimes even rejected the socialist candidate's right to be on the ballot.

Socialist campaigners here are organizing to continue the fight to get on the ballot. Legal challenges to Weddleton's ballot status may be made up to August 8.

Mark Weddleton, 26, is a factory worker and member of Local 15108 of the United Steelworkers. He is also chairperson of the Pittsburgh Young Socialist Alliance.

His opponent is incumbent Bill Coyne, a liberal Democrat. The Republicans are not putting up a candidate in this Democratic stronghold, which includes Pittsburgh proper and some of the surrounding suburbs.

The union officialdom, Communist Party, and Democratic Socialists of America are all backing Coyne.

Weddleton is fighting for the perspective of independent working-class political action against the capitalist ruling class and its government — a perspective that is helping to draw young people in particular toward the fight for socialism and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Boston rally defends socialist candidate's ballot rights

BY HELEN LOWENTHAL

BOSTON — A diverse platform of speakers united here July 20 to defend the ballot rights of Socialist Workers Party Eighth Congressional District candidate Jon Hillson.

Supporters of the socialist candidate will file 7,960 signatures with local election officials July 29, more than double the legal requirement of 3,400 needed for ballot status.

But securing such status is in jeopardy given the history of discrimination faced by SWP candidates.

Speakers at the meeting who joined in demanding ballot rights for Hillson included SWP gubernatorial candidate Ellen Berman; Boston National Organization for Women Vice-president for public relations, Ruth Harris; Carol Doherty, director of the statewide Campaign for Choice; Carla Johnston, one of the contenders for the democratic nomination for the eighth district seat; Massachusetts ACLU Director John Roberts; Kate Hoffman, a gay rights and antiwar Pledge of Resistance activist; Franz Minuty, Boston correspondent for the Haitian weekly *Haiti Progrès*, which is published for Haitians in the United States; Arnaldo Ramos, delegate of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador; and Hillson.

A message of support to Hillson's ballot rights was also received from Mel King, another candidate seeking the democratic nomination for the seat now held by retiring Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill.

S.F. gay-rights actions hit judge, Prop 64

BY DIANA CANTÚ

SAN FRANCISCO — Protests here involving many thousands of people have greeted recent attacks on gay rights and civil liberties.

In one such action a crowd of several thousand demonstrated outside the San Francisco Hilton Hotel July 21 as U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor spoke to a fancy dinner inside. The protest was organized by leading AIDS action groups, with support from the California AIDS Network, National Gay Rights Advocate, and the National Organization for Women.

A march of 1,200 from the city's Castro District fed into the demonstration. The protest expressed outrage at the recent Supreme Court ruling that upholds unconstitutional sodomy laws. The demonstration also took up the antigay "LaRouche initiative," which has qualified for the November ballot in California. This initiative, Proposition 64, would provide for quarantines and other extreme measures ostensibly to combat AIDS.

"We will build support for the cannery workers in Watsonville, California, who have been on strike for a year against takeback demands."

In addition to the socialist candidate, the California Senate seat pits incumbent Democrat Alan Cranston against Republican Rep. Ed Zschau. It has been reported that President Reagan will personally campaign for Zschau.

Manuel commented, "While Cranston criticizes Zschau for supporting the \$100 million aid to the *contras*, the alternative offered by the Democratic opposition supported by Cranston would only have required a second vote before approval of similar aid. I say no aid whatever to the *contras*. Washington should pay Nicaragua the reparations demanded by the World Court."

The socialist candidate drew special attention to an antigay initiative placed on the ballot by supporters of fascist Lyndon LaRouche. The initiative would lay the basis for internment of AIDS victims and carriers of AIDS antibodies, mandatory AIDS antibody testing, and government witch-hunts against workers in social service industries and educational institutions.

Manuel explained, "This initiative is an attack on the democratic rights of gays that threatens the democratic rights of all working people."

SWP candidates in Minnesota win place on November ballot

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The Socialist Workers Party celebrated the successful completion of petitioning for its 1986 ticket in Minnesota with a campaign rally here July 12.

After two weeks of petitioning, the Socialist Workers campaign filed 3,100 signatures with the secretary of state, well over the 2,000 required to place Tom Jaax and August Nimitz on the ballot as candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.

On July 14 the Jaax-Nimitz ticket was certified by state officials to appear on the November ballot.

Jaax, 39, is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 168T. From January to April 1986 he covered the Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers' strike for the *Militant*. Two years ago he participated in a harvest brigade in revolutionary Nicaragua.

Nimitz, 42, is a veteran of the civil rights battles of the 1960s and a longtime revolutionary socialist. Today he is deeply involved in solidarity with African liberation struggles — and especially with the battle against apartheid in South Africa. He teaches political science at the University of Minnesota.

Followers of fascist Lyndon LaRouche spearheaded the petition drive to place the antigay initiative on the ballot.

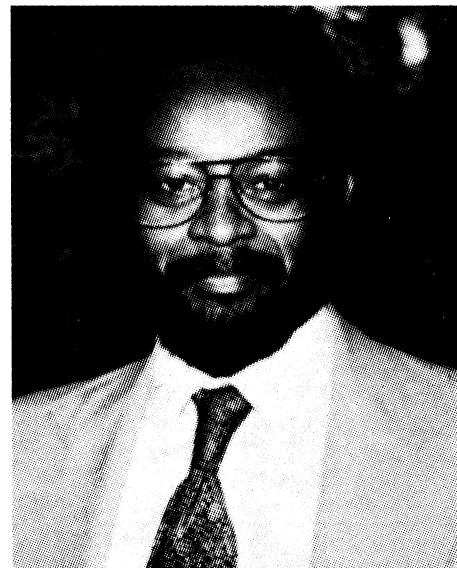
Speakers and signs at the demonstration called for more research to combat the disease, not victimization. "Fund AIDS research, not apartheid" and "Fund AIDS research, not war in Central America" were

Castro on overthrow of Grenada revolution

Continued from Page 9

the news that U.S. intervention forces were sailing toward Grenada. That was the one moment when we couldn't withdraw from the country. And that's the objective truth. We can prove it, because we have all the messages they sent us and the ones we sent them.

We are the ones who maintained the clearest position. We have told the truth about everything that happened there. Some people in the United States have recognized this. For example, when it was reported that there were 2,000 Cubans in



Militant
Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

Manuel also denounced the undemocratic election laws in California. Socialist candidates have to collect 116,000 signatures on petitions to appear on the ballot. In 1980 and 1984 the socialists more than fulfilled this requirement, but were arbitrarily ruled off the ballot by the California Secretary of State.

"We think we deserve to be on the ballot, and we will use every reasonable option to fight for that right. We will run a vigorous write-in campaign," said Manuel.

The July 12 rally heard Vernon Bellecourt, a central leader of the American Indian Movement, voice solidarity with the socialist campaign.

Bellecourt denounced the U.S. war against Nicaragua: "Nicaragua will continue to be the example as to how revolutionary people deal with the rights of indigenous people," he said, answering U.S. claims that the Nicaraguan revolution persecutes the Miskitos and other Indian peoples. "Within the revolution Indians are participating in the process. They won their sovereignty through the revolution and they are also winning their self-government."

Tom Jaax also hailed the Nicaraguan revolution: "The small group of exploiters that used to run Nicaragua no longer has its prisons, torture chambers, kangaroo courts, and brutal National Guard. The workers and farmers of Nicaragua have taken political power out of the hands of the capitalists."

Jaax pointed to the strikebreaking role of Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich, a liberal Democrat, who called out the National Guard against the Hormel strikers in January. "Working people need our own party, a labor party that will fight to put workers and farmers in power here."

popular signs. One sign said "Quarantine is AIDS apartheid."

A coalition of groups and individuals has been organized into the Community AIDS Network in San Francisco, meeting regularly to discuss how to defeat Proposition 64 and beat back other antigay attacks. For more information contact the Mobilization Against AIDS, (415) 431-4660.

Grenada, we said that there were exactly 784, including the diplomats and their families, so many construction workers, and so many advisers. We gave all the exact figures; we published everything. We never told a falsehood — not even a tiny one — about the situation in Grenada. Naturally, the people of the U.S. didn't learn about this; they had no way of doing so. They simply heard the lies that the U.S. administration fed them. No one informed them about what was happening. I'm giving you a full account of the events as they actually happened.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Hold the fries — The owner of Junior's Funeral Home in Pensacola, Fla., expects it to become a major tourist attraction. The mortuary features a drive-in window. Whip up the driveway,



Harry Ring

snatch a look at the stiff, and sign a guest register without leaving the car.

Run this one up the flagpole

— How about a merger between Junior's Funeral Home and the Jack-in-the-Box hamburger chain?

Gives the franks a je ne sais quoi — For the family barbecue chef, from France and available at Hermès New York boutique — an ensemble consisting of apron, mit, and towel. All in washable cotton, \$115.

He knows — Charles Colson, the Nixon aide who did seven months for obstructing justice in the Ellsberg case, now has Jesus in his heart and is writing Christian-oriented children's books, including, "Being Good Isn't Easy."

Sounds peevish — Both the

Republican and Democratic gubernatorial primaries in Nebraska were won by women. Responded Rev. Everett Sileven: "Jeremiah plainly tells us that when the people of a nation are willing to accept the leadership of a woman, it is a sure sign of God's curse." The good reverend was a contender in the Republican primary, polling a fast 2.1 percent of the vote.

Not totally, but essentially — In case you still remember the knot-tying of Fergie and Andy, a final note. The *New York Times* reported the actual "I do's" as "an essentially private moment, one that could be seen more clearly by a global television audience esti-

mated at 300 million than by 1,800 invited guests."

Nothing's too good for our boys — The BioNexus Co. is experimenting with a type of Krazy Glue that is said to seal eye punctures without suturing. An official sees it as useful for wounded soldiers. "Until they get to a hospital," he says, "they can glue themselves together."

Wear your lead BVDs — We reported the suggestion of the Atomic Forum that with more vacationers staying home to avoid "terrorists," a neat idea is to visit a nuke plant. But we forgot to mention such a trip includes a picnic area, a film, and an opportunity to

detect "natural" radiation with a geiger counter.

Cultural note — Perhaps to maintain esthetic harmony with the city's glistening streets, the New York Art Commission leaned on the Sanitation Department to design a more pleasing trash can. They'll be a quiet navy blue. Discreet white lettering will whisper "sanitation" on the sides.

Thought for the week — "They're operating in what I'd call the nuclear stone age." — Robert Alvarez, coauthor of a study that found that a government-owned nuke plant in South Carolina is poisoning soil and water and is a prime candidate for a catastrophic accident.

—CALENDAR—

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Socialist Workers Campaign Barbecue. Meet the Candidates. Sun., Aug. 3, 2 p.m. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Labor's Turning Point: Minneapolis Teamsters Strike of 1934. Film by John de Graaf depicts upheaval created by strike of Local 574 of International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Presentation to follow by Maggie McCraw, reporter for the *Militant* newspaper during the Local P-9 fight for justice against the Hormel Co. Sat., Aug. 23, 7 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

A Rally for Labor Fighting Back! Hear Hormel workers, TWA flight attendants, and family farmers explain their fightbacks and their importance for all workers. Speakers: Jim Guyette, leader of Hormel strike; Larry McClurg, member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431; Jerry Parks, Farm Alliance of Rural Missouri; Vicki Frankovich, president, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants; Larry Bastain, recording secretary, United Auto Workers Local 325; Tim Barnes, president, Teamsters Local 600; Lew Moye, president, St. Louis Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Pam Ross, president, St. Louis Central National Organization for Women; Richard Dockett, National Black United Front; and an anti-apartheid fighter from South Africa. Sun., Aug. 3, 1 to 6 p.m. 9144 Pershall Rd. (east of Lindbergh, south of 270 near the airport), Hazelwood. For more information call UAW Local 325 at (314) 731-0490; IFFA, 731-7922; Teamsters Local 600 at 388-4400.

Protest the Change in the U.S.-British Extradition Treaty. Picket U.S. Sen. Thomas Eagleton. Mon., Aug. 4, 6:30 to 8 p.m. Adam's Mark Hotel, 12 N 4th St. Ausp: St. Louis Committee for a Free Ireland. For more information call (314) 776-0539.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

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.

TEXAS

Dallas

The Strike Is Over But the Struggle Continues! North American Meat Packers Union's struggle in Austin, Minnesota. Speakers: Steve Iverson, member United Auto Workers Local 276 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

From Hiroshima to Yucca Flats: The Politics

of Atomic Weapons Nuclear Testing. Speakers: Steve Erikson, antinuclear activist organizer; Susie Beck, representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. 767 S. State St. 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Socialist Campaign Kick-off Rally. Speakers: Deborah Lazar, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor and member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, William Shisana, representative of African National Congress of South Africa; Bonnie Oliver, member of D.C. National Organization for Women; Ken Lersh, member National Association of

Letter Carriers union and D.C. P-9 Strikers Support Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 2. Reception 5:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: D.C. '86 Mayorality Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

The Arms Race: How to End It. Film: *War Without Winners*. Speaker: Dave Morrow, member Socialist Workers Party and activist in U.S. movement against war in Central America. Sat., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Nicaragua anniversary celebrated in St. Louis

BY JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS — A lively celebration marking the seventh anniversary of the Sandinista revolution was held here July 19. The annual event sponsored by the St. Louis Latin America Solidarity Committee drew some 300 participants — the largest to date of the anniversary celebrations held here.

Leaders of the solidarity movements addressing the meeting emphasized the importance of holding such an event at this time when Nicaragua faces mounting attacks from Washington's *contra* mercenaries.

Speaking for the committee, Dan Hellinger contrasted celebrating the living example of Nicaragua's revolution to the July 4 Liberty Weekend gala in the United States. Hellinger noted, for example, that despite the wealth of the United States, the government is determined to cut back on health services for the poor. In Nicaragua, despite its poverty and the pressures of war, the Sandinista government is leading modest advances in health care and other social services.

At the time of the Sandinista triumph in 1979, Hellinger said, the St. Louis area had three public hospitals. Only one remains in operation today. One of the closed hospitals recently auctioned off much of its equipment. A portion of this, as well as other supplies, were acquired by solidarity

activists for shipment to Nicaragua. The total value of medical and school supplies to be sent exceeds \$20,000.

David Vitoff, a staff representative for the Illinois Education Association, described his experiences in Nicaragua as a member of an area delegation of trade unionists who visited that country last fall. Vitoff noted the dramatic rise in union organization since the 1979 revolution, to the point that now it includes the vast majority of Nicaraguan workers.

Oscar Mayer locks out workers

Continued from Page 5

role in breaking the strike against the Hormel Co. that was conducted by UFCW Local P-9.

"He's got to show he's not a sellout because of P-9. We'll see," another woman added.

On the first day of the lockout, 75 members of Local 100 rallied outside the plant. The rally was organized by The Kinfolk, a group of plant workers made up mostly of Black women.

Participants chanted, "With the chain in our hands, we'll stop the bosses plans." This refers to the unity of the workers at the Oscar Mayer plants in Davenport, Madison, and Chicago.

Celebrants also viewed the film *Chronicle of Hope* documenting a material aid campaign's journey to Nicaragua.

The July 19 event had the active support and participation of a wide range of solidarity and antiwar activists and organizations. In addition to materials on Central America, literature tables included information on an upcoming labor support rally featuring Minnesota meatpackers, a protest sponsored by the St. Louis Committee for a Free Ireland, and on the Socialist Workers campaign for U.S. Senate.

The militant spirit of the rally was captured by a banner reading, "We are ready to fight." Some workers wore "Cram Your Spam" buttons and had "Boycott Hormel" stickers slapped on their cars.

While Oscar Mayer claims it has received 1,200 applications for "temporary employment," it has not yet attempted to start up production.

Participants in the rally called for a boycott of Oscar Mayer products and announced plans to establish a support committee to reach out to the Chicago labor movement, as well as maintain communications with other meatpackers in the Oscar Mayer chain.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W. 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114 E Quail St. Zip: 12706. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Socialist Books, 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave. Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

A searing indictment of Uruguayan dictatorship

The Eyes of the Birds. Directed by Gabriel Auer. Icarus Films, 1982. In French with English subtitles.

BY MARY MARTIN

In the early 1980s, director Gabriel Auer spent 18 months in Uruguay researching the infamous Libertad prison. His hours of interviews with prisoners and Red Cross officials formed the basis of *The Eyes of the Birds*, described by Auer as a "fiction film, but one whose smallest details correspond with reality."

The film is set during Uruguay's military dictatorship of 1973-1984. It was a period of severe repression. All trade unions and left parties were banned. In 1975

FILM REVIEW

Uruguay had 6,000 political prisoners, the highest per capita in the world.

Amnesty International estimated that one of every 50 adult Uruguayans had been arrested on political charges.

The film is a searing indictment of the dictatorship and, by extension, Washington's complicity in bankrolling the regime and training its torture experts. The movie also pays tribute to the tenacity of the imprisoned militants who continued to resist repression against incalculable odds.

In Libertad prison all symbols of struggle are forbidden. Prisoners must walk with heads bowed. Prison visitors must not wear red. A drawing of birds, given to a prisoner by his daughter, is confiscated because birds represent freedom. Virtually all creative or intellectual activity is banned. A young guard is caught in the act of giving pencil and paper to an old prisoner who was his

village schoolmaster. The guard is ordered to beat the prisoner.

Another prisoner, an acclaimed pianist, is sent a gift of a piano by an admiring foreign dignitary. After the strings have been removed and the piano is hacked apart, the prisoner is allowed to keep the keyboard.

In addition to the physical beatings, various forms of psychological torture keep the prisoners constantly on edge. One night the prisoners are awakened to witness a mock execution. Guards fire rounds of bullets into dummies wearing prison uniforms bearing the identification numbers of the most rebellious prisoners. The actual executions of prisoners are always explained as suicides by the prison officials.

Into this torture center, a Swiss Red Cross delegation arrives. They are told by prison officials that Libertad is a model prison, run by the prisoners. For their benefit, prisoners are served coffee and croissants on Sunday morning.

The prison loudspeaker announces that all prisoners are completely free to discuss prison conditions and problems with the Red Cross workers. When a prisoner reveals to the Red Cross team that their interviews with prisoners are being recorded by the prison administration, a debate breaks out among the Red Cross delegation on how to proceed.

A young doctor argues that they should immediately go to the press. The senior Red Cross official says no. "We will never be allowed back in this prison. At least while we are here no executions will take place."

"Besides," he tells the young doctor, "you take your work too personally. If you keep this up, you'll crack up."

The prisoners try to outflank the provocations of the

guards, minimize the damage caused by prisoners who are tortured into becoming informers, and at the same time keep themselves politically alive and informed. In one scene, for instance, the prisoners pass the message from cell to cell that Guillermo Ungo in El Salvador has joined the "Frente."

The impact of the film is enhanced by its conscious understatement of the brutalizing of the prisoners. The viewer is not inundated with gore. Rather, the film repeatedly brings the viewer to the full brink of knowledge, leaving the imagination to complete the picture.

Predictably, as soon as the Red Cross team leaves, the prisoners who talked are slated for execution.

In real life, in the years following the making of the film, the struggle of the Uruguayan people intensified and continues today. Massive opposition to the ruling junta, including a widespread general strike in January 1984, forced the government to call civilian elections. In March 1985 a civilian government headed by the conservative Colorado Party came to power.

In the elections the candidates of two mass parties — the National Party and the Broad Front, a coalition of leftist parties — were banned. Also in March 1985 all remaining political prisoners were released and the ban on trade unions and left parties was lifted.

In the wake of 15 percent unemployment and 100 percent inflation, the trade union movement demanded wage increases in all sectors and a moratorium on payments of the \$6 billion foreign debt. The new government resisted these demands and faced 160 strikes and labor disputes in its first six months in power. A massive trade union demonstration on August 16, 1985, was followed by the detention of 400 militants and the bombing of several trade union offices.

Federal gov't set back in K.C. farm activist trial

Continued from back page

make an example of Porter, a well-known farm activist in Missouri and a member of the American Agriculture Movement. In the spring of 1985 he was a principal organizer of two big farm rallies in Plattsburg, Missouri.

Throughout the course of the trial an FBI agent sat at the prosecutor's table. Several farmers said he had spent the better part of the last three years preparing a case against the Porters. The agent had questioned their friends, neighbors, and relatives — threatening to indict those who did not cooperate.

The prosecution stems from events before January 1984. At that time, after a lifetime of farming, the Porters lost their farm, which was foreclosed on by the Production Credit Association (PCA), a federal loan-sharking agency. They were evicted from their land.

Before this, the government later charged, the Porters had sold hogs mortgaged to the PCA. They had also al-

legedly concealed a mortgaged tractor from federal creditors.

"We raised the issue of selective prosecution with the judge before the trial began," Porter told the *Militant* after the trial. "We have reason to believe that farmers who fought the Production Credit Association on their foreclosures were prosecuted, and those who agreed to leave without putting up a fight were let go."

At the trial the Porters' attorneys showed how the PCA had helped push farmers even further into an impossible debt situation with advertisements that proclaimed, "Our credit well never runs dry. Come to us for expert advice." Then it tried to lay claim to the land, homes, equipment, and livestock of those who had listened to these "experts."

The hogs were sold in a desperate effort to save the farm, one lawyer for the Porters said. "All the money was put back in the operation. No new clothes were bought, no new cars were purchased, and the Porters took no vacations to Hawaii."

The prosecution repeatedly stressed Marvin Porter's reported prior association with the ultra-right-wing Posse Comitatus and similar groups.

Marvin Porter never denied that at one point, while searching for solutions to the problems facing farmers, he had been attracted to such groups. He testified that he had come to realize that their theories bear no relationship to reality and that he especially rejects their anti-Semitic and anti-Black positions.

The defense brought Danny Levitas, a leader of Iowa Farm Unity, to the stand.

Levitas testified that Marvin Porter no longer has any association with these groups.

By dragging Porter's previous political associations into the trial, the government was attempting to smear Porter and the entire farm movement as right-wing. They hoped to drive a wedge between activist farmers and civil rights and union organizations. It was also a blatantly unconstitutional attempt to prejudice the jury and gain

a conviction based on the political ideas attributed to Marvin Porter. The government and its courts have no business passing judgment on anybody's political ideas.

Porter's record in the struggle for farmers' rights attracted a lot of support. The trial sessions were attended by many people, including other activist farmers from the Midwest and leaders of civil rights groups and labor unions from Kansas City.

Prior to the trial the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), a coalition of farmers' organizations, set up a defense fund to help the Porters.

On July 9, the third day of the trial, NAFA organized a news conference to support them.

Speakers included Sister Donna Cunningham, who is connected with Kansas City Catholic Diocese; Clifford Wall from International Association of Machinists District 71; Matt Snell, head of the Kansas City United Auto Workers CAP (Community Action Program) Council; and Merle Hansen and Roger Allison from NAFA.

More than 40 other people came to the news conference to show solidarity with the defendants. Among them were flight attendants who participated in the recent strike against TWA and the head of the Kansas City chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"I was really overwhelmed by the support," Porter told the *Militant* after the conclusion of the trial. "I can't tell you the number of times people thanked me for taking a stand."

Colorado socialists complete petition drive

BY BOB BRUNEAU

DENVER — Supporters of Michael Chamberlain, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Colorado, have completed collecting 2,000 signatures, more than twice the number required to place his name on the November ballot.



Militant
Michael Chamberlain, SWP candidate for Senate.

Campaign teams petitioned in Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Greeley, and Boulder during the petitioning drive.

Chamberlain, a member of the United Auto Workers union, is a machinist at the Martin Marietta plant south of Denver. More than 45 signatures were collected from his coworkers. One coworker circulated a petition himself to help Chamberlain's campaign.

Chamberlain's campaign distributed a statement of support for the Communications Workers' strike against AT&T. Campaign workers also petitioned and sold the socialist press at strike-support meetings. One Communications Workers member, after signing the petition, called others over: "Hey, come over here and sign this. This prounion guy is running for Senate." Over 20 signatures were gathered at that meeting alone.

The campaign has been the only voice protesting a racist police riot that broke up the annual Juneteenth festival in Denver. Petitioners distributed over 400 statements in the predominantly Black, Five Points neighborhood of Denver, which was the target of the cop rampage.

Chamberlain's support for abortion rights has stirred discussion. He participated in both the Los Angeles and Denver "March for Women's Lives" held earlier this year.

When Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm agreed to send units of the Colorado National Guard to train in Honduras this summer, Chamberlain joined several protests

at the Governor's Mansion and at the State Capitol protesting that decision. Chamberlain explained, "My campaign stands squarely for the defense of the Nicaraguan people and the gains that they have achieved in literacy, health care, land reform, and democracy. My campaign will continue to defend the only prolabor and pro-farmer government in Central America."

Pasadena Black activist attacked

Continued from Page 2

At the rally Zinzun announced plans to further demands that the Los Angeles County district attorney indict cops responsible for the attack.

Zinzun has appealed to the United States Civil Rights Commission to investigate.

Organizations coming to Zinzun's defense include the NAACP, Urban League, and the American Civil Liberties Union. The case has received prominent coverage in local media.

Zinzun is also active in the movement in support of Black freedom in South Africa. He sees a link between what happened to him and South Africa. "Developments there are having an impact on this country. There's a line being drawn. Just as you have many coming to the aid of Blacks in South Africa," Zinzun told the *Militant*, "you have a layer giving support to apartheid. The cops who attacked me, and Nazi-type groups, are given a green light."

Supporters can contact the Michael Zinzun Defense Committee at 816 Summit Ave., Pasadena, Calif. 91103. Telephone: (213) 684-1892.

Socialist candidate hits police attack

Greg Jackson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor and a member of the International Association of Machinists, issued a statement that said in part:

"The attack on Michael Zinzun is a case of attempted murder. Clearly, the Pasadena cops have tried to eliminate a widely respected defender of Black rights. I call on Pasadena city officials to immediately fire the cops responsible for this atrocity and call on the district attorney to indict them for attempted murder."

Farm drought victims need relief

Indiana farmers loaded 79 boxcars with bales of hay to help drought-stricken Southeastern farmers. In Wisconsin, a farm couple took the initiative in their area and 10,000 bales of hay went to Georgia.

Efforts like this express the elementary solidarity that exists among the nation's working farmers. But, as important as they are, such contributions can't even begin to cope with the enormity of the drought.

"The donations are appreciated," a North Carolina official said, "but they're largely symbolic. The chances of getting enough hay to meet our needs are slim." He noted that cattle in the state consume 7,500 tons of hay daily.

With low income for their produce and mounting debts, being a farmer is hard enough today without a drought. And the current drought — the worst of the century — is catastrophic for Southeastern farmers.

It is estimated that the losses for the region have climbed to \$2 billion. Farm land that was selling for as high as \$1,000 an acre has plummeted to a few hundred dollars — if a buyer can be found.

Burke County, Georgia, the state's largest farming county, has suffered drought in eight of the past nine years.

A local farm official predicts that by this time next year the county's full-time farm population could be down to 30 from the current 375. And throughout the Southeast thousands of farmers are being driven off their farms.

Not surprisingly, the severity of the regional crisis has

sparked demands for federal assistance. But so far Washington is turning a deaf ear.

Agriculture Secretary Richard Lyng says the government might make some surplus feed and cash grants available to the drought victims and maybe some added loans to those who can qualify.

But, the secretary warns, "For me to suggest that the government could solve the problem of all farmers would be misleading."

In Georgia the state agricultural commissioner responded to Lyng's offer of added loans as a "farce" because of the tough requirements to qualify.

And at one meeting there where Lyng made an appearance, an angry farmer told him, "I already owe more than I can pay back. The loan is not going to do me any good."

Washington has made millions available to help bail out huge corporations such as Chrysler when they cried for help.

Additional hundreds of millions have been rushed to banks brought to the edge of collapse by thieving officials.

Working farm families who are just trying to make a decent living and who now face the terrible consequences of this devastating drought need federal emergency aid right now, and without strings attached. President Reagan should not hesitate one more day before declaring the stricken region a disaster area and rushing relief to the farmers and others who need it.

Sanctions now on S. Africa!

Continued from front page

Namibian President Kenneth Kaunda, whose country was recently the victim of a military attack by South Africa, hit the nail on the head when he declared, in Howe's presence, "You and Ronald Reagan are kissing apartheid. Blessing it." He denounced the "deplorable, completely unacceptable conspiracy between the American and British governments" to defend the apartheid regime.

The U.S. rulers are becoming more divided over what tactics to pursue in South Africa. The revolt of the Black toiling masses, which the regime has proven unable to decisively suppress despite the killing of thousands and the recent jailing of more than 10,000 people, is the source of the divisions.

Reagan's July 22 speech, which stirred wide protest, did nothing to lessen the tactical differences even within the administration. The day after Reagan virtually hailed Botha's refusal to negotiate with the ANC, for instance, Secretary of State Shultz assured Congress that he would be willing to meet with ANC President Oliver Tambo.

Republican Sen. Richard Lugar is pressing for the adoption of some sanctions, including the possible barring of landing rights for South African Airways, freezing South African bank deposits in this country, and barring some South African imports.

Some Democratic liberals like Sen. Edward Kennedy say they favor stronger measures.

Reagan has retreated slightly before the congressional support for more sanctions. He assured reporters July 24, "We haven't closed any doors" on sanctions.

The divisions are deepened by the growing solidarity of tens of millions of working and other democratic-minded people around the world with the struggle to topple apartheid.

One reflection of that solidarity was the boycott of the Commonwealth games in Britain by 31 of the 58 countries invited, because of the British government's refusal to institute meaningful sanctions against South Africa.

The "protest mission" by the top officials of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was another expression of that solidarity. They reported experiencing what Blacks face every day under the apartheid state. The July 26 AFL-CIO *News* reported:

"Following a visit to a men's hostel for migrant workers in one black township, the union leaders were surrounded by 100 armed soldiers, and their path was blocked by several military vehicles.

"After being held under military guard for some time, they were finally allowed to leave. But they were accosted by another army unit and warned that they needed government permission to visit any other Black township."

Norman Willis of the British Trades Union Congress commented on conditions in the hostels, where migrant workers from the reservations for Africans called Bantustans are forced to live while working in "white" South Africa. "Those conditions are for animals — they're kennels, not homes."

"There is a pattern of unjustified arrest often followed by systematic brutality and torture that amounts to a massive violation of human beings and human rights," the delegation declared. They saw firsthand "the physical evidence in the scarred bodies of the released detainees."

Kirkland denounced the "sheer hatred and brutalistic instincts" that he said characterized the apartheid regime. "Time and events have overtaken 'gradualism,'" he said. South Africa's workers will not be content with "temporary measures and little reforms that continue to make apartheid comfortable for the white minority."

South African workers, he said, are willing to pay the short-term price of sanctions "because to them, freedom is worth any price."

The ICFTU leaders declared in a joint statement at the conclusion of their visit: "Again and again the delegation heard an authentic plea for hard-hitting action against the South African regime. The casualties of the inhumanity of apartheid have the right to prescribe the remedy, and their message to the world is clear — freedom at all costs, and action now."

The outrage of U.S. working people against Reagan's apology for the apartheid regime was especially intense in the Black community.

The July 26 issue of the New York weekly *Amsterdam News* proclaimed, "The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the Reagan and Thatcher position is that the decent peoples of this world must encourage a revolution in South Africa against the Botha regime. . . . The decent people in America and the rest of the world must be prepared to provide arms, money, food, and technical assistance and manpower to prosecute a war."

For the U.S. and British rulers, the apartheid state is a vitally needed imperialist bulwark, protecting the interests of big business throughout southern Africa. Their goal is to stabilize the regime, in part by persuading it to adopt more reforms. They are determined to block the creation of the united, democratic, nonracial republic being fought for by the masses of Black workers and farmers under the leadership of the African National Congress.

But the popular struggle in South Africa and the international solidarity movement are making the alliance with the apartheid regime ever more costly for the U.S., British, and other imperialists.

United, massive protests demanding an end to ties with apartheid will have a powerful impact.

When U.S. rulers dropped atom bombs

FRED FELDMAN

On Aug. 6, 1945, a U.S. B-29 bomber flew over the city of Hiroshima, Japan, and dropped an atomic bomb. As the mushroom cloud generated by the explosion rose over the devastated city, more than 70,000 people died and another 68,000 were injured.

Three days later, another atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing an estimated 35,000 and injuring a larger number.

That was only the beginning. In the weeks and months

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

that followed, radiation sickness took more lives. Increased incidences of cancer, birth defects, and other medical problems stemming from the atomic bombings are still killing Japanese people.

On August 14, the Japanese government surrendered to the U.S. rulers and their allies, marking the end of World War II.

The atomic bombings were the grisly culmination of six years of murderous contention between two blocs of imperialist powers — the United States, Britain, and France on one side, and Japan, Germany, and Italy on the other — for world domination. Fifty million people died.

As part of their imperialist drive for world conquest, the Nazi regime in Germany invaded the Soviet Union, a workers state, in June 1941. This invasion was beaten back through a heroic struggle.

The Japanese occupation of China also inspired a progressive war of resistance, part of the long struggle of China to be free of imperialist domination. German occupation also inspired progressive resistance movements in Yugoslavia and other countries.

A manifesto in the Aug. 18, 1945, issue of the *Militant* warned workers and farmers of the threat to humanity posed by victorious, nuclear-armed U.S. imperialism.

"The second imperialist world war has ended," the front-page declaration stated. "Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan."

The SWP manifesto pointed out that the criminal use of atomic bombs "has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. . . . There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race."

"All the organs of ruling-class propaganda," the manifesto declared, "are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of the war means the dawn of a true and lasting peace and that peace can be preserved without revolutionary social change. . . ."

"Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightening instruments of death were invented and perfected. *All have been used!* During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. *All have been used!*"

The manifesto noted a dispatch from the New York *Sun* conceding, "The thought of negotiating an international series of treaties renouncing the use of atomic explosives in war inspires no confidence in anyone."

"Capitalism in its death agony," the SWP manifesto continued, "has perfected an instrument of all-embracing annihilation. This deadly destructive force, held in the grip of the criminal capitalist rulers, will be used to decimate mankind unless it is snatched in time from their murderous grip. . . ."

"Toilers of America! Years before the war and right up to the moment of its outbreak the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, warned that war was inevitable if capitalism was allowed to live. We told the workers the truth.

"When war began we exposed the lie that it was a war for 'democracy.' We laid bare the truth that it was an imperialist war. . . ."

"Today, at this great turning point in history, we bring our message of hope to toiling humanity. . . ."

"Socialism — or perish! These are the alternatives. There is none other. Only the working class, which suffers the cruelties of capitalism in peace and war, can deal the death blow to this foul system. The workers can rally the broadest masses to their liberating banner and change the world. Having abolished capitalism, they can harness the productive forces and the wondrous discoveries of science to the service of human needs."

The message of the manifesto was well summed up in the headline of that issue of the *Militant*: "*There Is No Peace! Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction in Another Imperialist War.*"

Working people: a reservoir of untapped talents

The following column was written before Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) was placed in trusteeship, its 11-month strike against Hormel called off, and its offices taken over by the UFCW officialdom.

Soon after P-9 lost its offices in the Austin Labor Center, the mural described in the article was badly damaged.

BY MIKE ALEWITZ

One of the myths about art in capitalist society is that culture is being preserved by an educated elite, and that workers and farmers are incapable of understanding or producing art. This myth is accepted by the majority of working people.

But what happens when working people seize control of their own organizations and mobilize in political struggle? They become capable of accomplishing all sorts of tasks they might previously have feared even attempting. Are they capable of creative endeavors as well? This re-

AS I SEE IT

porter had a chance to see an interesting experiment firsthand as members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union painted a mural on the side of the Austin, Minnesota, Labor Center. It was unveiled at a ceremony attended by 350 people on May 27.

The first thing that struck me, as an outside resource person, was the lack of red tape involved. Artists engaged in overtly political art are normally subjected to incredible obstacles to any sort of public art, as well as the constant and real threat of censorship.

While a number of unions and committees had to approve the use of the wall, it was accomplished within days. No restrictions were placed on those painting the mural, other than a request that no specific figures of individuals be used. No watchdog committees existed, and no one watched over our shoulders, except to criticize the work as individuals.

It was also striking to see how rapidly and easily things go when people are mobilized. We appealed for help before one of the frequent United Support Group meetings. Scaffolding, rags, paint, ladders, compressors, and other needed materials rapidly materialized. Nor was support forthcoming from Local P-9 alone. Outstanding in its support was Local 880, Sign and Display Local, International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades. This Twin Cities local donated hundreds of dollars worth of paint, dozens of professional-quality brushes, pattern paper, charcoal, and other materials, which kept the cost of the mural to a minimum.

Dozens of P-9ers and their supporters participated in the painting. Drudge work that would have taken days or weeks was accomplished in hours as dozens of hands erected scaffolding and sealed the 16 x 80-foot brick wall with numerous coats of silicone and paint sealants.

Within the local we found a reservoir of previously untapped talents. Denny and Ron, accomplished amateur artists as well as meatcutters, were able to play a central role in the mural painting. Dan, a maintenance carpenter at Hormel, helped on the particular constructions we needed for the wall. Others were adept at mixing colors.

Steve, a P-9er and part-time farmer, rendered a small,



Militant/Laura Flicker

From left, Kathy Buck, Denny Mealy, Mike Alewitz, Jim Guyette (at podium), and Tom Keogh.

primitivist farm scene where we needed one in the upper left-hand corner of the wall. Later we added a For Sale sign. Sure enough, his acreage is on the block.

Often it's the people who think they could never do something like this who turn out to be the most dedicated and enthusiastic painters. Barb, when she wasn't taking care of organizing button and T-shirt distribution nationally, spent hours painting backgrounds on the wall.

The theme of the mural is the rebirth of the North American labor movement. The central scene features a giant, serpent-like figure strangling a city's factories. A giant female meatcutter, wielding a double-handed cleaver, is hacking off the head of the monster. At one end of the city nameless drones enter into the inferno of the city, but emerge on the other side, transformed into a militant demonstration of masses of individuals, farmers, workers, and young people.

Across the length of the wall a banner is inscribed: "If blood be the price of your cursed wealth, good God, we have paid in full." The line is from the poem, "We Have Fed You for a Thousand Years," written by an unknown worker around 1908. Many of those working on the wall have lost fingers in the plant in accidents . . . some have lost friends.

As the mural began to take shape, the crowd of onlookers got larger. Since the wall faces a large parking lot, and lights are hooked up at night, it started to look like a drive-in movie. We made a big sign that said "25¢ to watch" in hopes of funding our beer and snacks. The money poured in.

As the message of the mural began to emerge, controversy stirred Austin. Through prounion people we learned of plans by scabs to destroy the mural. P-9ers rallied to defend the wall, and round-the-clock security was

organized. On Memorial Day weekend the center was closed down, with no organized security on hand. But P-9ers like Bob, Mac, and Daryl took it upon themselves, along with the artists, to patrol the wall. Someone lent an RV (full of food), and a party took place. Supporters began to drop by with pizzas, rhubarb pies, beer, and other goodies. The scabs reconnoitered but didn't try anything.

TV crews began to drop by to film us at work. I explained to a reporter from Mason City, Iowa, that this is the most important wall in the United States. She looked skeptical.

Denny and I proposed to the executive board of P-9 that we dedicate the mural to Nelson Mandela. This was quickly approved. We weren't quite sure what the reaction of people would be, but as word got out, there seemed to be universal approval. A special meal was prepared out of the P-9er diner, as the round-the-clock soup kitchen is called, for the night of the dedication.

Hundreds of P-9ers and supporters attended the dedication. Denny Mealy chaired, and it was my privilege to speak. I explained our choice of Mandela and read a letter to him informing him of the dedication, sent to Pollsmoor Prison. Kathy, an executive board member, read the poem "We Have Fed You for a Thousand Years." Tom Keogh, mayor of Austin and a striking P-9er, spoke. Jim Guyette compared the struggle of P-9 for principled politics to the case of Mandela.

During dinner a P-9er suggested we send T-shirts to Mandela. So during that evening's support meeting we sent two T-shirts around, which were signed by the hundreds of supporters present, to be sent to Winnie and Nelson. I am sure that Nelson will get a kick out of his new Cram Your Spam T-shirt.

LETTERS

UFCW

It seems to me that the United Food and Commercial Workers union is really squirming. They have done everything possible to try to starve us out, just as the company has tried in the past. First by freezing our mail and checking accounts, then by trying to tell us we can't talk about the strike or encourage people to continue to boycott Hormel products. Now, Mr. Kimbro has the audacity to come out with a statement that we as the Original Local P-9 do not want to settle this dispute and get a contract. How low can you go? We didn't go through everything that we have because we thought it was fun, or we thought out of the blue sky that it was the thing to do in the spur of the moment.

First of all, the UFCW, which claims that the new union that we're turning over to is just a grain of sand in the sea, is going nowhere. They are mistaken. They know that this grain of sand will be joined by other grains of sand and will become a large powerful union in this country.

Let's take a good look at the UFCW representatives. Where did

they come from? Well, I do know the meatpackers didn't have anything to do with putting them into office. It wasn't until 1979 that Local P-9 joined the UFCW. Since that time, we have lost our cost of living, incentive, benefits left and right, and the separation of the Hormel chain. The UFCW came to exist when the retail clerks merged with the meatpackers in the late 1970s. Bill Wynn was in the head position of the retail clerks and was appointed as president of the UFCW and the same goes for Joseph T. Hansen, Region 13, and Lewie Anderson. The only thing the UFCW can organize is a cocktail party. Dictatorship is their specialty and threatening innocent people if they don't abide by their wishes.

The North American Meat Packers Union will prevail because we represent all the people and stand for all the people. We stand for equality, justice in the workplace, and stand united with all workers.

Dale E. Francis
Brownsdale, Minnesota

Nicaragua brigade

On July 13 the last section of the

International Unity Against the Aggression brigade left the Jacinto Baca cooperative in Nicaragua.

Jacinto Baca, 150 miles from Managua, was the site of the terrorist kidnapping in May of 12 German brigade members by Reagan's "freedom fighters." The *contras* also destroyed the cooperative president's house and burned 20 acres of cocoa and banana plants. The German brigade was unable to continue its work of building houses for war refugees in the area.

Our brigade was composed of 55 people from 16 countries. We were able to complete four houses. The four nurses on the brigade held meetings with interested local people on diarrhea, a deadly children's disease in Nicaragua; sanitation; vaccinations; and first aid.

The *contras* did not attack, but they were in the area, about 12 miles south. The Sandinista People's Army kept a small force at the cooperative where we were at all times.

Alejandro, the head of the cooperative, told us, "We don't want the war." He said the cooperative members "are building the foundations of socialism,"

but the war is keeping them from progressing toward their goal.

Jerry Messick
Managua, Nicaragua
Jerry Messick is a U.S. citizen who worked at the Gaspar Garcia Laviana hospital in Rivas, Nicaragua, for eight months as a nurse.

Bob Lopez

More than 100 friends gathered together on Saturday, July 19, to honor the memory of Bob Lopez, who died suddenly earlier in the week. Bob was a tireless fighter for peace and justice and his loss is greatly felt by the solidarity movement in Detroit.

Bob was born in Cuba in 1919 and came to the United States when he was 10 years old. During the 1930s he worked as an organizer for the CIO, participating in many of the struggles that formed the unions. Later he became an international representative for the United Auto Workers and worked in the 1970s with the United Farm Workers.

Bob was a strong defender of the Cuban revolution and advocate of human rights throughout Latin America. He was convinced that organized labor can and should take an active stance in opposition

to U.S. intervention in Central America. Recently Bob helped found the Michigan Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Central America.

Tim Craine
Detroit, Michigan

Fresh air!

I recently had the opportunity to read an excerpt of an article from your publication, and I must say, after years of having capitalist propaganda crammed down my throat, it was a breath of fresh air!

After years of the racist and reactionary regime of Ronald Reagan, I'm with anyone who'll stand up for the workers.

Please send me information on the Socialist Workers Party and subscription rates for the *Militant*. I thank you for the work you're doing.

Paul Rismiller
Nanticoke, Pennsylvania

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.

Minn. meatpackers win new support

Letter Carriers convention pledges to aid 6 families

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The struggle meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, are waging against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. was a major topic of discussion at the 55th biennial convention of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC).

A total of 5,700 delegates representing branches with a combined membership of 280,000 workers attended the convention here July 21-25. It offered important new support to the Austin fight.

Many letter carriers see the Hormel struggle as an example of how to resist concessions. The postal workers expect the government to demand big concessions in their contract negotiations scheduled for next year.

Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) struck the Austin packing plant nearly a year ago. In June the UFCW top officialdom put the militant union in trusteeship and ordered an end to the strike.

Meatpackers in Austin are now organizing a new union, the North American Meat Packers Union, to continue the struggle against Hormel.

More than 60 NALC branches have made contributions to the struggle of the Austin workers. Five resolutions asking for support were submitted to the convention.

NALC President Vincent Sombrotto announced at the beginning of the convention that Rod Kzam, chief steward of NALC Branch 717 in Austin, would identify six families of Hormel workers in need of assistance so that NALC could provide \$500 a month to each of them. But Sombrotto also recommended that the convention "not take sides in the dispute between Local P-9 of the UFCW and its national union."

During the week of the convention, NALC delegates took advantage of many

different opportunities to learn more about and to support the Austin fightback.

A table set up by Hormel workers and supporters in the lobby of the convention was a center of discussions. More than \$3,000 worth of buttons and T-shirts were sold.

On the second day of the convention the Twin Cities Strike Support Committee organized a special rally for NALC delegates at a nearby auto workers' hall. One hundred people attended the rally, including 20 NALC delegates.

Many delegates arrived in St. Paul planning to walk the picket lines in Austin and were angry to discover that the UFCW trustee had ordered the picket lines taken down.

More than 50 delegates, nevertheless, paid \$20 each to ride a charter bus to Austin on the third day of the convention for a picnic and rally.

A collection on the bus brought in another \$250 for the Hormel struggle.

James Cook, a delegate from Portland, Oregon, described the picnic as "a banquet of good farmland cooking."

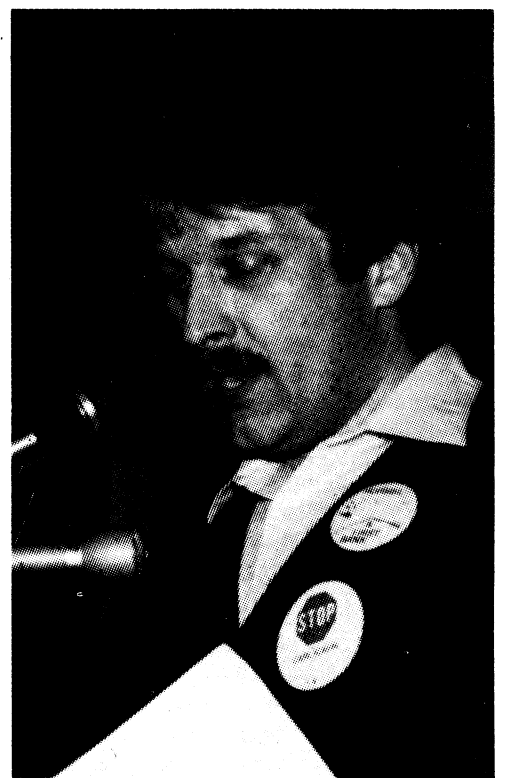
A delegate from Massachusetts summed up the experience in Austin. "You have heard about the adopted families that we have done. Tonight you have adopted us into your family."

Jim Guyette, suspended president of Local P-9, and César Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers Union, were the featured speakers at a meeting of the Hispanic caucus of NALC. About 50 letter carriers attended.

Chavez spent quite a bit of time at the Hormel workers' table. "We are for it [the Hormel fight]. We have endorsed it. Their struggle is a difficult one. We are pretty impressed with their staying power," he told the *Militant*.



Militant/Linda Joyce



Militant/Michael Baumann

Farm Workers' President César Chávez (left) and suspended UFCW Local P-9 President Jim Guyette.

Guyette met and spoke informally with scores of convention delegates.

The final day, Sombrotto put the convention on record demanding that the felony riot charges against 16 P-9 members and supporters be dropped.

The charges stem from a police attack on a peaceful picket at the Hormel plant in April.

Another \$800 was collected to support the legal defense effort for those charged.

Buck Heegard, an Austin P-9 member,

summed up the experiences at the convention. "We had a victory here because our supporters from the letter carriers' union around the country were at the convention."

Meanwhile, teams of NAMPU activists have begun traveling to meatpacking plants in Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The teams are explaining why NAMPU was formed and are offering solidarity with packinghouse workers whose contracts expire soon.

New York petition drive goes over the top

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — Over the top, and with a bang. That's the word from the drive to put the Socialist Workers Party ticket on the 1986 statewide ballot here.

Well before the last team filed into campaign headquarters here and in Albany July 26, it was clear that an enormous victory had been won.

In 16 days of campaigning across the state, a total of some 100 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance turned in the following results:

- 37,000 signatures on petitions to put the party ticket on the November ballot;
- 25,000 pieces of campaign literature distributed;
- 1,500 copies sold of the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*;
- 250 names of young people who asked for more information about the YSA, the youth group supporting the campaign;
- and a record-breaking \$4,500 in sales of revolutionary books, pamphlets, buttons, and T-shirts.

A fulltime team of young members of the SWP and YSA spearheaded the drive to get out and campaign and collect the signatures. In a celebration at campaign headquarters following completion of the drive, Nan Bailey, chairperson of the campaign committee and former New York SWP candidate for Congress, singled out for special note the contribution the team members had made.

"For the last three weeks," Bailey said, "you put everything else aside. You made campaigning for socialism a full-time job. You not only got a large number of signatures. But your energy, enthusiasm, and

commitment helped bring out the best in all of us. You set the pace and example the rest of us have tried to follow."

In fact, nearly every member of the SWP and YSA and many supporters participated in one or another aspect of the drive — from staffing a campaign "soup kitchen" that served meals each evening, to petitioning on street corners, to making evening telephone calls to new supporters the campaigners had met.

This included the candidates themselves. Theresa Delgadillo, a garment worker who is running for governor, and Jim Callahan, a textile worker who is running for Congress in the 23rd C.D., joined petitioning teams in upstate New York on July 26. Mike Shur, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, campaigned in Brooklyn's Caribbean community and stopped at the local Hebrew National plant to express his support for the 200 meatpackers who have been forced out on strike there.

Two teams of campaign supporters — one including U.S. Senate candidate Mike Shur — are now touring through upstate New York. They are signing up people on petitions, selling copies of the *Militant*, and distributing other campaign material at strikers' picket lines, at plant gates, on campuses, and in Black communities.

"The total of signatures we collected was a tremendous show of support for our campaign against U.S. intervention in Central America and for a free South Africa," said Delgadillo.

"It doesn't end our fight to get on the ballot. But the fact we got nearly twice the number of signatures the state requires is going to make it a lot harder for them to undemocratically bar us from the ballot."

Continued on Page 5



Militant/Irene Sosa

Supporters of SWP campaign organizing to go petitioning from N.Y. campaign headquarters.

Gov't dealt setback in K.C. farm case

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A jury here reached no verdict July 15 in the trial of Marvin and Teresa Porter on 20 out of 21 federal charges against them. The outcome was a setback to a federal effort to intimidate farmers who protest foreclosures and other attacks.

The Porters were charged with 19 counts of "conversion." That is the "crime" of selling mortgaged livestock, equipment, crops, or other property — something many farmers are forced to do to remain in business. The Porters were also charged with hiding mortgaged property, a tractor,

and with conspiracy to defraud the federal government.

But the jury brought in a guilty verdict only on the charge of having hidden mortgaged property. On the other charges no verdict was reached, and the judge declared a mistrial.

On each count they faced a maximum of five years in prison — 105 years on all 21 counts.

As of July 15, the Porters had not decided whether or how to challenge the conviction.

The government was clearly trying to

Continued on Page 17