

Hormel workers debate new contract proposal

Unionists demand to see fine print in pact



Militant/Tom Jaax

Solidarity march with Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers during their strike against Hormel. Proposed new contract does not provide for recall of some 800 workers who were on strike for nearly a year.

BY BILL ARNOLD

AUSTIN, Minn. — More than 300 Hormel meatpackers met here August 31 to discuss a proposed contract between the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. and the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW). The meeting was called by the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU), set up by members of Local P-9 of the UFCW. NAMPU was organized after the UFCW International Executive Committee imposed trusteeship on Local P-9 in May. NAMPU is now attempting to be certified as the union representing meatpackers at the Austin plant.

While no formal stand was taken on the contract at the meeting, none spoke in favor of the terms of the agreement.

The tentative contract was announced August 28 by representatives of the UFCW and Hormel following a series of bargaining sessions in Des Moines, Iowa.

The UFCW announced the contract at a news conference in Bloomington, Minnesota, 100 miles from Austin.

It covers workers at the company's plants in Austin; Fremont, Nebraska; Algona, Iowa; Beloit, Wisconsin; Charlotte, North Carolina; Atlanta; Dallas; and Houston.

Hormel senior Vice-president Charles Nyberg praised UFCW negotiators. "With the UFCW it was not an all-or-nothing proposition. But they're hard bargainers. This is no sweetheart contract."

Full details of the contract have not been disclosed.

The proposed contract does not provide for recall of some 800 workers who were on strike for nearly a year. Instead Hormel promises only to rehire these workers before hiring new employees as new jobs open up. The rehiring would not be based on seniority but rather on the date on which

Continued on Page 4

Appeal to supporters of the Bill of Rights

The following statement was issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party September 3.

The federal court decision in the case brought against the FBI by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance puts a valuable weapon in the hands of every working-class organization in this country. It is a new weapon, one that can — and should — be widely used to win broader freedoms to engage in political activity.

For the first time, a federal court has declared it illegal for the FBI to use undercover informers against political activists. In reaching this conclusion, Judge Thomas Griesa has expanded the constitutionally guaranteed right to privacy. This right was conquered by the battles of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, and formed part of the basis for the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

As Griesa emphasizes, without the right of privacy, there can be no genuine freedom of association for those whose views and activities are opposed by the government.

First time

Griesa's opinion also marks the first time a federal judge has ruled that burglaries carried out by the FBI to steal or copy private papers or to plant microphones are violations of the Fourth Amendment, which was written to protect the people against illegal searches by the government. The judge, on the same grounds, ruled that the government has no right to tap phones in the name of "national security."

And, for the first time, a federal court has ruled that a surreptitious campaign of disruption operations, whether called Cointelpro or any other name the government might conjure up, is against the law. The sweeping character of the ruling makes it unambiguous that this applies not only to the FBI, but to similar actions taken against any organization by any government cop agency — the Immigration cops, the CIA, the armed forces' secret cops, or any other.

The government's political police have carried out these covert activities against the SWP and YSA and against countless other groups and individuals. Now, all of these practices are illegal.

Any such activity by the FBI — or by any other cops — against the SWP or YSA in the future will be in violation of the court ruling. Attorneys for the SWP and the YSA will immediately bring evidence of any such acts to the judge's attention.

And it is not only the SWP and YSA that benefit. To the contrary, every labor union, farmer's organization, or social protest group facing government harassment will now be on strong ground to seek exactly the same relief.

The court ruling provides the SWP and the YSA with important legal protection. It pushes back the political police. It puts us in a stronger position to pursue the fight for socialism and democracy.

But the decision is also a direct gain for every labor union, every opponent of Washington's dirty *contra* war against Nicaragua, every organization fighting for women's rights, and everyone seeking to halt racist discrimination and cop violence against Black people.

"The impact of this decision goes far beyond the SWP and YSA," Leonard Boudin, a leading constitutional rights attorney who is the lawyer for the SWP and

Continued on Page 14

Nonaligned summit aims fire at apartheid

BY SAM MANUEL

HARARE, Zimbabwe — The opening session of the conference of heads of state of the eighth summit of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries featured the movement's opposition to the apartheid regime in South Africa. This summit marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Nonaligned movement.

At the inaugural session Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe, was elected chairman.

In his address to the meeting Mugabe stated, "The apartheid regime kills defenseless demonstrators as a matter of routine. It violently uproots and relegates millions of its Black citizens to wretched dustbowls and murders those it holds in detention. It has incarcerated Nelson Mandela, that heroic and legendary symbol of the struggling masses of South Africa, for nearly a quarter of a century."

Denouncing the recent bombing raids against Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique, he stated, "Pretoria follows a policy of state terrorism directed at its neighboring independent states."

He further denounced South African and U.S. support for the counterrevolutionary bands in Angola and in Mozambique.

Meanwhile, a U.S. embassy spokesman here confirmed that Washington has cut this year's aid to Zimbabwe by two-thirds, reducing it to the meager \$7 million that has already been disbursed.

The embassy spokesman explained, "The problem is not our political differ-

ences. Zimbabwe simply refuses to conduct its relations with us according to acceptable norms of diplomatic civility."

The spokesman summed up the proceedings of the Nonaligned movement's summit as "a litany of arbitrary and unfounded charges."

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega pointed out, "Our presence here in Harare, for the holding in Zimbabwe of the eighth summit and the commemoration of the

25th anniversary of the movement is of particular significance."

"Here we have independence, justice, respect for humanity, dedication to peace and progress, and solidarity with the peoples of the world at the very gates of the odious regime of apartheid, with its abominable oppression and segregation of the people of South Africa, its occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against the people of the Frontline countries."

Speaking on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean region of the Nonaligned movement, the Nicaraguan leader stated, "Latin America, which has been a leader in the struggle for normalization of relations between states and which has itself suffered aggression, intervention, and interference at the hand of the superpower enthroned in our continent, attaches particular importance to this aspect."

Cuban President Fidel Castro captured the sentiment of the gathering when he explained, "I am certain our summit will give its full backing and immense political and moral support to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia and that it will go down in history for its decisive contribution in the battle against apartheid. This monstrous regime cannot be reformed, it must be demolished."

To stormy applause Castro pledged that "Cuba is ready to keep its troops in Angola for as long as apartheid exists in South Africa."

Continued on Page 12



Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe denounced state terrorism of Pretoria.

How to sign up more new readers in the plants

BY RICH STUART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — Supporters of the *Militant* here had some valuable experiences during last spring's sales drive that they plan to use again in this fall's campaign to sign up 10,000 new read-

were coworkers. Most work in a factory organized by the Teamsters union and a textile mill organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Militant supporters in these

ing people.

Many were familiar with the *Militant* from the regular, weekly sales at the factory gates. Several workers, in fact, signed up to subscribe at the plant gate.

For those who weren't already familiar with it, it was explained that the *Militant* was the only source of accurate news on issues facing working people, such as the struggle of meatpackers at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, and the U.S. mercenary war against the people of Nicaragua.

Many workers thought the special introductory offer of 12 issues for \$3 was a small price for such a

valuable source of information.

Workers signed up to get the three months *Militant* subscription on a list circulated in the plant. Some were convinced to sign up after seeing the names of other workers on the list. The \$3 was collected on the spot or on the next payday. These easy credit terms helped those who were a little short on cash.

The *Militant* became the subject of regular political discussions on the job when workers started getting it every week in the mail.

Some of these discussions focused on the coverage of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the issues raised by the movie

The Color Purple, the protests of working farm families, and articles on socialist election campaigns.

Some workers had ideas for other topics they would like to see covered in the paper.

The *Militant* also helped spark more general political discussions on current events.

Based on last spring's success, *Militant* supporters here who are members of ACTWU have decided to almost triple the number of members of their union who read the *Militant* in North Carolina. Their goal is to sign up 35 new textile workers as *Militant* readers.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

ers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Of the more than 60 new readers signed up in the spring, over 20

plants took the approach that all their fellow workers were potential subscribers to a paper that is published in the interests of work-

Campaign off and running with 1,308 new readers

BY MALIK MIAH

Off and running. That's what supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are saying around the country as they sign up new subscribers to the two socialist publications.

Their aim is to win 10,000 new readers by November 15.

Jim White, business manager of the *Militant*, reports that as of September 3, a total of 1,308 people have signed up for sub-

If you want to participate in the campaign to sell 10,000 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions call the Militant Business Office or the number of our nearest office listed in the directory on page 12.

scriptions to the publications. Of these, 134 are new subscribers to the Spanish-language monthly.

Andrew Pulley, coordinator of the campaign in Detroit and an auto worker, said the response from coworkers is "fantastic!" A majority of the 48 subscriptions sold there have been to coworkers, mainly working in the auto and steel industries.

At a giant Labor Day parade, Pulley reports, 16 subscriptions were sold. Participants also bought 102 single copies of the *Militant*.

In addition, 51 pamphlets, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead, were sold.

At an August 30 Hartford, Connecticut, demonstration demanding freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners and independence for Puerto Rico, supporters of the socialist publications from New York, Boston, and Newark sold more than 30 subscriptions to the 1,000 participants.

Vivian Sahner reports from St. Louis that supporters of the socialist publications have already sold 52 of their goal of 160 subscriptions and decided to raise their overall total to 200.

Five of 20 traveling subscription teams are already on the campaign trail, with the Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia team making a successful start on its first day out.

Team member Reba Williams reports that in one hour at the University of Pennsylvania at Indiana, Pennsylvania, 11 *Militant* subscriptions were sold. A half day's selling netted 27 *Militant* and four *PM* subscriptions and an invitation to set up a literature table in the International Students dormitory.

The other four teams have been out for a week and their results are impressive.

Iowa team. Within one week 45 subscriptions, 215 single copies of the *Militant*, 35 Hormel meatpacking strike pamphlets, and 56 other pieces of Pathfinder Press literature were sold by the four-member team.

The team sold 42 *Militants* and 44 Hormel meatpacking strike pamphlets, including three subscriptions, at four Iowa meatpacking plants.

An Oscar Mayer meatpacker in Davenport told a team member, "We need a union like NAMPUR," referring to the North American Meat Packers Union that grew out of the battle in Austin.

A woman from the FDL plant, who had bought a subscription from a spring sales team, said enthusiastically, "I really like the *Militant*."

While buying a subscription, a National Guardsman said, "I'm going to need this," referring to the *Militant*'s weekly coverage of the U.S. war on Nicaragua.

Students at the University of Iowa bought 20 subscriptions and 170 *Militants*. Two students offered the team \$10 each for a *Militant* sub.

Salinas Valley, Northern California team. In seven days the five-member team sold 107 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions. Of these, 92 were *PM* subscriptions, reports team member Sarah Matthews.

Matthews noted that the majority of team members do not speak Spanish but had little difficulty in selling *PM* subscriptions. "*PM* sold itself," said one team member.

The team was invited by farm worker supporters to a Labor Day barbecue.

The team sold 25 Hormel pamphlets and



Militant/Michael Baumann

decided to raise its two-week goal from 100 to 150 subscriptions.

Alabama-Georgia team. Team member Greg McCartan reports that workers at the Swift Company meatpacking plant in Moultrie, Georgia, were especially interested in the struggle of meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota.

Of 40 workers who came in on the morning shift, 20 bought copies of the *Militant*.

In Worth County, the team was joined by Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia. Dixon and the team talked to two farmers who said that this year would be their last because of government inaction. Both bought subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Ray Parks told the team about a suit he and five other farmers have filed against the Agriculture Department. Parks has been fighting a foreclosure on his land for the last five years. He also bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

Just west of Hahira the team met 30 farm workers from South and Central America. "They were pleased to see socialist litera-

ture and invited us into the kitchen of their dormitory," McCartan reports. "They bought 12 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and \$10 worth of Spanish-language literature."

At Florida State and Florida A&M universities in Tallahassee students bought 13 *Militant* and 2 *PM* subscriptions; 19 people signed up for more information, and two decided to join the YSA.

In all, for the first week the team sold 316 *Militants*, 12 *PMs*, 41 *Young Socialists*, 26 *Militant* subscriptions, 2 *PM* subscriptions, 15 Hormel meatpacking strike pamphlets, and \$90 worth of socialist literature.

Arizona-Utah team. "As a result of the team's efforts," reports Dave Hurst, "hundreds of people have received the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist*. Three of them, all students at the University of Arizona, decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance."

The team spoke at a meeting of the Students for Human Rights in Latin America, a group opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

In San Manuel, a copper town northeast of Tucson, the team met miners and smelters who are members of the steelworkers', machinists', and other unions, who were forced to accept a takeback contract from Magma Copper Corp.

During the week in Tucson and San Manuel the team sold 259 *Militants*, 44 *Militant* subscriptions, 41 *PMs*, 3 *PM* subscriptions, 28 *Young Socialists*, and \$100 worth of books and pamphlets.

After leaving Tucson for northern Utah, the team traveled through the Navajo reservation, where two more *Militant* subscriptions were sold at a trading post.

Two reporters for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, Selva Nebbia and Doug Cooper, got a warm welcome at a Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Human Rights and Sovereignty of the Nations held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, August 27-30.

Of the 60 delegates present, 16 bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and one to the *Militant*.

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. It provides firsthand coverage of important struggles in other countries, such as Haiti, the Philippines, and Nicaragua. Regular on-the-scene reports come from its Nicaragua Bureau.

Take advantage of the special introductory subscription offer (good only until Nov. 15, 1986): 12 issues for \$3.

Plus for only 50¢ more you can get the new pamphlet "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota" by Fred Halstead.

The Militant

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Washington threatens new assault on Libya

Reagan okays plan for military action, CIA operations, economic pressure

BY ERNEST HARSCH

No sooner had U.S. troops, warships, and jet fighters arrived in Egypt than officials in Washington were once again threatening a military assault against neighboring Libya.

"We are prepared to strike directly against Libya, if necessary," an unnamed senior White House official told the *Washington Post* August 25.

Gen. Bernard Rogers, commander of U.S. military forces in Europe, was more specific. On August 29 he suggested that cruise missiles or long-range artillery be fired at Libyan targets from U.S. ships, submarines, and aircraft.

He also proposed air strikes by B-52 bombers flying directly from their bases in the United States. "If you want to show Qaddafi that he's not immune to any of the resources of the United States, put the B-52s over some targets," he said, referring to Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Rogers' threats were not idle ones. He was the general who oversaw the massive U.S. air strikes against Libya in April. During those unprovoked attacks, dozens of Libyans were killed, including Qaddafi's year-old daughter. Residential neighborhoods, schools, military installations, foreign embassies, and airports were hit.

Maneuvers in Egypt

Although the August 24-28 U.S. military maneuvers in neighboring Egypt were portrayed as "routine" training operations, the simultaneous statements by Rogers and other officials made it obvious that they were intended as a threat to Libya.

Code named "Sea Wind," the maneuvers involved 7,500 U.S. troops and an equal number of Egyptian forces. They were backed up by the U.S. aircraft carrier *Forrestal* and other warships off the North African coast, not far from Libya.

U.S. jets violated Libyan-claimed air space. And some of the U.S.-Egyptian military operations, which included low-level bombing raids, were conducted closer to Libya's border than during previous such joint maneuvers.

Less than a decade ago, in 1977, the Egyptian regime launched a brief war against Libya along their common border. It has also provided assistance to counter-revolutionary Libyan exile groups that carry out occasional sabotage and terrorist actions within Libya.

As the maneuvers in Egypt were under way, Washington dispatched 18 F-111 long-range bombers to bases in Britain. The same type of bombers, flying from British bases, were used in the April air strikes against Libya.

'A new and larger bombing'

These recent military moves are only part of a much broader U.S. plan to keep up the pressures on the Libyan people and to prepare for further military strikes.

An article in the August 25 *Wall Street Journal*, citing various U.S. officials, revealed some of the details of a revised anti-Libya plan that was drawn up in mid-August by President Reagan and his top advisers



Libyans protest U.S. air strike in April. Jet fighters on USS *Forrestal*, as Pentagon prepares for new aggression.



ers in the National Security Planning Group. According to the *Journal*, there are three prongs to the plan:

- Direct U.S. military action. "Right now," the *Journal* reported, "the Pentagon is completing plans for a new and larger bombing of Libya in case the president orders it." U.S. officials have threatened to "rubble-ize" parts of the Libyan economy.

This could include joint action with French troops in neighboring Chad, designed to crush the Libyan-aided rebel forces based in the northern part of that country. Gen. Richard Lawson, General Rogers' deputy commander, visited Chad in early August to discuss this possibility with Chadian President Hissène Habré.

- Increased U.S. aid to counterrevolutionary Libyan groups. "The CIA is stepping up its support for dissident military officers, businessmen and technocrats inside Libya and for Libyan exiles who want to oust Col. Gadhafi," the *Journal* wrote.

- Greater pressure on the West European governments to tighten anti-Libya economic and political sanctions. Reagan has already ordered an end to virtually all U.S. economic transactions with Libya. Vernon Walters, the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, has been dispatched to Western Europe to seek similar measures by those states.

The publication of the *Journal* report provoked a brief flurry of conflicting statements by different U.S. officials, some of whom called the leaks "unauthorized." While this may reflect some differences within the Reagan administration over the timing or precise means to be employed against Libya, none of them questioned the use of further military force.

The 'terrorism' smokescreen

As a justification for these new plans for aggression, Washington has once again unleashed an anti-Libya propaganda tirade. White House press secretary Larry Speakes accused the Libyan government of planning "terrorist activities worldwide."

But other administration officials, reported the August 27 *New York Times*, "said the United States had no hard evi-

dence that Libya was planning new terrorist attacks." One military officer told the *Washington Post*, "Somebody seems to be whipping things up."

Libyan officials have denied Washington's accusations and have challenged it to provide any evidence.

The U.S. attacks against Libya have nothing to do with combating supposed "Libyan terrorism." They are aimed, first and foremost, at bringing down a government that refuses to bow to U.S. dictates and that dares to support revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements around the world.

"Libya is being punished for its political and ideological beliefs," declared Abdul Salam Jalloud, a top Libyan leader.

Rallies, meetings spur building of October 25 antiwar protests

BY LISA AHLBERG

Support is building around the country for the October 25 Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

In response to Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua, close to 400 people participated in a Chicano Moratorium in Austin, Texas, on August 30. The march and rally demanded "Stop the U.S. war in Nicaragua" and was sponsored by a newly formed statewide organization called Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America (CAMILA).

Following the rally, CAMILA met and decided to support and participate in the October 25 actions. Antiwar activists in Austin and Houston are now discussing plans for a regional action in Texas.

Nationally coordinated, regional actions are already set in a number of cities for October 25 or dates near that. They are demanding:

- Stop the U.S. war in Central America and end intervention in the Middle East.
- Cut all U.S. ties with South Africa and end racism at home;
- Abolish all nuclear weapons by the year 2000;
- Redirect resources from the military to meet human needs and defend human rights.

In New York City, several meetings have been held to plan a march and rally for October 25. The N.Y. Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice coalition plans to build the action throughout New York state and New Jersey. The march will begin at Nelson and Winnie Mandela Corner (42nd Street and 2nd Avenue) and end at Penn Plaza (33rd Street and 8th Avenue).

A letter signed by prominent individuals has gone out to hundreds of anti-apartheid, solidarity, peace, religious, student, and union activists in the area to encourage their participation in a September 11 planning meeting. For further information call (212) 989-1194.

A recent meeting of activists in Chicago called for a Midwest regional demonstration on October 25. Office space and phones were donated by one of the organizations and building for the action is moving ahead. A regionwide meeting to broaden participation in the action is sched-

The latest U.S. threats against Libya have not gone unchallenged. Within Libya itself, mass rallies have protested Washington's moves, while neighborhood revolutionary committees and local militias have been put on alert.

Various governments, including those of Syria and the Soviet Union, have condemned Washington's provocations.

And at the summit conference of the 101-member Movement of Nonaligned Countries held in Zimbabwe, Qaddafi was given a standing ovation. Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe blasted the Reagan administration's aggressive policy against countries like Angola, Nicaragua, and Libya, calling it "international bullying."

uled for September 17. For more information call the Chicago Peace Council, (312) 922-6578.

Antiwar activists in the South have called an action for Atlanta on October 25. The Atlanta coalition is reaching out to involve opponents of the U.S. government's war in Central America from Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama. The Birmingham Committee for Peace and Justice sent representatives to a meeting in Atlanta and plans to build the demonstration.

Plans are under way in other cities too. The Twin Cities Peace and Justice Coalition has called for a march and rally in Minneapolis on October 25.

In Seattle an action has been called for November 1.

Boston and Los Angeles have set November 1 actions. Several regional meetings have been held to plan for a major demonstration in Washington, D.C., on October 25.

For further information on actions in your area, contact Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, c/o Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 418, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 533-0008.

In our next issue: speeches on autonomy in Nicaragua

The September *International Socialist Review*, appearing in next week's *Militant*, will feature the speech by Sandinista leader Tomás Borge to the international symposium on Atlantic Coast autonomy, held in Nicaragua last July.

Also included will be extracts from the speech by Ray Hooker, coordinator of Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission, and an interview with Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt), who attended the symposium as a delegate of the International Indian Treaty Council and the American Indian Movement.

The four-page *ISR* supplement will be especially valuable in introducing new readers to the *Militant* and encouraging them to purchase subscriptions as part of our fall circulation drive.

Moroccan king scraps Libya accord

Morocco's King Hassan II announced August 29 that he was abrogating a 1984 treaty providing for a "union" between Morocco and Libya.

According to Hassan, the reason for this unilateral move was the Libyan government's criticisms of a visit to Morocco by Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres in July. That visit had been blasted in a joint Libyan and Syrian communiqué as an "act of treason" on Hassan's part.

Peres' meeting with Hassan was also condemned by the Algerian government and by the Palestine Liberation Organization. It was the first time an Arab head of state had met openly with an Israeli prime minister since the conclusion of the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel in the late 1970s.

The Moroccan-Libyan treaty, known as the Oujda accord, was signed in August 1984. Despite the Hassan regime's close

U.S. military and political ties, the accord provided for a political "union" with the Libyan government, which has been in sharp conflict with Washington.

The treaty had few tangible results, except that the Qaddafi government dropped all assistance to the Polisario liberation fighters struggling for the independence of the Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony that was forcibly annexed by Hassan in 1975.

Although the treaty strengthened Hassan's hand against the Polisario Front, U.S. officials expressed some concern that it would also complicate Washington's efforts to diplomatically isolate Libya in the region.

Upon hearing that Hassan had scrapped the accord, the U.S. State Department welcomed the decision as a step toward further isolating "the Libyan people from the international community."

— E.H.

Business as usual at Steelworkers meeting

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — The 23d Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) was held here August 25-29 as 21,000 steelworkers were in the fourth week of a lockout by USX. USX, the country's largest steel company, locked union members out of the mills July 31 because they resisted company demands for drastic cuts in wages, benefits, and jobs.

Despite the growing attacks on workers' living standards and rights, top labor officials here reaffirmed political policies that have weakened the unions, including the USWA.

Electing Democrats

USWA President Lynn Williams, in his opening speech to the 3,000 delegates and guests, declared free trade and the Republican Party to be the two worst enemies of the steelworkers. "Free trade as embraced and implemented by the government of the United States has sent jobs pouring offshore, has forced wholesale plant closings and bankruptcies," he asserted.

Over the past six months, USWA officials have conducted a joint campaign with five of the six major steel companies to lobby Congress for restrictions on foreign steel imports.

Williams also argued that "we can right the wrongs of the past by putting Democrats into office everywhere there is a contest."

Organizing bosses?

The USWA officials pushed through changes in the constitution that undermine the fighting power of the union.

The constitution formerly stated, "No person having the power in the management of any mill or factory to hire or fire shall be eligible for membership."

This section was eliminated and replaced by the following: "Persons having supervisory powers shall be eligible for membership; subject to the terms established by the International Executive Board."

Leon Lynch, USWA vice-president for human affairs, explained that the change was needed to enable the union to "take advantage of the fertile field for union organizing: middle management."

Angry delegates took the floor to speak against this change. Al Forney of Local 1157 said, "This proposal represents something dangerous for the union. Are we going to be loving and hugging the people who are firing the people who made this organization great?" The proposed change passed by a narrow margin.

A second constitutional change denied charters to locals with fewer than 100 members, and required existing locals with fewer members than that to amalgamate with other locals. According to the amendment, the "rules and procedures for these amalgamations will be determined by the International Executive Board," which was also given authority to appoint interim officers of the new amalgamated locals.

Buddy Davis, District 34 director, re-

ported for the Constitution Committee. He explained that out of 4,232 chartered USWA locals, 2,692 had fewer than 100 members. There are currently 557 locals with less than 10 members.

Davis said amalgamation would aid the small locals, which are not in a position to elect a full slate of officers and have limited funds for participating in union activities.

The recent history of amalgamated locals within the USWA and other unions, however, shows the opposite. Such locals, within the context of the current situation in the union, simply streamline and centralize dues collection, cutting across local autonomy and creating another layer of bureaucracy that the rank and file must contend with.

Although some USWA delegates were wary of this proposal, the top officials effectively organized supporters to crowd the mikes so that no debate could take place. The amalgamation proposal was adopted.

USX fight

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland reported what the AFL-CIO Executive Council is doing about the locked-out steelworkers at USX. This includes organizing an informational campaign aimed at customers of Marathon Oil, a USX subsidiary; fundraising for steelworkers' families; full-page advertisements to publicize the plight of the locked-out workers; organizing other AFL-CIO union members to walk the picket lines; and the creation of a national committee of prominent clergy, civil rights leaders, entertainers, and athletes to win support for the workers.



Steelworker

Plant gate at U.S. Steel (now USX) South Works plant in Chicago in 1983. Steelworkers face stepped-up company drive to force down wages, eliminate jobs, weaken union.

The convention unanimously passed a resolution committing the union's "resources and human might to this struggle."

Resolutions on meatpackers

Many policy resolutions were submitted by locals throughout the United States and Canada. The convention's Resolutions Committee sorted through these, combined similar resolutions, and published them in a book distributed to delegates.

Resolutions that the International leadership did not want discussed on the floor were simply listed and referred to the Inter-

national Executive Board.

Among these were several resolutions calling for support to the Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota.

On the final day of the convention, there was some discussion on U.S. foreign policy. A sweeping "world affairs resolution" adopted by the convention stated, "We oppose any form of intervention in Central America including aid to the *contras* in Nicaragua."

Holly Harkness is a member of USWA Local 758 in Chicago.

Hormel workers debate proposed pact

Continued from front page

individual employees notified the company that they were prepared to return to work.

According to Al Zack, spokesperson for the UFCW International officials, there will be no immediate rehiring of the strikers. "That's just not in the cards."

Joseph Hansen, director of Region 13 and trustee of Local P-9, warned, "Those people still promoting a boycott of Hormel products could be jeopardizing the potential return of their brothers and sisters."

A key issue of the Austin strike that began August 1985 and was called off by P-9 trustees in May this year was the demand for a common expiration date for all the Hormel plants. In the tentative agreement, the contracts at the Hormel plants other than Austin would expire in 1989 while the Austin contract would expire in 1990. International officials were promised by Hormel that the contract negotiated in Austin in 1990 could be timed to expire at the same time as the other contracts.

Hormel's attempt to impose a two-tier wage system, which was unilaterally implemented by the company following reopening of the Austin plant with scabs in January, is reportedly phased out in the new contract over a four-year period.

Hormel announced during the negotiations that it was prepared to do away with the two-tier system in exchange for concessions of equivalent value.

The proposed contract eliminates the escrow pay that went to about 400 workers who had been in the Austin plant prior to the 1978 contract. This pay supplemented their weekly wages in return for their having given up production incentive pay when a new plant was built several years ago.

Safety

Safety, work rules, and grievance procedure were other key issues in the strike. Austin workers considered the provisions in their contract to be inferior to the rest of the chain. This, they feel, has contributed to increased injuries at the plant.

The proposed new contract extends the provisions in the Austin contract to the rest of the plants. This includes prohibiting the distribution of literature by Hormel workers to their coworkers, violating First Amendment rights.

The contract would also raise the basic wage at Hormel to \$10.70 an hour in the

third year, one penny more than the 1982 wage rate at Hormel.

According to Lewie Anderson, head of the UFCW's meatpacking division, "What we have here is a hell of a victory for the Hormel workers. This is the best contract in the meatpacking industry, certainly in the last four or five years. It proves we are making up lost ground. . . . The negotiations are a classic example of what you can do when you have solidarity and a strategy."

Jim Guyette, suspended president of P-9, responded, "A one-penny increase since 1982 isn't something I'd be leading cheers about."

Job restoration demanded

In response to UFCW officials' efforts to rush a vote on the proposed contract, a leaflet entitled, "Don't Vote Away Your Job," is being circulated among Hormel workers in the eight affected plants.

The leaflet is signed "on behalf of the men, women, and children hurt by the Hormel Company's greed" by Jim Guyette from Austin, Larry McClurg from Ottumwa, and Bob Langemeier from Fre-

mont.

The leaflet states, "What you hear now may not be what you hear later. Your final contract language may be determined in secret backroom meetings after you vote. . . . The missing language negotiated by Lewie Anderson in the 1981 concessionary agreement is what led to the strike in Austin."

It states that the future jobs of approximately 1,400 Hormel workers in Austin, Ottumwa, Fremont, Dallas, and Dubuque, Iowa, are not resolved by the contract.

The leaflet continues, "Only complete job restoration through a fair contract will end the boycott." It concludes, "In the past you have never been allowed to read the fine print of your contract. Don't let the UFCW stampede you into a vote. A quick decision on a backroom agreement only plays into the company's hands and ends up hurting us all. All of us at Hormel and FDL deserve equal treatment rather than being forced into isolation. Only through unity is there any lasting strength. We ask you and your family to carefully consider your decision on any contract that could cost you your job."

Arbitrator orders Ottumwa workers reinstated; jobless pay is denied

AUSTIN, Minn. — An arbitrator ruled August 27 that more than 500 Hormel workers in Ottumwa, Iowa, who were fired in January for honoring roving picket lines set up by the Austin workers must be rehired by September 15.

The ruling states, "All employees who were terminated . . . shall be restored to employment with seniority rights but without back pay."

The ruling says that the period since January "shall be considered to constitute a period of disciplinary suspension from employment."

Hormel has announced that it does not plan to resume slaughter operations at Ottumwa, suspended after the January firings. This would mean permanent elimination of hundreds of jobs.

According to Hormel executive Charles Nyberg, the ruling "doesn't necessarily mean we'll have jobs for them at the plant."

The proposed contract reportedly states that no more than 15 percent of the workers in other Hormel plants will be replaced by workers from Ottumwa.

Nyberg said that the arbitrator's ruling "held that the collective bargaining agreement was clear, that the employed didn't have the right to honor the picket line from Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, that the company's interpretation of the contract was correct and that the discipline was in order for violating the contract" but "the penalty of discharge was too severe."

The Iowa Employment Appeals Board has also ruled that the Ottumwa workers were not entitled to unemployment benefits and must repay the state for benefits they received, amounting to nearly \$5,000 each.

UFCW Local 431, which includes the Ottumwa workers, plans to appeal the ruling.

What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power

By Fred Halstead

40 pp., \$95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Church school bars 11-year-old supporter of abortion rights

TOLEDO, Ohio — For several weeks a controversy over the right to free speech has been raging here. Sarabeth Eason, 11 years old, was told on August 10 that she would not be enrolled in the St. Agnes parish school this fall unless she disavowed her public support for a woman's right to abortion.

Richard Miller, pastor of St. Agnes Catholic church, told Sarabeth that her statements at a televised abortion rights rally and her signing of a newspaper ad supporting abortion rights made her ineligible for the parish school, which she has attended since kindergarten. Sarabeth and her mother, Connie, were told Sarabeth would have to write a letter stating that she had changed her opinion and would no longer support abortion rights.

Rather than accept this demand, the Easons are publicly calling for support of Sarabeth's constitutional right to free speech. This winter Sarabeth will be honored at a dinner in Washington, D.C., sponsored by Catholics for a Free Choice, a national organization.

Connie Eason has been a longtime activist in support of abortion rights and was director of the Toledo Center for Free Choice, which was firebombed this spring.

The following interview with Sarabeth and Connie Eason was given to Glenn Orlic for the *Militant* on August 21.

* * *

Question. Connie, how did you get involved in abortion rights?

Connie. My life experience is that I grew up very poor, one of 11 children. I knew a couple of women who died of illegal abortions in Texas; they were neighbors of ours. As a social worker, I saw children neglected, abandoned, abused, and things like that. I took pregnancy very seriously myself, and from listening, learning from reality, I became prochoice.

I became active about five years ago when I applied for a job as a counselor at Toledo Medical Services and then left after a year to help put together the Center for Choice.

Q. Yesterday, in the Toledo Blade, there was an editorial saying this is an isolated mistake on the part of Richard Miller; that it's been blown all out of proportion. Do you think that's the case?

Connie. No, because I know it's not just us in particular. Another person who worked in the clinic had a child who was forced to leave the church school, and they felt pressure from the church. So you know it's not an isolated instance. With us they had a written letter, whereas with others it's been verbal, so you're getting one person's word against another's.

Q. What kind of response have you been getting from other members of the Catholic church and the community in general?

Connie. It's been just great. I love it when someone walks up to me, someone who I would least expect to, and says, "I'm so glad for what you did, and I'm behind you." Now, if they would just tell the priest, it would be wonderful. She represents the future, and needs the support of us adults at this point.

Q. That was another point the Blade editorial raised. They called the issue a "brouhaha," and said it's really not important because Sarabeth is 11 years old. When do you think people have the right to serious opinions?

Connie. I think you have the right to an opinion when you're four, two, three; whenever you start talking, you have the right to an opinion.

Sarabeth's ideas have been developing, and there's some opinions she'll change. Certainly she has been exposed to the abortion issue more than most 11-year-olds. She's been a part of marching in Washington and marching downtown, making public statements on it. Plus being involved at the clinic with the pickets, helping out in the reception and sterilization rooms. She's also gone into the procedure room, she's talked to women that have had abortions. She's been very open and listened to what they said. And her opinion matters.

Q. Over the past several months, there have been court rulings such as the Supreme Court decision upholding Georgia's sodomy laws that have justified government interference in personal matters. Do you think this could have any bearing on your case?

Connie. Certainly. The right-wing movement — Ronald Reagan, the Catholic church, the fundamentalist groups — have a lot of power and a lot of money. They're setting the tone, they're the ones in power, and here we are, trying to fight the changes that they're trying to make. I think we have a big fight ahead of us. It's all related.

It really scares me when the anti-abortionists say, "Don't punish us," punish the prochoice supporters because we believe in freedom of choice. Then another freedom has been taken away. I always tell them, you take away one freedom, then another and another.

Q. Sarabeth, let me start with the same question I asked your mother. How did you get involved with the fight for abortion rights?

Sarabeth. Well, I got involved because they brought it up in second grade and they said, "It's murder," and told about the evils of abortion.

My mom said, "Wait a second. There's another side to the story." So she told me the other part, and I started to grow from there. It's a woman's choice, and an individual choice. It's not the priests', it's a woman's choice.

Q. I guess you read the editorial in the Toledo Blade yesterday. One of the points it raised was that this is irrelevant because you're only 11 years old, and your opinion isn't very important.

Sarabeth. I'm going to make my opinion important. I'm going to make everybody hear me. We ought to be able to have our freedom of speech without someone saying, "Oh, you're too young to understand that."

Q. Do you know any other students who have gone through this experience?

Sarabeth. I'm about the only one, at least that I know of. Maybe there are others who don't want to cause trouble. I've never tried to keep it quiet. But if they do feel it's a woman's choice, then they should speak out.

Q. Why do you feel it's important for young women to support the right to abortion?

Sarabeth. It's important because they



Militant/Glen Orlic

Connie and Sarabeth Eason. Sarabeth says, "I'll fight for my freedom."

can get pregnant. If they're too young or too small, they could die because they're too small, or the baby could die. I think young people support it because if they ever get pregnant and it's illegal, they'll have to go to back alleys. It's going to happen, and women are going to die in the back alleys.

Q. Do you think this is connected to the increased attacks on abortion rights?

Sarabeth. The antis who bomb the abortion clinics are against abortion and for capital punishment. They want to stop abortions by bombing the places. Pretty soon someone will be in a clinic, and they'll kill somebody. And they'll just say, "It's their problem."

Q. At this point, the church hasn't

backed down. The school is still saying that you can't attend.

Sarabeth. Now they're saying that they want it all to end, but it's not going to end. I think they wouldn't want me back in school after what I've done. They started this whole thing, and they spoke on it, so why aren't they talking now? They're just trying to put the lid on it.

Q. So what are your plans now?

Sarabeth. Well, I'm going to try to get into a private school. It's a pretty good school, and I want to get into it.

Q. Are you still going to go to picket lines?

Sarabeth. I'll picket. Yes, I'll picket. I'll fight for my freedom.

Terror attacks against Blacks exposed in trial of Klansmen

BY MIKE GALATI

RALEIGH, N.C. — The White Patriot Party suffered a blow here recently when its leader, F. Glenn Miller, Jr., and his second in command, Stephen Miller (no relation), were convicted by a federal jury of contempt of court for operating a paramilitary organization in violation of a federal consent decree.

This reflects the growing pressure Blacks and other working people here have been putting on the government to take some action against harassment and hooligan attacks by right-wing and racist groups.

In January 1985 F. Glenn Miller and the WPP, then known as the Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were forced to sign a consent decree barring them from participating in any kind of paramilitary activities. This decree settled a class-action civil suit against them brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of North Carolina Blacks. The suit charged that the WPP had intimidated and harassed scores of Blacks in this state for many years.

The federal contempt charges accused the two Millers and the WPP of violating that decree by continuing to conduct their illegal activities.

Racist attacks have not been limited to just the WPP. The many Klan, fascist, and other antilabor and racist outfits that operate in this state have all been stepping up their attacks on the Black community and working people over the last few years.

Earlier this year a federal jury convicted six members of the White Knights of Liberty, another Klan group, of conspiracy charges stemming from a wave of cross-burnings in Iredell and Alexander counties. This was part of a two-year campaign of terror directed against mixed-race couples.

In a recently released report, the North Carolina Human Relations Council documented 110 incidents of racially motivated violence, including bombings, threats, cross burnings, assaults, and shootings over the last three years alone.

Klan and other racist activity in this state is not new. It was only seven years ago that five anti-Klan demonstrators, members of the Communist Workers Party, were shot by Klansmen in broad daylight during a demonstration in Greensboro.

Even though 16 of the racists were charged with murder, not one of them ever spent a day in prison. This gave a green light to all of the ultraright outfits in the state.

During the recent trial of the WPP leaders, James Holder, a former WPP member now serving time for murder, testified that WPP members believed they would form their own racist state in the South sometime in the early 1990s. After taking power, Holder said, the WPP planned to put all Blacks on boats headed for Africa that would then be exploded en route. The plan also called for many Jews to be hanged from lampposts in order to terrorize those remaining to flee the area.

Holder also told of how members held frequent military-style training sessions on the use of firearms and such tactics as hand-to-hand combat, escape and evasion, river crossing, and "seek out and destroy" missions in which "you shoot and destroy anything in sight."

Testimony during the trial also revealed that active-duty military personnel from Ft. Bragg, an army base near Fayetteville, and Camp Lejeune marine base near Jacksonville, participated in these paramilitary exercises and assisted in the training of these racist thugs.

The trial also exposed the growing organizational contacts between the White Patriot Party and other right-wing, racist, and Nazi outfits from around the country, including the West Coast-based Aryan Nations and the Nazi group, The Order.

U.S. District Judge W. Earl Britt released both Millers on \$10,000 bond each and scheduled sentencing for September 8. He ordered both Millers to sever their ties to the White Patriot Party and not associate with its members.

From Pathfinder Press

Apartheid's Great Land Theft: The Struggle for the Right to Farm in South Africa by Ernest Harsch.

Tells the story of the fight over land, which has been at the center of the struggle between South Africa's white rulers and its subjugated Black majority.

This pamphlet is an important tool to help build the movement to break all U.S. ties with the apartheid regime.

It is available at the Pathfinder Bookstore nearest you (see directory on page 12) or from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 56 pp., \$1.25. Please include \$.75 for handling.

Nicaraguan workers and peasants to hold congress

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

Nicaraguan workers and peasants will hold a national congress in November to exchange experiences and discuss how to increase farm and industrial production in the face of the U.S. trade embargo and mercenary war.

The idea was proposed August 7 by Víctor Tirado, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). He said the gathering should include farm cooperative leaders, union officials from factories, and workers from what is called "small industry," the manufacturing cooperatives that

workers explained their efforts to keep supplying machetes and bags to the countryside despite lack of spare parts and raw materials.

FSLN members at Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT) have decided to adopt new policies on recruitment to the party, reported the April-May *Bocay*, magazine of the MINT Political Directorate.

Bocay announced the results of a March 1986 assembly of the MINT section of the FSLN, which took up the questions of both building the party and its youth group, the Sandinista Youth-July 19.

The magazine interviewed Renán Montero, a member of the Party Leadership Committee at the MINT, who said the assembly set an age limit of 28 years or over for new members of the FSLN.

"The Sandinista Front has recruited young people who haven't been through the Sandinista Youth," said Montero. "So we want each young person to be developed and consolidated in the youth organization in order to later choose membership in the FSLN."

"There will be no growth of the party in 1986, because we have decided to consolidate what we have; that is, to increase the rounded abilities of each member of the Sandinista Front."

Montero said the party leadership would take action on membership applications that were already pending, and would also consider potential members with outstanding merits or individuals who had been overlooked.

Political science courses will be organized for national and local party leaders in the MINT, he added.

"We hope that by 1987 we will have a more consolidated FSLN



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Peasants parade in Estelí, celebrating seventh anniversary of Sandinista revolution. Upcoming congress is aimed at deepening their alliance with workers.

and a youth group that is capable of being the seed-bed for the Sandinistas of the future," he explained.

Subscriptions to *Bocay* in the United States are available by sending \$25 for 12 issues to *Bocay*, Aptdo. 68, Managua, Nicaragua.

Sandinista leader Glenda Monterrey, the general secretary of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE), has been placed on the national executive committee of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). She is the first woman

to sit on that body.

The decision to appoint Monterrey was announced by the FSLN in early August. It followed a national gathering of women industrial workers last May organized by AMNLAE with the collaboration of the CST and FSLN.

The meeting brought together 200 women from the textile, pharmaceutical, food, and other industries. Its purpose was to air the problems that limit women's full participation in the national campaign to raise industrial production.

One of the major problems

raised was lack of adequate child care. Delegates also called for union leaders and factory administrators to be more conscious of the social and ideological barriers that hold women back. Delegates said in some cases local union leaders were not paying attention to these problems nor were they actively trying to increase women's participation in union affairs.

The meeting recommended that AMNLAE members be added to various union leadership bodies and to factory planning boards.

With Monterrey's new responsibilities, AMNLAE leader Ruth Marcenaro is acting as interim general secretary of the women's organization.

"Afro-Nicaraguans and the Revolution" is one of the featured articles in the July-September issue of *Wani*, a Nicaraguan magazine published in Managua by the Center for Investigation and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast (CIDCA). The majority of the articles are in Spanish, and some are translated into English and Miskito.

The latest issue focuses on the peoples of Southern Zelaya province on the Atlantic Coast: Creoles, who are Black, English-speaking descendants of African slaves; Rama Indians; Garífonas, who are a mixture of Caribe Indian and ex-slave; and Spanish-speaking *mestizos*.

This issue also contains articles on Marcus Garvey; on the Rama language, which was virtually destroyed by centuries of colonial domination; and on the beginning of pilot autonomy projects in several Coast communities.

Readers living outside Nicaragua may subscribe to the magazine by sending U.S. \$14 to CIDCA-WANI, Aptdo. A-189, Managua, Nicaragua.

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

have been established since the 1979 revolution.

November was selected as the date because it marks the 25th anniversary of the FSLN.

In recent months, peasants, farm workers, and industrial workers have strengthened mutual ties through a program of exchange visits. Urban factory workers have made solidarity trips to farm co-ops attacked by the U.S.-organized mercenaries. Peasants and farm workers have traveled to Managua to visit factories producing agricultural equipment.

One such delegation from northern Nicaragua visited the IMASA machete plant and the MACEN grain-bag factory. The peasants pledged to increase the proportion of the crop they sell to government agencies to help reduce food prices in the cities. The

How Cuba restored respect for mental patients

BY TONY PRINCE

When some 100,000 Cubans left that country for Florida in 1980, the big-business news media in the United States claimed that they included many mentally ill patients who had been taken out of hospitals.

Cuban President Fidel Castro responded that "no mental patients left any hospital in our country to travel to the United States via Mariel — first of all because our country takes excellent care of our people's health and has made enormous efforts to care for every citizen in this country, without payment, whatever the cost, whoever it may be."

"We would never do such an absurd thing" as to expel a mental patient, Castro said. "We feel too much respect for patients to do this. A patient of any kind is sacred to us, and such an action would go against an essential part of our philosophy, our conduct, and the history of our revolution."

During a trip to Cuba in mid-May, I was able to see this for myself, visiting both the Ameijeiras Brothers Hospital and the Psychiatric Hospital of Havana.

The Psychiatric Hospital of Havana is in the middle of an industrial section of the city, but the grounds seem more like a park or a college campus than those of a hospital. A number of buildings — living quarters, administration buildings, and work areas — are spread out over gardens, fields, and parks.

Before the revolution the institution was called the Hospital de Dementes, that is, the Hospital for the Insane. Many of the people at the hospital were not insane at all, but simply had no place else to go. Some were vagabonds, others were ex-slaves.

The vast majority of inmates had no medicine, no mattresses, and often no food. Many had no clothes. They were

kept behind bars, and their food was thrown in to them on the floor.

No more bars

After the revolution, a man named Ordaz, who was the chief medical officer of the guerrilla forces fighting in the Sierra Maestra, was appointed the head of the hospital. Ordaz was not a psychologist, but he had a great sense of respect for the dignity of the patients, even for the most incurably insane.

Ordaz removed the bars from the hospital, and made it an open hospital. Occupational therapy workshops were built, as well as new dormitories. Dr. Rolando Valdez Marín, a hospital official, showed us one visiting room of a women's living quarters that was glass on three sides. He said that when Ordaz put in this glass, he was told the patients would destroy it within a month. It has been there for 20 years.

Occupational therapy plays a major role in the treatment of the patients. A large percentage of the patients work outside the hospital in regular jobs — in factories, gardens, other hospitals, and so on. Others work in the hospital, cleaning, taking other patients to lunch, or receiving new patients to the hospital, among other things.

The patients are paid for their work, but usually not at the rate of a regular worker. This is because the patient is not considered a regular worker and is not required to meet the normal standards of production. The patient is paid a normal pension on reaching retirement age, however.

The patients also participate in sports events around the country. The hospital itself has its own stadium where the patients can participate in sports and watch visiting teams. They put out their own publications. They also are free to leave every weekend to visit their families.

In addition to occupational therapy,

drugs, psychotherapy, and group therapy are used. Dr. Valdez told us that shock therapy is only used in cases where a patient is considered to be suicidal. The patient is always anesthetized first. No lobotomies or other surgery are performed.

One unique form of therapy employed is "psycho-ballet." This was initiated 15 years ago by Alicia Alonso, the world renowned ballet dancer, with children and adolescents. It was used at first with blind and deaf and dumb children, to give them more confidence in moving around and using their bodies. Now it is used at the hospital with mentally ill adults. The value of this form of therapy has been recently recognized by the United Nations agency UNESCO.

The tour of the Psychiatric Hospital ended with a concert by the patients. They played and sang a selection of popular Cuban songs. The concert was not a masterpiece in musical terms, but in human terms it was deeply touching. It reflected the humanity that is at the root of the Cuban revolution.

A 'world medical power'

Patients in other kinds of hospitals in Cuba also receive the best treatment available. I saw this at the Ameijeiras Brothers Hospital in the capital, which serves as the country's national hospital, treating the small percentage of difficult and complicated medical problems that the municipal and provincial hospitals cannot handle.

Zenobio González, the hospital's public relations director, gave a number of examples of the specialized care available at the hospital. Cuba has now begun to carry out heart transplant operations, performed at the Ameijeiras Brothers. There are specialists in microsurgery, laser surgery, thorax surgery, and mandibular surgery at the hospital.

Every surgical patient has the right to

have a member of the family with him or her 24 hours a day at the hospital. The hospital provides meals for the family member as well. It used to be that only women could spend the night in the hospital with a sick member of the family, but this was changed because it was considered to be discriminatory, placing too much of a burden on the women.

Visiting an area of the hospital for patients who were going through physical therapy as part of their treatment, I noted that the hospital rooms compared favorably to those of a modern U.S. hospital.

González discussed some more general aspects of health care in Cuba.

The leadership of the revolution, he noted, has set a goal of making Cuba a "world medical power." Fidel Castro and other leaders have explained that Cuba does not aspire to lead the world in the production of nuclear weapons or in the size of its army, but rather in some area more worthy of human beings.

Cuba projects the goal of having between 65,000 and 70,000 doctors by the year 2000. Currently there are about 23,000 doctors in Cuba — one for every 435 residents, compared to 6,000 doctors at the time of the revolution in 1959. Three thousand four hundred doctors are currently on internationalist missions to countries such as Nicaragua, Angola, and Ethiopia. By the year 2000, this number is expected to rise to 10,000.

Life expectancy in Cuba is now 74.2 years. The infant mortality rate is 15 per 1,000 births. This figure has been dropping for years, and when each new year's infant mortality statistic is published, it gets a banner headline in the Cuban daily, *Granma*. The U.S. figure is 12 per 1,000, but the Cubans confidently predict that they will soon overtake the United States in this field, as they have in many other areas of social welfare.



Militant photos by Lou Howort, Jeff Powers
Among those denouncing FBI crimes are
garment union official Kathy Andrade
(top); farm leader Merle Hansen (center);
and civil rights fighter Fred Shuttlesworth.

Ruling against the FBI sparks discussion on political rights

BY CINDY JAQUITH

"This is what they did to Martin Luther King," commented an auto worker at the General Motors plant in Doraville, Georgia.

Last week, workers at the plant picked up the *Atlanta Constitution* or *Atlanta Journal* and learned about the decades of burglaries, wiretaps, informers, and disruption programs used against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance by the FBI.

The story was in the news because on August 25, U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa issued his ruling in a lawsuit the socialists filed against the FBI and other spy agencies. The judge said the massive spy operation was "patently unconstitutional" and "violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly."

At the Fairchild-Republic plant, which manufactures airplanes on Long Island, New York, a story on the case in *Newsday* prompted a similar response. One machinist said what the government spies tried to do to the socialists reminded him of the FBI's attacks on the Black Panther Party in the 1960s.

Aerospace workers at the Martin-Marietta plant in Denver read about the case in the *Denver Post*. A victory against company-government snooping was won in the factory recently when union activist Sally Goodman beat back attempts to fire her on charges that she associated with the SWP and was a lesbian.

Workers were pleased to hear the socialists had won a victory in the court

case and felt that their own right to be active in politics was strengthened by the judge's decision. Several decided to sign petitions to place Mike Chamberlain, a mill machinist at Martin-Marietta, on the Colorado state ballot. He is running for U.S. Senate on the SWP ticket.

"It's outrageous when they violate basic principles to harass any party in this country," Kathy Andrade told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. She is the director of education for Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York.

No violations of civil liberties by the U.S. government should ever be ignored, she continued. "Today it's your group, and tomorrow it will be the labor movement — if we don't protest."

Trade unionists and other activists read about the case in papers across the country, from the *Dallas Times-Herald*, to the *Kansas City Times*, to the *Toledo Blade*, and the *Fairmont Times-West Virginian*.

Griesa's decision was also reported on NBC TV Nightly News, National Public Radio, and in the *Washington Post*, *New York Daily News*, *El Diario-La Prensa*, and the *New York Times*.

Professor fired from job

The *Times* interviewed Morris Starsky, a plaintiff in the socialists' lawsuit. The FBI got him fired from his job as a professor at Arizona State University because of his outspoken opposition to the U.S. war against Vietnam.

Starsky told the *Times* that the court decision meant "a revolutionary socialist and Marxist party has the same legal status and

rights as anyone else to carry out its beliefs without interference by the secret terrorist apparatus of the United States government."

Starsky held a news conference in Cincinnati, where he now lives, joined by Fred Shuttlesworth, a decades-long fighter in the civil rights movement.

In a subsequent interview with the *Militant*, Shuttlesworth emphasized the educational role the socialists' lawsuit has played in revealing how the U.S. government illegally tries to subvert progressive struggles.

Civil rights fighters in the 1960s had to learn this through experience, he said. FBI and other government agents "posed as protectors of human freedom," he said, and claimed they were out to stop the Ku Klux Klan. The real target of their "investigations" was the civil rights movement.

Shuttlesworth said he believed the court decision "will serve to keep us vigilant. I commend the SWP and any others who stand up for civil rights and human rights."

Current victims of illegal government surveillance were also quick to see the importance of the case. One was Roger Wareham, one of the New York 8+ defendants framed up on conspiracy charges by the government because of their activities in support of Black liberation and political prisoners. The FBI used informers, wiretaps, and mail covers against the eight.

"Although the decision [in the SWP lawsuit] is of great import," Wareham told the *Militant*, "it is the political message which is most significant."

The decades of spying and harassment against the socialists "was a criminal conspiracy [by] the government to criminalize the politics of those who dared dissent," he said.

"Hopefully, people hearing about this case, as with ours, will learn that the all-out assault by the government on democratic rights must be fought in every arena."

'Helps us a lot'

Rafael Anglada-López, one of the attorneys for 16 Puerto Rican independence activists currently facing robbery charges, said the SWP case "helps us a lot." The FBI's Cointelpro disruption program is familiar to Puerto Ricans, he said, because of "the degree of infiltration and disruption that we have suffered historically, especially from the FBI."

George Kannar, national staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, said Griesa's decision "sends a strong message to the government that it must refrain from interfering with the rights of free expression and freedom of association."

Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance*, told the *Militant* that "it's a landmark, in these dark times, that you people have been able to vindicate the right of political expression."

Leaders of the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and nuclear weapons also welcomed the ruling. "The decision was a victory for the movement, not just the SWP," said Judy Freiwirth, national field coordinator of the National Mobilization for Survival. It is important "especially for the peace movement — to be able to work free of harassment. We will be able to use this decision."

Nicaragua Network leader Debby Reubin saw the decision as "a recognition of our right to organize collectively."

"We find it particularly important to note the extent and nefariousness of the Cointelpro operation against the SWP and other elements of the progressive movement," she told the *Militant*.

She also noted the harassment by U.S. Customs agents of activists who have traveled to Nicaragua, and FBI agents visiting the homes of these people following their trips.

Farmers fighting foreclosures are also learning firsthand how the government violates their democratic rights, said Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance. "The police are usually used to protect people with property and wealth," he said. "Farmers are finding out that they not only have an economic struggle, but a political one."

Cointelpro — 'no tactic too sordid'

BY FRED FELDMAN

"There can be no doubt that these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly." That is how Judge Thomas Griesa evaluated Cointelpro in his August 25 decision on the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. government.

Cointelpro is FBI shorthand for Counterintelligence Program — operations aimed at disrupting, discrediting, and harassing movements, organizations, and individuals opposed to U.S. government policies.

The SWP and YSA's initiative to file suit in 1973 helped lift the lid a little bit on this country's vast secret police apparatus. Piles of documents were forced into the open. The lesser-known and more insidious aspects of the government's repressive structure were laid bare to working-class militants and other fighters for social justice.

The FBI operations that were made public led a November 1975 editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to conclude that it was "hard to imagine that there was any tactic too sordid for this federal agency to use." Many of these operations were described in *COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, by Nelson Blackstock, published in 1976 by Vintage Books.

The documents revealed that in 1961 the SWP was made the target of a special "disruption program" modeled on a Communist Party USA Counterintelligence Program the FBI had been conducting for some time.

In 1969 the New York FBI office forged a circular, purporting to be from an antiwar activist named "Bernie," which denounced the participants in a coalition building a march against the Vietnam War for not having "the guts" to carry out violent confrontations with "the pigs."

This forgery, said the FBI, was "designed to disrupt plans for the demonstration."

In 1970 an FBI agent created another obscene leaflet — purporting to be from opponents of the war — demanding that supporters of the SWP and YSA be excluded from a national antiwar coalition. A major goal, the FBI explained in a memo, was

to disrupt the coalition.

When SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead went to Vietnam in 1968 to discuss his opposition to the war with U.S. soldiers, the FBI sought to plant an article in U.S. army publications inciting violence against him.

The Black struggle for equality was targeted for a massive FBI campaign.

A 1967 FBI directive called for secret operations to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder."

The FBI was determined, it said, to "prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength."

None of the documents dealing with FBI operations against the Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X have been made public. But a number of documents uncovered by the SWP dealt with FBI efforts to demoralize and isolate his followers after the assassination, and some of these documents hinted at operations before his death.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was the target of an intensive campaign of harassment and surveillance until his murder in 1968. In 1964, for instance, FBI agents sent King

a tape supposedly obtained through electronic surveillance, along with an unsigned note suggesting that the tape would be made public unless King committed suicide.

A forged letter, purporting to be from a "soul sister," was sent to the husband of a white civil rights activist in St. Louis, claiming she was having affairs with Black men. An FBI memo boasted that this "certainly contributed very strongly" to her subsequent divorce and to compelling her to lessen her civil rights activity.

The Black Panther Party, an organization that arose in the late 1960s, was the target of a savage nationwide campaign of official violence in which the FBI played a leading part.

The FBI used its informants in the Black Panther Party to provide the Chicago cops with information they used in carrying out a raid on the apartment of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Hampton and Mark Clark, another BPP member, were murdered in the police attack.

The FBI tries to justify its actions against struggles in the interest of working people by raising the specter of "terrorism."

But the record shows that it is the FBI's network of agents and "informants" that has incited violence as part of a decades-long war against the political rights of the American people.



Political Rights Defense Fund

You can help. . .

Prying loose some of the truth about the FBI's illegal spying and disruption has required large sums of money. And the battle is not over.

To continue getting out the facts brought to light in the socialist lawsuit, to prepare for a possible government appeal of the August 25 court decision, and to defray the enormous legal expenses already incurred, more funds are needed.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which has publicized the socialist lawsuit and raised the money to make it possible, is asking for your donations today.

Please mail your contribution now to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made out to PRDF.

Filipino workers fight for right to

Union federation consolidates and grows in face of right-wing th

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — Tens of thousands of working people rallied at the Luneta Park grandstand here August 3 to reclaim the park from the supporters of the ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The park had been a center of popular protests during the Marcos tyranny.

The pro-Marcos "loyalists" were gathering there each Sunday to stage provocations with increasing boldness against the popular movement and the government headed by President Corazon Aquino.

Just a week before, "loyalist" thugs had chased and beaten an Aquino supporter to death in the park. Earlier in July the loyalists used a Luneta Park rally as a pretext for assembling the forces to storm the nearby Manila Hotel together with 500 sympathetic soldiers. They declared Marcos' vice-presidential candidate Arturo Tolentino "acting president."

But the loyalists kept their distance from the August 3 rally. Organized by a broad coalition under the banner of the Campaign to Defend, Preserve, and Advance Democracy, the action called on the Aquino government to deal firmly with the loyalists. It protested their "coddling" by Minister of Defense Juan Enrile, Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos, and other "former administrators and enforcers of the deposed Marcos dictatorship" now in the Aquino government, according to a leaflet distributed at the rally.

"We must expose and weed out these coddlers of thugs," the leaflet continued. "Let us manifest and display the 'people's power' which toppled the Marcos dictatorship and swept President Cory to power. Let us thwart efforts to undermine the new order, or mount a coup d'etat and install a new form of dictatorship — Marcosism without Marcos."

Big labor contingents

The majority at the rally were factory, construction, and other workers. They had been mobilized by the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council (LACC), a new union grouping established to negotiate with the Aquino government, through which the militant Kilusang Mayo Uno (May 1 Movement — KMU) union federation is allied with other important but smaller union federations.

LACC had originally called its own demonstration for August 3 in defense of trade union rights, but decided to merge into the broader rally.

Prominent among the union contingents at Luneta Park were groups of workers from picket lines at struck workplaces. Metro Manila is today something of a tent city. All over the urban area — outside shops, offices and factory gates — can be

found lean-tos under which striking workers find shelter from the frequent monsoon rains as they maintain picket lines to shut their employers down.

The Manila strikes are part of a nationwide strike wave that continues to gain momentum, six months after working people mobilized massively to oust Marcos after he tried to steal the February 7 presidential election.

According to the Ministry of Labor and Employment, there were a reported 335 strikes from March to mid-July, an increase of 75 percent compared to the same period in 1985. More than 90 strikes were continuing when this reporter arrived in the Philippines in late July. These included strikes by Manila International Airport air traffic controllers, Pepsi Cola workers in Manila and northern Luzon, garment workers in Laguna (southern Luzon), transit workers in Manila, industrial and service workers in Cebu City, fertilizer plant workers on Leyte island, and banana plantation workers on Mindanao.

Restrictions under Marcos

The battle for union rights is at the heart of this strike wave. Under the Marcos dictatorship severe restrictions were placed in the way of the working class organizing democratic unions that could wage an effective struggle to improve their wages and working conditions. This has helped maintain the Philippine working class as the lowest paid of the major Asian and Pacific countries.

Moreover, these restrictions facilitated the establishment of "export processing zones" where strikes are outlawed and multinational companies pay on average less than 70 percent of the legal minimum wage of 57 pesos per day (less than U.S.\$3).

Marcos cronies and other Filipino and Taiwanese businessmen also took advantage of these laws to establish sweatshops, sometimes paying as little as 14 pesos per day, or one quarter of the minimum wage.

Workers who resisted this brutal exploitation inevitably met arrests and police dispersal of picket lines.

On top of this legally sanctioned terror, private armies of company goons and murder squads linked to the military and the employers were allowed to freely attack union organizers and striking workers. A special May 1986 report issued by the Commission on Trade Union and Human Rights, for example, noted 71 cases of "unexplained disappearances" and 187 cases of "salvaging" (kidnap, torture, and murder) of labor organizers between 1977 and 1985.

Despite this repression the strike strug-

gles and union organizing of the workers continued to gather momentum during the 1980s. It became increasingly intertwined with the broader political struggle against the Marcos dictatorship.

The February mobilizations which finally toppled Marcos put the landlord-capitalist ruling class on the defensive. Beginning in Manila but later extending to many provincial cities and towns and some rural areas, the Philippine working class has been able to carve out a larger space in which to organize their fight against the landlords and employers.

This was registered by the massive May Day rallies this year organized by the major union federations across the Philippines. President Aquino, General Ramos, and other figures in the new regime felt compelled to attend the largest of these — a rally of more than 200,000 at Luneta Park.

In her address to the labor rally Aquino promised to remove many of the restrictive and oppressive provisions of the Marcos antiunion laws, including lifting a number of the legal restrictions on the right to strike, and prohibiting military or police interference in peaceful strikes. She stopped short, however, of the unions' demand for repeal of the Marcos laws.

In these pronouncements, Aquino was largely giving sanction to what the workers had already taken in practice. The KMU and other unions insist that to really add anything the president's May Day promises must be codified in law or in a presidential decree, which still had not happened more than three months after her speech.

Fight for union recognition

The crucial question in most of the strikes is union recognition.

In 1975, during the early martial law period, Marcos forced most of the existing trade unions into one central body ("center") known as the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. The TUCP, which claimed 2 million members, was placed under the control of figures linked to the employers and the martial law regime. For example, its first president, Roberto Oca, was related to a previous head of state and was part of the Marcos social circle, while his successor, Democrito Mendoza, is a reserve colonel in the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The TUCP leaders collaborated in the firing of union militants and signed sweetheart contracts with the employers that gave the bosses a free hand to set conditions and pay, while obstructing any efforts of workers to organize effectively against their superexploitation. Many TUCP affiliates, in fact, were company-organized unions whose officials were on the company payroll.

When workers were driven to go on strike they found themselves not only up against the employers and the dictatorship, but their union officials as well.

Because of its close association with Marcos and the employers, the TUCP steadily declined, especially after the workers recovered from the initial shock of martial law and their strike struggle resumed in the late 1970s.

Under the pressure of these struggles many unions broke away or were expelled from the TUCP. This process has accelerated with the overthrow of Marcos.

Flocking into KMU

Thousands of workers have been flocking into the militant trade union federation, the KMU. They identify it with democratic, fighting unionism because of its role as organizer of hard-fought union battles during the Marcos regime and its leadership role in the broader political struggle against the dictatorship.

Founded in 1980 by bringing together a number of leftward-moving split-offs from the TUCP and some independently organized unions, the KMU has grown from about 35,000 members to more than

500,000, while according to Ministry of Labor estimates, the TUCP has declined to a little over 200,000. The KMU's rapid growth at the expense of the TUCP has involved previously unorganized workers, workers in the TUCP who organize new unions under the KMU, or unions previously affiliated to the TUCP opting for the KMU.

For example, in 1985 the 6,700 cannery and field workers at the Dole Pineapple plantation on Mindanao voted to leave the TUCP and recognize the KMU as their bargaining agent.

In addition, the strongest independent union federations outside the TUCP are in the process of uniting under the leadership of the KMU in the LACC.

Local businessmen and foreign employers are bitterly resisting workers' efforts to be represented by the union of their choice. Claiming increasing "infiltration by militant labor unions" and "union-raiding," employers refuse to recognize decisions of their employees to affiliate with the KMU. They fire alleged KMU organizers and other union activists, forcing the workers to take strike action in their own defense and for recognition of the KMU union.

Union-busting at naval base

One of the most blatant cases of union-busting is taking place at the Subic Bay U.S. naval base near Olongapo, the center of a militant strike by the 22,000 Filipino civilian employees of the U.S. military last March. Forced back to work in April, the workers sought to strengthen their position by campaigning to democratize their union — the Federation of Filipino Civilian Employees Association in U.S. Bases in the Philippines (FFCEA). Roberto Flores, the president of the FFCEA, a TUCP affiliate, was a Marcos-appointee to the Olongapo city council.

With the connivance of the FFCEA leadership, 42 activists in this campaign, including union Vice-president Manuel Torres, were summarily dismissed from their jobs at Subic Bay June 17. Justifying these firings, the U.S. authorities said that the dismissed workers "have been identified as persons whose primary goal is to remove the U.S. facilities from the Philippines and to, thereby, hamper the ability of the U.S. to defend democratic interests."

In their efforts to intimidate the workers and break the momentum of the union-organizing drive the employers are resorting to increased use of hired goons, backed up by the military and the police, against picket lines. Among many examples are:

- Strikers at the big Pepsi Cola bottling plant in Metro Manila fought a pitched battle with company goons trying to break their picket line August 1.

- Nine workers were injured and four others declared missing when on August 2 about 200 heavily armed soldiers, local policemen, security guards, and hired goons attacked striking employees of the Fil Transit Co. in Alabang, south of Manila.

- On July 14 four workers were shot while on picket duty outside Saulog Transit, Inc.

Aquino's labor minister

So far, however, the employers have not been able to reestablish such picket-line violence as the norm. One of the obstacles to this, and a special focus of the bosses' frustration, has been the new minister of labor appointed by Aquino, Augusto "Bob-bit" Sanchez. Sanchez, who describes himself as a "democratic socialist," is a lawyer who took KMU cases under the Marcos regime.

Sanchez has so far resisted employer demands that his department continue its role under Marcos as their direct strikebreaking instrument, and has publicly condemned military and police intervention in labor disputes, saying it would only worsen the industrial situation.

The American Chamber of Commerce



Since Marcos was overthrown, nationwide strike wave has demanded union rights. Here workers on picket duty outside Metro Manila plastics factory.

organize

reats

(in the Philippines) denounced Sanchez as among the "communist-leaning" members of the cabinet.

The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines also directly approached Aquino to demand government action against the strike wave.

Sanchez announced that he intended to organize a tripartite conference of the government, business, and labor during August. One of the government's proposals to this meeting was to be a moratorium on strikes, according to Sanchez's deputy.

Aquino defended her appointment of Sanchez at a joint meeting of the country's various chambers of commerce at the Manila Hotel July 22. Sanchez "is the man for the job under today's prevailing circumstances," she told them (our emphasis).

In this situation, the employers are looking increasingly to the military wing of the government, which is more willing to do the job for them that they want.

Military strikebreaking

On the pretext of enforcing back-to-work injunctions issued by compliant judges, in late July Defense Minister Enrile ordered his men in to break up picket lines at the Royalty Garments Co. in Laguna Province and at the Robinson's department store in Cebu City, despite the protestations of Sanchez and the May Day assurances of Aquino.

The military has also been used to break strikes at Manila's Holiday Inn and at Philippine Phosphates, Inc. on Leyte.

The National Federation of Sugar Workers — Food and General Trades (NFSW) has also protested renewed militarization of the sugar lands in Negros. The military has burned houses and carried out other atrocities there.

NFSW leaders have expressed concern that this repression is aimed at combating the KMU's expansion in Negros and throughout the Visayas region.

But working-class fighters in the Visayas have also faced violence from another quarter. Long the stronghold of TUCP President Mendoza's Associated Labor Unions, the union boss has organized his own thugs to join with company guards and the military to attack picket lines and beat up KMU organizers.

Enrile's threats

In a speech July 22, Enrile expressed pessimism that scheduled government talks with representatives of the Communist Party-led guerrilla movement would likely lead to a cease-fire. He cited the KMU's growth, which he claimed was the product of a "systematic destabilization campaign in the industrial sector through party-sponsored labor strikes and mass actions." A week later, he threatened to stage a military coup if there was a threat of a "communist takeover."

In face of this challenge, the KMU has stepped up its efforts to unify the organized working class into a single trade union federation that can speak and act with one voice. It has initiated a series of mobilizations in defense of labor and democratic rights such as that on August 3. Two weeks earlier, 3,000 workers had rallied at the Ministry of Defense to demand the prosecution of the Manila Hotel rebels. The August 3 rally was the springboard for nationwide union mobilizations August 13 around the same issue.

In a July 27 press release, KMU national spokesman Crispin Beltran said any serious attack against the labor movement or any attempt to restore military rule would be met by a general strike by the KMU and its allies.

Growing concern

The growing belligerence of Enrile and the military hierarchy, their increasingly open sheltering of the Marcos loyalists and company goons, and the ineffectiveness or complicity of the liberal politicians around Aquino in face of this has become a ques-



Militant photos by Russell Johnson

A May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation contingent at August 3 demonstration demanding action against pro-Marcos provocations. Militant workers are at forefront of battle against threat of rightist coup.

tion of growing concern to many working-class fighters here.

They see the Manila Hotel mutineers treated with kid gloves and its military component amnestied, while striking workers are once again met with state violence and military terror continues in the countryside in defiance of Aquino's call for "national reconciliation." They see police

stand by while an Aquino supporter is kicked to death in a public park by pro-Marcos thugs. They listen to Enrile publicly outline the conditions under which the military will take over the government.

In this context, more working-class fighters sense that a new and more decisive test of strength between the exploiters' army and the workers and peasants is com-

ing, and that the labor movement must not only advance union rights and living standards, but come forward as the vanguard of the battle to utilize, defend, and extend the breathing room won in February.

How to organize and lead such a struggle to victory is the key question before the KMU and the organized working class as a whole today.

Interview with KMU, sugar workers leader

The following interview was obtained by Russell Johnson in Manila on July 22. Bob Ortaliz is the secretary-general of the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) union federation, and the president of the National Federation of Sugar Workers — Food and General Trades, which is based on Negros island.

Question. How is the labor movement responding to the opening provided by the ouster of Marcos?

Answer. As a result of the new situation the progressive bloc of the labor movement is now uniting into one big center called the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council (LACC). As agreed upon between this group and the minister of labor, the group will be the consultative body for major labor issues. So we are now establishing the basis for unity of the participants of LACC.

Q. What unions does that incorporate?

A. In the LACC are KMU, the Federation of Free Workers, World Federation of Trade Unions affiliates, and independent unions.

Q. Except for the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines?

A. At the first meeting the TUCP was there, but eventually it distanced itself from the LACC because its secretary-general, Herrera, said that the TUCP and the KMU could never unite for ideological reasons. So as of now it is outside the LACC, but still we are trying to draw it into some sort of unity, even if it is just establishing the basis for cooperation in the labor movement.

We have had several meetings with the government already, and even during the first tripartite meeting called by the government between labor, employers, and government, it was LACC that participated.

We are envisaging eventually making the LACC a trade union center because we think that the trends going on now — the Manila Hotel fiasco and the ongoing destabilization done by the [Marcos] loyalists and the militarists — have made the political situation so volatile that a coup d'etat is possible.

Because of this we want unity in the labor movement, so that it, as a sector, will help to protect the democratic gains we have won since the so-called people's uprising.

Q. Could you say a little about this loyalist offensive and the KMU's response?

A. In spite of the ban on them making demonstrations, the loyalists continue to try to stage them. We know that they are now trying to get 10 million signatures supporting Tolentino as acting president. The connections between the loyalists and the military — there's the danger.

This last spring it was floated to the business sector that a coup d'etat was impending. So KMU released a statement May 1 saying that in the event of any group of persons trying to destabilize the government by way of a coup d'etat, the answer of labor or the KMU would be a nationwide strike.

Q. Who organized the rally at the Ministry of Defense in July in protest of the loyalist takeover of the Manila Hotel?

A. KMU. We went to Malacañang [Palace] July 16 and had a dialogue with Aquino. We demanded the punishment of the leaders of the Manila Hotel fiasco. The news today is that 40 leaders of the so-called rebellion will be charged unless they swear allegiance to Aquino's "Freedom Constitution."

Q. To turn to the situation of the sugar workers in Negros. The press has been reporting renewed military operations on Negros island. What is the situation there?

A. Actually the militarization is not only in the south as reported by the press. Recently, in central Negros very near the city of Bacolod, people were harassed because the sugar planters had asked for military protection.

In response to this military campaign, peasants went to Bacolod and had a camp-in in the provincial capital. They requested the governor to take the military out of the area. This camp-in is still going on.

Q. Last March, when I visited Bacolod, you said the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW) was discussing plans for a broader organizing drive on Negros and the neighboring islands in the Visayas region. What progress has been made?

A. We had our national council meeting about two weeks ago. We have expanded rapidly in Iloilo (Panay) and Leyte. As a result we now have regional offices in Iloilo and in Cebu City. We have not only expanded among sugar workers but also among other food workers.

The same thing is happening with the federations affiliated to KMU in other regions. That's why, on August 3, KMU affiliates in the Visayas will have a convention to form a nationwide organization — KMU Visayas.

Q. What progress has been made in the NFSW's campaign for the distribution of farm lots to help feed underemployed sugar workers?

A. There has been so much infusion of economic help — foreign and local — for Negros in particular that the tendency of the government has been to cooperate with the NFSW on this project. Even one of the ministers of the Canadian government came to see us.

However, the acquisition of land for the cooperative farm lots of the sugar workers is still meeting difficulties. While we are recommending giving the workers sequestered and even foreclosed lands free, this seems to be disputed by the planters' groups and even the government.

The opening of the sugar milling season, if there will be one this year, is still November.

So while there is this debate on how these cooperative farm lots will be undertaken, people are going hungry.

Q. Have there been any recent attacks on NFSW organizers?

A. Yes. In fact the recent repression was in response to the NFSW filing cases about the salvaging in Kabankalan last January. The witnesses of the salvaging, torture, and killing of the three organizers are now hiding in fear because they have been harassed. In fact, the major witness was shot down next to the NFSW office in Bacolod by the police involved in the salvaging. Fortunately he was not killed.



Bob Ortaliz with journalist Deb Shnookal outside sugar workers' headquarters on Negros island.

Spanish Civil War: how working people fought fascist coup

BY FRED FELDMAN

On July 17, 1936, Spanish army units headed by Gen. Francisco Franco launched a coup from the Spanish colony of Morocco. Franco sought to overthrow Spain's elected government, abolish the republic, and establish a fascist dictatorship.

This led to a civil war that didn't end until Madrid was taken by Franco's forces in March 1939. Franco's dictatorial regime fell only after he died in 1975.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Spanish Civil War. The occasion has given rise to many editorials, news articles, reminiscences, and television documentaries.

An article in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* said, "The war is usually counted among the most dramatic events of the 20th century. It ravaged the land and imposed a 40-year dictatorship that oppressed and darkened the spirit of Spain. It served as a prelude to World War II, pitting Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini on the side of Franco against Josef Stalin on the side of the republic."

An editorial in the same newspaper praised the thousands of U.S. citizens who served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. They were among the thousands of volunteers from around the world who fought on the side of the Spanish Republic. The *Post-Dispatch's* salute is especially noteworthy considering that many veterans of the war were later persecuted by the U.S. government during the anticommunist witch-hunt of the late 1940s and 1950s for their association with the brigades, as well as for other political activities.

President Reagan has quite a different view of these brigades. Although he took no public notice of the anniversary, several years ago he remarked that those who defended the republic had "fought on the wrong side." Reagan's statement more accurately expresses the prevailing view of the U.S. ruling families who supported Franco's rise to power and his dictatorship.

Before 1931 Spain was one of the most economically and socially underdeveloped countries of Western Europe. Parasitic landed aristocrats and capitalists kept the majority in misery. A monarchy based on the support of an aristocratic officer corps and the Catholic hierarchy politically dominated the country.

The world capitalist depression that erupted in 1929 worsened conditions in Spain even more. In the countryside, millions earned less than 50 cents a day — when they had work. As the living standards of workers and peasants rapidly deteriorated, they fought back and pressed for democratic rights to help advance their struggle.

Under the pressure of this mass upsurge, the king was forced to go into exile, the monarchy was abolished, and Spain became a republic in 1931.

Workers, poor peasants, and others utilized the new situation to organize themselves and press their struggle forward.

The landlords and capitalists responded by supporting fascist groups that systematically assassinated union leaders and socialist and communist politicians.

In February 1936 the Popular Front, a coalition of liberal capitalist parties, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party, was elected on a reform program.

The great majority of the big capitalists and landlords concluded that the workers and peasants could not be decisively rolled back while the republic existed. When Franco launched his uprising, these ruling classes stood on his side.

Masses fight back

In the first days of the uprising, the government tried to compromise with the rightist generals.

On July 19, some 100,000 people took to the streets in Madrid. They demanded arms and opposed any compromise with the fascists. Under this pressure, the government began distributing arms. Workers'



Fighters on side of Spanish Republic

organizations in Barcelona and elsewhere in the province of Catalonia formed militias that drove back Franco's forces.

The Spanish Civil War opened as two camps of imperialist powers prepared for war. The fascist regimes of Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy provided troops, planes, tanks, and other military help to Franco. The bombing of the town of Guernica by the bombers of Hitler's Condor Legion inspired worldwide outrage, reflected in the painting *Guernica* by the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso.

Under the guise of being "neutral," the imperialist governments in Britain, France, and the United States did nothing to obstruct the Spanish fascists.

Worldwide solidarity

In the late 1930s the Spanish Civil War was at the center of world politics. Working people around the world identified with the struggle of the Spanish masses.

An estimated 40,000 volunteers from many countries joined international brigades that fought on the republican side.

Working people around the world mobilized in anti-Franco demonstrations and expressed solidarity in other ways.

The republican camp in Spain was divided over how to defeat the fascists and win the war.

The workers and peasants, who defended the republic as part of their struggle to advance their living standards and democratic rights, came into conflict with the capitalist government.

The Popular Front government sought to convince the landlords and capitalists backing Franco that the republic could defend their interests. They tried to convince the "democratic" imperialist powers to support the republican forces by assuring them that the republic posed no threat to the profits of the ruling rich.

The government sought to place the conduct of the war under the command of those military officers, who had not yet

gone over to Franco, even though their loyalty to the republic was shaky. It blocked distribution of the landlords' estates and opposed independence for Morocco, which would have deepened the mobilization of the rural masses against Franco and undercut his base of operations in the Spanish colony.

It carried out increasingly severe repression against workers who sought to connect the fight against Franco with advancing their own social and economic demands.

In May 1937 the government launched sweeping attacks in Barcelona where the workers' movement was strongest. There were mass arrests of unionists and supporters of left-wing workers' parties, and some were murdered.

As participants in the Popular Front regime the Communist Party played a prominent role in the repression. The Stalin government of the Soviet Union, which also backed the procapitalist course of the Popular Front government, supported the repression.

Actions like these dealt a huge blow to the morale and fighting capacity of the workers and peasants. In January 1939 Barcelona fell to the fascists. Soon after the British and French governments recognized Franco's forces as the official government of Spain. In March 1939 the military officers whom the republican regime had relied on turned Madrid over to Franco.

About 600,000 people were killed in the civil war. Franco executed as many as 200,000 more between 1939 and 1943. Strikes were made punishable by death. Half a million people were forced into exile.

The defeat of the republic and the crushing of the Spanish workers and peasants removed a major obstacle to the launching of World War II. Fear of such popular struggles had been a factor causing both imperialist camps to hesitate in launching the worldwide slaughter.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Struggle in Argentina

Since the military dictatorship ended in Argentina in 1983, working people there have faced a continuing offensive against their rights and living standards by the bosses both in Argentina and abroad.

Emilio Rubiati, a leader of the Argentine revolutionary group, Praxis, describes these attacks and the fight against them in an interview in the September issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

He explains that wages are now almost half what they were 10 years ago. Unemployment and underemployment are over 20 percent. "Every month at least 700,000 workers are engaged in conflicts with their employers," he says.

Rubiati points out that "when the dictatorship took power in 1976, the foreign debt was \$9.5 billion. When it stepped down, the debt was up to \$45 billion. And now it has reached \$55 billion."

The September issue also includes the second half of the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters to the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. The first part appeared in the August issue.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed



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Supreme Court sets hearing on law barring ballot rights

BY DEAN PEOPLES

SEATTLE — Should voters be allowed to choose only between Democratic and Republican contenders in general elections, or should the Socialist Workers Party and others be allowed to appear on the ballot also?

This is the issue in a case scheduled to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court October 7. The hearing stems from a 1983 suit filed by the SWP challenging an undemocratic election law enacted in the State of Washington in 1977.

The 1977 law required parties other than the Republicans and Democrats to win at least 1 percent of the vote cast in the Democratic and Republican primaries in order to qualify for ballot status.

In 1985 a federal appeals court ruled the requirement unconstitutional. The courts threw out a similar law in Michigan in 1978.

The ruling in the Washington case, like the earlier one in Michigan, was a victory for democratic rights. Because of this decision, Jill Fein's name will appear on the November ballot as the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Washington.

State officials claim the 1977 law was aimed at avoiding "ballot clutter" and

"voter confusion." In their brief to the Supreme Court, they claim the SWP should be kept off general election ballots because it is a small party with little chance of winning the election.

Fein's supporters argue that the ballot law is designed to discourage challenges to the political monopoly of the employers' two-party set-up.

The Washington State Fair Ballot Law Fund is raising money to publicize the civil liberties issues in this case and cover legal expenses involved in the Supreme Court hearing. Contributions to the fund can be sent to 5517 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, Wash. 98118.

The American Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, and Libertarian Party have filed briefs asking the Supreme Court to leave standing the appeals court ruling against the 1977 law.

A statement opposing the undemocratic law has also been endorsed by the Seattle chapter of the National Organization for Women; United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 1105; William Johnston, president, UFCW District 17; the Executive Board of the Seattle American Postal Workers Union; and others.

New negotiations set in El Salvador

BY CATHERINE FRASER

For the first time since November 1984 talks are to be held between the government of El Salvador and the national liberation forces led by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The talks, which are scheduled to begin September 19, will take place in the eastern Salvadoran farming town of Sesori.

Two earlier rounds of negotiations were held in October and November 1984. The FDR and FMLN leaders used these talks to speak directly to the Salvadoran people, giving speeches to the crowds gathered outside the meeting. The Salvadoran news media also broke their long-standing practice of giving only the government's side of the story and transmitted interviews with supporters of the rebel forces.

For this reason Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte abruptly broke off the November talks and, until now, has refused to hold another round.

Since that time, popular pressure for peace has been growing in El Salvador. On February 21 this year tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers marched through San Salvador, the capital, to protest the austerity program introduced by Duarte in January and to call for an end to the government's war policies.

The demonstration was organized by a new labor coalition, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), which had been formed only two weeks earlier. UNTS now represents more than 400,000 workers. From the beginning it has called on the government to reopen a dialogue with the FMLN and the FDR. The FMLN and FDR have been fighting against the dictatorial regime and the exploitation of the country's working people by the ruling families and their U.S. allies.

On May 1 — international workers' day — UNTS brought 100,000 people into the streets. Several weeks before, the coalition brought together 149 unions and professional and cooperative organizations in a "national forum for the survival and peace of the Salvadoran people." This meeting denounced the government's austerity program and declared the realization of peace was a necessity that could no longer be delayed.

While this pressure has forced Duarte to express support for the idea of a dialogue with the FDR-FMLN, there is no agreement between the two sides.

The president has demanded that the guerrillas lay down their arms and become incorporated into the existing political system. The FDR-FMLN, on the other hand, have called for their right to participate in a Provisional Government of Broad Participation.

The basic objectives of such a government, they say, would be dismantling the repressive apparatus, responding to the most immediate and pressing needs of the people through a series of economic and social measures, establishing the practical conditions needed to resolve the current state of war, and preparing for and holding new elections.

A statement released by the FMLN at the time of the previous peace talks declared:

"We seek a peace with liberty for the masses of the people, with independence and sovereignty, and with full respect for our people's right to self-determination. A peace with a genuine people's content and a revolutionary content."

"Therefore we repeat . . . that a basic precondition for achieving peace in El Salvador is a cessation of the Reagan administration's interference in matters that concern us Salvadorans."

Civil war continues

Meanwhile, the seven-year-old civil war — which has left about 61,000 people dead and displaced an additional 400,000 from their homes — continues. About a third of the country is a war zone, particularly the northeastern province of Morazán.

Peasants living in these regions are frequently the victims of indiscriminate bombing raids by army planes. The August 26 *New York Times*, for example, reported that "there appears to have been heavy bombardment recently in the southern rebel-controlled areas of the department of Cabañas."

The Human Rights Office of the Roman Catholic Church estimates that the army killed 1,045 people last year, most of them believed to have been civilians.

In 1980 there were 15,000 soldiers in the Salvadoran army; today there are 53,000. The government's ability to pay, train, and arm these troops — and, therefore, its ability to continue waging war on the 6,000 fighters of the FMLN — depends almost entirely on economic and military aid from Washington. This year alone, the U.S. government is giving more than \$300 million in aid.

The officer caste of this immense military apparatus functions completely above the law.

The August 19 *New York Times* described "recent cases in which army officers were accused of involvement in a multimillion-dollar kidnapping ring, a corrupt arms deal, and the killing of Americans." In all these cases, the *Times* noted, "the military has resisted civilian efforts to force it to make a public accounting of its apparent abuses."

Human rights abuses

Alongside the stories of corruption, new reports of human rights abuses continue to come to light. Human rights activists, for example, continue to document the mistreatment of about 1,000 political prisoners in Salvadoran jails.

In August a series of interviews with prisoners produced evidence of physical beatings, death threats, psychological torture, sexual abuse, and use of hoods to blindfold and disorient political prisoners.

Human rights workers have themselves been the victims of a government-orchestrated campaign.

In May an activist for the Human Rights Commission was arrested. Ten days later she appeared before television cameras to "confess" that she had been a member of the FMLN, that the organization she worked for and a number of other relief agencies were front organizations for the FMLN, and that the Catholic church also

had close ties with the guerrillas. She identified a number of individuals as members of the FMLN.

As a result of this "confession" seven human rights workers have been jailed as guerrillas. All say they have been beaten and threatened by the police.

Other activists have received death threats. Medardo Ernesto Gómez, the head of the Lutheran church in San Salvador, told journalists, "They have accused me of being a communist. It worries us, because to call someone a communist here is practically a death sentence."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Death sentence upheld by Indonesian court

Twenty-one years after the military coup that brought General Suharto to power in Indonesia, the witch-hunt against the now-banned Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) continues.

Asep Suryaman, who was the head of



Indonesia's President Suharto

the Education Section of the PKI's Special Bureau, was sentenced to death in August 1975. Now 60 years old, Suryaman was formally notified in July this year that the Indonesian Supreme Court had rejected his appeal against the sentence.

Last year the Indonesian government executed four elderly Communists by firing squad after they had exhausted their avenues of appeal. In November more than 1,600 workers in the oil industry were fired on the grounds that they or their families had been linked with a Communist-led union banned 20 years ago.

The October 1965 military coup that overthrew the Sukarno government led to the brutal destruction of the trade union movement and the 3-million-member PKI. Several hundred thousand unionists and PKI members were massacred in the weeks and months following the coup.

There are over 50 PKI members still in prison under sentence of death.

Washington tightens trade ban against Cuba

President Ronald Reagan has ordered a series of measures designed to tighten the United States government's trade embargo of Cuba.

The measures approved by Reagan on August 22 include an attempt to curtail companies operating in foreign countries from providing American goods and technology to Cuba. The majority of companies carrying out this trade are based in Panama and Mexico. They supply Cuba with consumer goods, hardware, computers, and durables such as television sets.

In a further restriction of U.S. citizens' right to travel, Reagan also called for increased scrutiny by U.S. authorities of travel groups organizing and promoting travel to Cuba and the transmission of money or goods to Cuba.

Under regulations introduced in 1982, "general tourist and business travel" to Cuba by U.S. citizens is prohibited. Penalties for violating the regulations include up to 10 years in prison.

A few exceptions are permitted. There are some tours that go to Cuba

One Protestant church leader has already fled the country for fear of his safety. Another activist was abducted by heavily armed men, beaten, given electric shocks, and then dropped along the Guatemalan border with the warning that he would be killed if he returned.

"It appears to us that the purpose of such 'trials by press conference' is less to establish the guilt or innocence of the accused themselves than to destroy their organizations and related organizations through adverse publicity," commented the U.S.-based human rights group Americas Watch in a letter to Duarte.

from the United States, and travel by journalists and those who are engaged in academic or professional research is allowed. Reagan's statement is clearly aimed at closing the door on some of these exceptions.

In another move, Reagan also signed a proclamation prohibiting Cuban citizens from emigrating to the United States through third countries, such as Panama.

U.S. naval exercises largest in Bering Sea

The largest U.S. naval exercise in the Bering Sea since World War II took place north of Alaska's Aleutian Island chain during the last week of August.

Twelve navy ships took part in the exercise, including four frigates, three guided-missile cruisers, two destroyers, and two supply ships. Leading the battle group was the 1,092-foot nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS *Carl Vinson*. The 92,000-ton vessel carried 80 tactical aircraft.

In a statement issued August 25, Navy Secretary John Lehman announced a new policy of putting more sailors and ships in North Pacific waters off the coast of the Soviet Union. This was necessary, he said, to counter a growing Soviet presence in the area.

Lehman said the United States now recognized the importance of the Pacific and that a "major shift" in U.S. policy would lead to the navy having a new presence in waters around Alaska.

"Alaska is now a fundamental part of our navy strategy," he declared.

IMF declares Peru 'ineligible' for loans

The International Monetary Fund has declared Peru to be "ineligible" for further IMF loans. The decision came after the Peruvian government's August 13 announcement that the country could only afford to pay \$35 million of a matured loan of approximately \$192 million that was due to be paid to the IMF on August 15.

The IMF's decision will formalize Peru's isolation from foreign government lenders and commercial banks. And it will prevent Peru from obtaining new loans from the World Bank, which was its last potential source of outside credit.

Peru's total foreign debt stands at \$14 billion. Last year, upon coming to office, President Alan García declared that he would limit foreign debt repayments to 10 percent of the country's export earnings. According to official Peruvian economic sources, 1986 exports — which were forecast to be \$3.1 billion — will be only \$2.5 billion as a result of the fall of oil, copper, and silver prices.

Describing the IMF as "the great overseer and guardian of imperialist economy and international capitalism," President García declared on August 15 that "we cannot accept that the economy of the nation be strangled to satisfy foreign demands, which may be supported by legal documents but which historically have no moral support."



Salvadoran army has grown from 15,000 soldiers in 1980 to 53,000 today. The Duarte government's ability to maintain these troops depends on aid from Washington.

Free world sports leader — Responding to union complaints that several team owners have hired private dicks to pry into the lives of basketball players, Norman Sonju, general manager of



Harry Ring

the Dallas Mavericks, declared: "I think we have to get off the philosophical nonsense and the civil liberties and all the things

that the bleeding hearts advocate."

Might be worth a shop collection — A special vacation deal for worn execs — a week of "rappelling" in the Bavarian Alps — that is, leaping off a 300-foot granite cliff and sliding down a rope.

Capitalist saga — The city dump at Ogden, Utah, has been plagued by smoldering fires among the mountain of Huggies rejects dumped daily by the diaper manufacturing company. Being water repellent, the Huggies are tough to douse. A happy, two-pronged solution — spread the Huggies throughout the rest of the refuse and cover with dirt. More fire resistant, and it assertedly dis-

courages unscrupulous black marketeers from salvaging the rejects.

The rational society — Under Our Way, the more useful the work you do, the better the pay, right? Like 23 major New York law firms are starting new legal hires (from the right schools, natch) at \$65,000 a year.

Should maybe stay in bed — The Morgantown, W. Va., *Post Review* describes Charles Hollandsworth III as a "terrorist researcher" who's skeptical about the nation's "relatively terrorist-free" summer, suspecting it may be the lull before the storm. Consequently, he's not comfortable in airports, train stations, post of-

fices, or parades. He's an army reserve psychological operations officer.

How inspired can you get? — Men's cotton shirts and sweaters, in colors and patterns "inspired" by Gauguin. The shirt, \$140, the sweater, \$220.

Keepers of the flame — A three-page '60s nostalgia spread in *Rolling Stone*. Counterculture memorabilia, antiwar buttons and posters, dramatic shots of Washington demonstrations. But not idle reminiscing. An ad for Frye boots.

Look out McDonald's — The operators of New York's plush

eatery, the Quilted Giraffe, have opened a more moderately priced version for ordinary folk. Like appetizers, \$12 and up, entrees, \$22 and up, and combination plates (?), \$20 to \$150.

The march of American culture — In the '60s, you could buy a water bed in a record shop. Now the "flotation sleep industry" enjoys an annual gross of \$1.9 billion.

The simple life — While waiting our turn at the local barber's college, we were pleased to learn that Nancy Reagan's No. 2 hair stylist resides in D.C., while her No. 1 stylist flies in monthly from Los Angeles.

CALENDAR

COLORADO

Denver

Labor Fights Back: the Struggle Against Concessions and the Challenge Facing the Union Movement Today. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 6, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Report Back From Zimbabwe: Eyewitness Account From Conference of Movement of Nonaligned Countries. Speaker: Sam Manuel, *Militant* reporter. Fri., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m., pre-forum dinner 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

OHIO

Cleveland

The U.S. War Against Nicaragua. A panel discussion. Speakers: Len Calabrese, Witness for Peace; Dan Roffback, Lutheran minister; Nick Gruenberg, Socialist Workers Party and member of United Auto Workers Local 1741. Sat., Sept. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

New Stage in Hormel Meatpackers' Fight, Its Meaning for Labor and Movements for Social Change. Speaker: Mike Alewitz, muralist, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Meet West Virginia and Pennsylvania Socialist Candidates. Campaign Barbecue. Also food, swimming, volleyball, dancing. Sat., Sept. 6, 4 p.m. Tyron Rd., Morgantown. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767 (Pittsburgh), (304) 296-0055 (Morgantown), or (304) 345-3040 (Charleston).

Pathfinder Bookstore Open House. Wine and cheese reception. With Al Morris, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 347 steward; Phyllis Boanes, assistant professor of history, West Virginia University; Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D. Sat., Sept. 13. Reception, 6:30; program, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Victory in Socialist Workers Party's Lawsuit Against Government

How to use it to fight for political rights

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Victory for Political Rights. Speakers: Colonel Stone Johnson, vice-president, Birmingham chapter of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Georgia and Brian Fleming, editor and publisher, *Irish-American Voice*; representative Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Sept. 7, 6:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Victory Rally. Sat., Sept. 13, 8 p.m. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

A Victory Against Washington's War on the Bill of Rights. Speakers: Jackie Floyd, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance; Héctor Marroquín, member of Socialist Workers Party fighting government

attempts to deport him for his political beliefs; Connie Gilbert-Neiss, National Organization for Women New Jersey staff consultant and organizer on gay rights bill A-1409. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Victory for Democratic Rights. Speakers: Jackie Floyd, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance; Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party member fighting U.S. government deportation efforts; representative, National Lawyers Guild; Rafael Anglada-López, lawyer for 16 Puerto Rican proindependence activists facing trial in Hartford; Antonio Camacho, one of the 16 political prisoners; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Nonaligned summit aims fire at apartheid system

Continued from front page

The Cuban president said that when UN resolution 435, which calls for withdrawal of South African forces and free elections under UN supervision in Namibia, "is implemented and the threat of aggression and support for mercenary bandits against Angola ceases," then "the gradual and progressive withdrawal" of Cuban combatants defending strategic lines in southern Angola will begin.

"But the lasting solution to the problems of southern Africa is the abolition of the apartheid regime in South Africa," Castro stated.

Ninety-eight heads of state and observers were present at the summit. Observer status has been granted to many national liberation organizations. Among them are the African National Congress (ANC) and

the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN) of El Salvador.

Attending the summit for the FDR-FMLN were its president and vice-president, Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, along with Miguel Sas, head of the political-diplomatic commission.

At a press conference Ungo called upon the summit to support efforts for a peaceful settlement of the war in El Salvador. He denounced U.S. aid to the Salvadoran government, which he reported to stand at \$2 million per day. He stated, "This aid shows that the day the American government

pulls out of El Salvador, the Duarte regime will collapse."

He reported that some initial progress had been made toward new talks with the Salvadoran government, but he explained that so far all that had been agreed upon was a date and a place. No agreement could be reached on an agenda.

"It is difficult to hold talks if you don't know what to talk about. But what the Reagan administration and the Salvadoran government are trying to achieve is what they have not been able to win on the battlefield, that is, our defeat," said Ungo.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) is also an observer to the Nonaligned movement. The PSP was first admitted in 1973. The Nonaligned movement has had a longstanding position in support of independence for Puerto Rico.

Doris Pizarro, under-secretary-general of the PSP, explained, "We have come here to express our profound concern regarding the war in Central America being waged by the U.S. and the danger that Puerto Rico, which is saturated with U.S. military bases, would be utilized in an eventual invasion against Nicaragua."

Muammar el-Qaddafi, head of state of Libya, received a standing ovation when he entered the meeting hall. While Qaddafi is here, U.S. maneuvers in the Mediterranean Sea are threatening another military attack upon his country.

At the opening session of the summit the heads of state approved the draft political declaration. The declaration called for the independence of New Caledonia, and the body admitted the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS).

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

Miners fight bosses' divisive seniority system

BY KIPP DAWSON
AND CLARE FRAENZL

The management of Beth Energy Mines, a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel, informed our union officers in June that they intend to lay off over half the coal miners at the 84 Complex mine. This mine lies in the heart of Pennsyl-

UNION TALK

vania's steel-producing Monongahela Valley and employs over 800 workers, making it one of the largest in the state.

For the last seven years Bethlehem has been using the threat of layoffs to create an atmosphere of confusion and competition among union members. In 1979 Bethlehem announced that its Ellsworth mine was running out of coal. It stated that it would merge the mine with another mine, Cokeburg. In December 1980, it officially "merged" the mines, renaming them "84 Complex."

A three-year battle with Bethlehem ensued over seniority rights. Over the objections of both United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) locals involved in the merger, Bethlehem imposed a three-tiered seniority system. Top seniority went to miners working at the Cokeburg mine prior to the merger. Miners working at the Ellsworth mine were placed on a second seniority list, and about 100 miners hired from a panel of laid-off workers from other Bethlehem mines were awarded lowest seniority. This three-tiered system is to be in effect until the year 2000!

The new seniority system has been a source of friction and division among our membership ever since.

Management's announcement that it intends now to close and seal part of the old Ellsworth mine has rekindled that dispute. It will lay off all but 80 of those who began their Complex service in the Ellsworth mine, and all miners in the third category. Miners who began work at the old Cokeburg mine will continue working, at least temporarily. In addition, mine management has stated that any callback will be based on "qualification," rather than on seniority.

Union members' reaction has been swift and angry.



Mine owners take advantage of divisions to introduce new forms of speed-up and harassment.

Unfortunately, most of this anger has been directed against other miners, rather than at Bethlehem. Union officers have divided into factions based on the mine they originally came from.

Officers and members of the former Local 1190 at Ellsworth picketed Bethlehem's offices demanding that seniority be "dovetailed" to reflect the fact that we all work at one mine. This positive step towards reunifying our membership is opposed by officers of the former Local 1197 who defend super-seniority for former Cokeburg miners.

This led to a protest at the Ellsworth portal July 23. One hundred fifty miners stayed after midnight shift and were joined by daylight shift miners who refused to enter the mine until officers of the local and district agreed to submit a seniority grievance on the miners' behalf to arbitration.

But after agreeing to submit the grievance, UMWA officers from District 5 reversed themselves, claiming previous arbitrators' rulings made dovetailing impossible. They demanded that UMWA members stop protests against the layoff system while they negotiate with Bethlehem to try to save jobs.

"Saving jobs," they explained, means exploring ways to make Bethlehem more "competitive," including joining the corporation in a fight against environmental laws and restrictions on dangerous but highly profitable longwall mining.

Some officers have gone so far as to state that LTV Steel's reorganization under Chapter 11 bankruptcy laws — which has resulted in layoffs at the Emerald mine and termination of black lung, workers' compensation, and pension benefits at several LTV-owned mines in District 5 — might help us keep our jobs. Others pointed to the USX lockout of USWA members as a way for Bethlehem to pick up a few more orders for steel and coal.

In the meantime, Beth Energy is taking advantage of the chaos to introduce new forms of speed-up and harassment. On the night of July 20-21, management assigned motormen and dumpers at the Cokeburg portal to work an 11-hour shift, an attempt to introduce forced overtime.

Many UMWA members are looking for ways to reunify the local and fight against these attacks. Socialist coal miners have played a part in these discussions. We have pointed out the importance of defending mine-wide seniority, a gain won in the 1930s to prevent the bosses from victimizing union militants while granting favors to those who toe the line.

We have also been part of the discussion about how to adjust this system to protect the gains women and Blacks have made through affirmative action when layoffs occur.

Most miners reject the idea that concessions can save our jobs. Helping Bethlehem make its operations more profitable is not seen by many miners as a realistic way to save jobs either. We have found that many agree that the union should be fighting for a shorter workweek at full pay to spread existing work around.

Miners need to expose Bethlehem's divide-and-rule game for what it is: part and parcel of the steel and coal operators' drive to weaken and ultimately destroy the miners' and steelworkers' unions. This effort on our part is essential for moving the union forward.

Kipp Dawson and Clare Fraenzl are members of UMWA Local 1197.

Georgia school boycott protests racist policies

BY KATY KARLIN

BARNESVILLE, Ga. — When classes started in the Lamar County public school system here August 21, more than 90 percent of the district's 945 Black students were not enrolled. They were protesting the administration's racist hiring and disciplinary practices.

"It's a real stand of solidarity for such a little town," a young daycare worker told the *Militant* during the three-day student boycott. "Everybody's sticking together. Every day I can't wait to go home and read the statistics on how many students stayed out of school."

The Lamar County chapter of the NAACP called the boycott in response to mounting attacks by school officials. There are few Black teachers and the administration has refused to hire more, although students who are Black comprise 51 percent of the student body. There are no Black administrators.

Mitchell Strickland, president of the NAACP, explained to the *Militant* that

Blacks who work in the school system were not having their contracts renewed or were being bypassed for promotion.

Black students were also being disciplined more severely than white students.

Moreover, students were angered by an article school superintendent Raymond Akridge wrote for the local newspaper last spring on the Lamar County school system's low academic rating. He claimed Black students could not meet the school's standards.

Several students formed Students for Better Education to protest this smear. Chris Hightower, who graduated first in his class from the local high school in 1986 and is Black, explained to the *Militant*. "I feel I'm intelligent, I wasn't failing. So we asked him [Akridge] to explain what he meant by his statements in the paper. He never had the statistics to back it up."

The boycott was called at a meeting two days before the scheduled school opening. "We were hoping 50 or 60 people would come to talk about the problems," Strick-

land said. "Over 1,000 showed up."

The local radio station that orients to Black listeners broadcast up-to-the-minute reports of the boycott.

The day before school opened, the Barnesville *Herald-Gazette* ran an editorial attacking the boycott, calling it a "half-baked plan which would disrupt a hard-to-organize school calendar."

On the first day of school 90 percent of the Black students stayed home. Three school days later the figure had risen to 98 percent.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People
September 11, 1961 Price 10c

Sept. 7 — Robert F. Williams, militant North Carolina Negro leader, is the object of a nationwide manhunt by the FBI. If caught, or if he surrenders himself, he will be turned over to the white-supremacist authorities of Union county, North Carolina, who have framed up kidnap charges against him.

Already jailed in Monroe, North Carolina, on the same charge are Freedom Rider Robert Lowry of New York, and Harold Reade and Richard Crowder, members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee.

The attempt to frame Williams, the Freedom Riders, and others — who are trying to bring equality to Monroe — is but the latest page in the shameful history of that Ku Klux Klan-ridden city.

It is the culmination of a summer of struggle in which elements, operating with police impunity, made several attempts to kill Williams, made shooting forays into the Negro district, and organized mobs against peaceful picket lines.

The fury of the racists knew no bounds when, on August 21, a large contingent of Freedom Riders arrived in Monroe to help in the anti-Jim Crow fight. Together with some Monroe Negroes who believed in pacifist methods, they organized the Mon-

Cheryl Minter, a member of Students for Better Education, said that 40 percent of the white students also stayed out the first day.

The protest leaders ended the boycott on August 25. Justice Department mediators asked Strickland and Akridge to make a joint statement announcing the end of the boycott, but Akridge refused.

The protesters are now organizing a boycott of white-owned businesses in town, hoping to pressure the school administration.

roe Non-Violent Action Committee and began a week's picketing of the courthouse.

The week's picketing was marked by framed-up arrests of pickets, police-condoned attacks on them by racist hoodlums and finally, on Sunday night, August 27, mob scenes, mass arrests, and preparations of the Negro community to defend itself, arms in hands, from an expected invasion.

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

September 10, 1976

During the last week in August federal grand juries in New York and Washington, D.C., began hearing evidence on FBI crimes.

The Justice Department is presenting material to the grand juries from a five-month investigation of FBI wrongdoing. In March, FBI field offices searching their files under court order for the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the government found evidence of FBI burglaries done in the early 1970s. The material was turned over to the Justice Department and sparked the probe into illegal FBI activities.

On August 19 a special squad of FBI agents working on the probe suddenly raided FBI offices in New York and Washington, D.C.

One government official told the *New York Times* that the raiding teams took "file cabinet after file cabinet" of material from the bureau headquarters and New York field office.

Pathfinder does brisk business at socialist conference

At the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 9-14, political activists from around the United States — and from other countries as well — got together to learn about and discuss a wide variety of political questions facing working people. This was reflected in the brisk sales of books and pamphlets at the Pathfinder Press literature tables.

The single-biggest seller was the new Pathfinder book by Fidel Castro, *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, of which 510 were snapped up by conference participants. Scores of other books and pamphlets by the Cuban leader were also sold.

"The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," a recently published pamphlet by Fred Halstead, likewise did very well. Conference participants bought about 300 copies at Oberlin itself, and took home another 400 to sell in their local areas.

Eighty-seven copies of *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet*

Power, the most recently published volume of the Pathfinder series on the early years of the Communist International, were sold.

Sales of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* also did well, at 45 copies.

Overall, Pathfinder sales totaled about \$17,500. This was an increase of about 35 percent over literature sales at a similar conference in Oberlin the previous year.

The fall subscription drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* also got a head start at the conference, with participants buying 33 subscriptions to the two socialist publications.

Twenty-one subscriptions to the *New Internationalist* were likewise sold.

Activists attending the conference also purchased 45 subscriptions to *International Viewpoint* and five to the *International Marxist Review*, two periodicals published under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Agent Orange benefits stalled

More than two years after settlement of a lawsuit by Vietnam veterans against seven chemical manufacturers, further court action has delayed distribution of compensation funds totaling about \$225 million. The delay affects 250,000 veterans and their families who claim injury from exposure to the herbicide Agent Orange.

Agent Orange contains the deadly chemical dioxin. Exposure to it causes a range of illnesses, including skin defects, gynecological abnormalities in women, and cancer.

During the Vietnam War the U.S. government sprayed 12 million gallons of Agent Orange, as well as other defoliants, on Vietnam. More than two million Vietnamese were contaminated.

Five to 10 percent of the cultivated land in southern Vietnam was sprayed. The poison has seeped deep enough into the land so that rice and crops with short roots are no longer dangerous. But the trees, well water, and streams are still contaminated.

The other victims of Washington's barbaric policy of chemical warfare were the U.S. GIs stationed in the areas that were sprayed. In the year between February 1982 and 1983 alone, U.S. veterans made 369,000 visits to Veterans Administration hospitals for treatment of diseases thought to be related to exposure to Agent Orange and other defoliants.

There is no way to fully compensate Vietnam for the terrible destruction and human suffering inflicted by the U.S. government. Washington has a responsibility, however, to provide reconstruction aid that would make available funds, equipment, material, technology, and medical supplies to help rebuild the country and heal its people.

Similarly, the American GIs who were cannon fodder in this imperialist war deserve better. Although \$225 million sounds like a lot, if it was divided equally, each claimant would get no more than \$1,000. For the seven companies involved, on the other hand, the amount is only small change. As the May 8, 1984, *Wall Street Journal* admitted, the settlement "wouldn't materially affect [their] financial positions."

Insurance and investment vultures are also eyeing what they can get out of the settlement. Aetna Insurance Co. and Aetna Technical Services, for example, have agreed to evaluate the compensation claims filed by veterans. Their estimated fee over an eight-year period is \$6.8 million.

Instead of the token amount involved in this settlement, Agent Orange-affected veterans and their families should be compensated for all their medical expenses and for loss of earning power. Moreover, the families of veterans who have died from cancer or other illnesses caused by exposure to dioxin should be provided for.

Right to bail under attack

A New York judge has denied bail to a Soviet physicist accused by the FBI of spying. This is the latest in a series of cases where individuals charged with "espionage" or "terrorism" have been stripped of their right to bail.

Gennadi Zakharov works for the United Nations. He was arrested by the FBI August 23, charged with stealing classified documents, and thrown in jail. On August 27 the judge in the case refused to grant Zakharov bail. He must sit in jail awaiting trial despite the fact that no one has proven he committed a single illegal act.

As with other "spy" cases, federal officials hope to use Zakharov's case to further whittle away at the democratic rights of all working people. They deny such rights as bail in cases they deem to lack public support, in order to pave the way for broader violations of civil liberties in the future.

Federal government spokesmen, meanwhile, are threatening to arrest more Soviet citizens working here. Without offering a shred of proof, one such official told the *New York Times*, "Anywhere there are Soviets, there are a number of [spy] cases." Another official, according to the *Times*, claimed the Zakharov case "illustrated a significant security threat posed by the large Soviet contingent" at the UN.

The Zakharov case does indeed point to a security threat — but it doesn't come from the Soviet Union. The source of the threat is much closer to home. It lies in the federal government's army of secret police, who are trying to whip up a spy hysteria to intimidate all working people, and in the courts, which are using these cases to take another bite out of the Bill of Rights. The denial of bail to Zakharov is another ominous step. It should be roundly condemned.

To Bill of Rights supporters

Continued from front page

YSA, told the press the day the decision was released. "This ruling is a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protections to the rights of all politically active individuals and organizations," Boudin said.

Judge Griesa notes in his decision that the SWP makes no secret of its views. We clearly explain our internationalist and communist objectives and our goal of leading the working people of this country to overthrow the capitalist government and replace it with a government of the workers and farmers, as the Bolsheviks did in Russia in October 1917.

But Griesa rejects the FBI's argument that this fact can be used to justify the FBI's action in violation of the Bill of Rights.

In its September 6 issue, the *Nation* magazine editorially hails Griesa's opinion, accurately summarizing his condemnation of decades of FBI operations against the SWP and YSA: "All in all, it amounted to a domestic *contra* operation against a 'lawful and peaceful' political organization, he said, for no reason other than ideological orientation."

A domestic *contra* operation is exactly what it has been.

Washington insists on keeping its *contra* war against Nicaragua classified as a covert operation so that as much as possible of the truth about it can be hidden from public view, and so that the operation can be conducted without regard for restrictions imposed on the government by laws and the Constitution.

Exactly the same is true of the FBI's domestic *contra* war. Even when its existence is known, it seeks to continue to operate in secrecy, run by officials and cop agencies operating above the law. It is this covert side of the political police operation — the truly totalitarian kernel of the state's functioning — that has been dealt a blow by Griesa's ruling.

By forcing to light important aspects of these underground and illegal police operations, the lawsuit filed 13 years ago by the SWP and YSA has gained ground for the entire working-class movement and for every defender of democratic rights. Hundreds of thousands of pages of secret government files were brought to light, expanding

the knowledge of the people of the United States about the nature, methods, and scope of the government's secret police operations.

This suit against the government has already won active support from thousands of individuals and scores of organizations around the country. All those who have been supporters of this fight, and the many more who will now join us, have three opportunities.

First, to use the truths this case has uncovered to educate about the covert operations of the political police — their scope, their nature, their targets, and their deadly threat to democratic rights.

Second, to grab with both hands and use in every possible way the new legal weapon that has been won to extend democratic rights.

And third, to join with the Political Rights Defense Fund — with contributions and statements of support — to help raise the tens of thousands of dollars that will be necessary for the next round of legal battles, in which Leonard Boudin will represent the SWP and YSA.

Judge Griesa's ruling leaves the door open for further restrictions that can be imposed on government interference with political and trade union organization and action. It sets the stage for the next round of legal proceedings. Griesa states in his decision that he will grant the SWP's motion that the FBI and other government cop agencies be permanently barred from any further use or distribution of secret files "obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained information."

The judge announces that "a further proceeding will be necessary to identify precisely what documents and records fall into this category."

Literally millions of pages of files, in the hands of the FBI and a dozen other federal agencies, are involved.

The forthcoming hearing before Judge Griesa will allow the attorneys for the SWP and YSA to pursue the question of which of these files were gotten illegally, and exactly what should be done with them now. These hearings can be the occasion for carving out still further victories.

This presents an immediate opportunity, which — with continued moral and financial support — we will pursue as far as possible.

To our readers about this column

BY DOUG JENNESS

Readers who have been getting the *Militant* for some time know that we use this space to describe important chapters in the history of working people and to explain what socialism is. We have alternated between columns called "Our Revolutionary Heritage" and "Learning About Socialism."

We are now signing up hundreds of new readers each week who are not yet familiar with the paper or with this column. This offers us an opportunity to explain what we

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

do in this space and to solicit the participation of all our readers in making it as relevant and interesting as possible.

People subscribe for many different reasons, but mainly because of the *Militant's* accurate news reporting about the struggles of working people in this country and internationally.

At the same time many subscribers are prodded by big political events and their own experiences on picket lines, tractorcades, and other protests for social justice to dig into the history of previous battles. And to discover what other fighters did and said.

As they begin their search, they find out that the press, the publishers of history books, and most academicians have buried the true history of working people and their leaders under mountains of falsehoods and boring irrelevancies.

So, in order to even find out about the men and women who led the fight against slavery in this country, who organized industrial unions, and who brought down the Jim Crow system of segregation, a major excavation job is required. What were these fighters like? How did they organize themselves? What lessons did they draw from their experiences? What help can we get by studying about them?

In this column we offer glimpses of this heritage. We don't pretend to give a comprehensive or rounded treatment of the history of working people. Mainly, we try to alert our readers to some hidden chapters and point them to places where they can learn more.

A good example is a column we ran two weeks ago on how industrial unions were built in this country by men and women who, in the eyes of the employers and most union officials, seemed to come out of nowhere.

We think this kind of material is useful because what we are today — our strengths and weaknesses — is in great part the result of where we've been. And learning about where we've been can give us some help in figuring out where to go.

Learning about socialism is very much a part of this. On our front page we say we are a "socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people." This may seem to some readers to be combining two quite different things. This is understandable because from the time we are small we are taught in school and by the press that socialism and the working class are very disconnected. How many times, for example, have we been told that socialists are outsiders attempting to "infiltrate" the labor movement?

The more generous argue that socialists may be right-minded people who have thought up some good ideas, but they aren't very practical and don't have much to do with the real world.

This argument, however, is false. Socialism is not a set of ideas or a blueprint for society. Socialist workers have no movement separate and apart from the workers' movement. They have no interests different than those of the working class as a whole.

Socialists generalize and draw the lessons of the actual experiences of the working class. And rather than "infiltrating" the workers' movement, socialist workers bring to the movement the accumulated lessons of its own victories, defeats, and false starts. This is all that socialist theories and strategies are.

But they are very important because they help show the road forward for working people. This road is organizing and leading a mass revolutionary struggle to overthrow the government of the big bankers, industrialists, and landlords, replacing it with a workers' and farmers' government. In this sense socialists are simply the most advanced and resolute part of the working class.

This point could be developed more, but we'll leave that to coming columns. We urge readers to send us your questions about socialism or any suggestions or contributions about our revolutionary heritage.

'Operation Crackdown' targets democratic rights

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA
AND CHRIS BRANDLON

The media and the government have been on a hysterical campaign for the past several months, condemning the use of crack and other illegal drugs (crack is the name

AS I SEE IT

of a potent cocaine derivative).

Termed "Operation Crackdown," one of the goals of the drive is acceptance of increased cop presence in the Black, Latino, and other working-class communities and further curtailment of civil liberties for workers on and off the job and in the schools. This effort does not address the real problem of addictive drugs in society and must be condemned as racist and antilabor.

Under the phony guise of concern for the health and welfare of working people and youth, the government and the bosses have called for mandatory urinalysis testing in the schools and on the job and have instituted random searches of individuals and their property, including strip searches of grade-school students. Many political figures, from right-wingers to liberal Democrats, are demanding the death penalty for crack distributors.

"Operation Crackdown" and related campaigns play on the revulsion of working people for the billion-dollar drug industry and its devastating effects on our communities. The rulers attempt to convert this sentiment into ammunition for their offensive against the rights and living standards of U.S. working people. And politicians have seized on the issue to win votes.

Illegal drugs like crack are an important tool in the rul-

ers' arsenal of weapons against the working class. They are used to deflect the anger and frustration of working people away from struggle against the problems that afflict us and the system of exploitation that breeds them. The ruling rich have no intention of "curing" the problem of drugs.

Illegal drugs not only victimize many working-class youth, but have also become a hollow pastime for many bored and self-indulgent individuals from the middle class.

Unfortunately, "Operation Crackdown" has succeeded in disorienting some people. Looking for answers, some working people are echoing the "solutions" presented by various Democratic and Republican politicians. These include the call for increased police surveillance of working-class neighborhoods, harsher penalties for sellers and users of drugs, and increased government infringement on individual rights.

The National Conference of Mayors last month, for example, called on the U.S. military to wage a "war on drugs."

This reactionary demand falls in behind the Reagan administration's recent dispatch of U.S. troops to Bolivia. This invasion, purportedly to uproot the cocaine industry in that country, is mainly a grandstanding ploy to create the impression that the government is doing something about drug trafficking.

It also helped set a precedent for the use of U.S. troops in Latin America.

The U.S. government has no interest in stopping the flow of drugs into this country. The simple truth is that the ruling rich in this country are making millions off this illegal drug trade.

Big capitalists make huge profits off exploiting tens of

thousands of workers and peasants who are involved in growing and harvesting drug-producing plants and in processing and distributing these commodities.

They don't care about the effects of drug abuse on working people any more than they care about safety on the job, hunger, or poverty. Their hypocrisy is clearly seen by Washington's generous support to the counter-revolutionaries trying to overthrow the governments of Afghanistan and Nicaragua. These "contras" raise funds for their terrorist operations through the importation of drugs to the United States and other countries.

Moreover, Reagan has repeatedly charged that the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments are responsible for drug trafficking in this hemisphere. This slander is used to justify further aggressions against these two countries.

In reality, Cuba provides a living example of how drug abuse can be uprooted. Since the workers and farmers came to power in Cuba in 1959 and overturned capitalism, a priority has been placed on eliminating the remnants of decades of imperialist domination — including drug abuse.

Prior to the revolution, capitalist profiteering in drugs was a major problem. But today it's no longer a profitable business in Cuba.

Eliminating the rule of the rich and involving the masses in the running of society has struck at the root of the problem of drug abuse. This stands in stark contrast to the United States, where a handful of billionaire families run the country.

Drug abuse will not be solved by more racist, antiworker "Operation Crackdowns," nor will it be solved by mandatory drug testing. To end capitalist drug profiteering, working people need to fight for a new kind of government, a workers' and farmers' government that will meet the needs of the majority.

LETTERS

Who aids Nicaragua?

In the August 1 issue of the *Militant* in the section "Notebook from Nicaragua" you list the amount of aid Nicaragua received in 1985 from the socialist bloc, or CMEA countries. The total was \$270 million, \$96.5 million from Cuba and another \$58.7 million from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and East Germany combined.

If those figures are correct, that is not a very honorable amount (save Cuba). But I am puzzled as to which socialist countries gave the other \$114.8 million.

Stan Smith
Chicago, Illinois

Editor replies: Our Nicaragua Bureau correspondents inquired about this in Managua, but were unable to find the answer. The other members of the CMEA, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, are Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, and Vietnam.

New subscribers

I wish you great success on your 10,000 new subscribers goal. Your press is invaluable to the struggle of workers and farmers in this country to be rid of exploitation and to join with their brothers and sisters worldwide to end imperialist oppression.

In struggle,
J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

For family unity

As a father, I am horrified to learn that a 13-year-old has turned in her own parents for their private use of marijuana. And Nancy Reagan has added insult to injury with her claim that this little snitch "must have loved her parents very much" to have them locked up for totally nonviolent, merely nonconforming behavior.

It is bad enough that the government has outlawed the use of a benign medicinal herb. It is far worse that "authorities" — churches, schools, media, and government-sponsored "antidrug" groups — are enforcing this abrogation of personal freedom by convincing children to inform on their parents. This totalitarian tactic recalls Hitler's use of children as informants in Nazi Germany.

If President Reagan believes in

"traditional American values," whatever happened to the traditional American emphasis on the family? Now that the "war on drugs" has become a war on the family, every thinking person must fear for the future of this nation.

For family unity,
Aron Kay,
Brooklyn, New York

Irish blood on his hands

Recently a protest against the change in the U.S. government's extradition treaty with Britain took place in St. Louis. Demonstrators rallied in front of the Adam's Mark Hotel, where Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) was addressing the Chamber of Commerce annual dinner. Eagleton spearheaded the drive in the U.S. Senate to eliminate the political exemption clause from the treaty.

While shouting slogans such as "Thatcher keep your guns off the Irish," and "No more Democrats, Eagleton sold us out," demonstrators carried placards reading "Eagleton, you have Irish blood on your hands," and "Extradition — what a price to pay for missile sites."

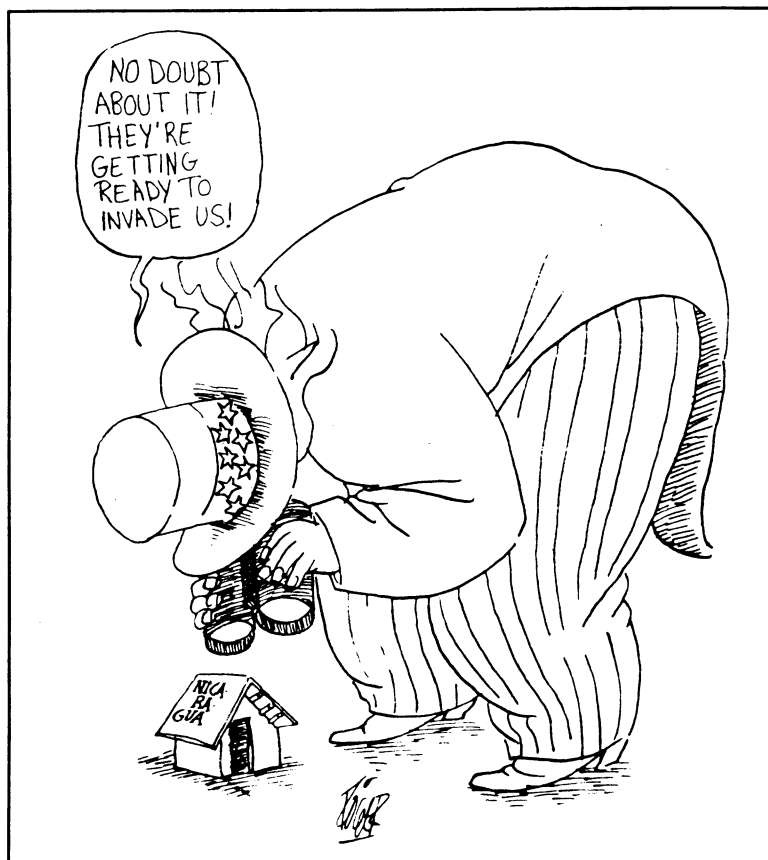
For two centuries tradition has excluded from extradition people who flee to this country after having committed a "crime" that is political in nature. This has provided sanctuary for those fleeing government oppression in their home countries.

Irish nationalists have been referred to by the courts as classic examples of those who fall under the protection of the political exemption clause.
Jana Reid Meehan
St. Louis, Missouri

Speeches and documents

I have been a subscriber to *Intercontinental Press* for some years. Now that it has merged with the *Militant*, I have a question concerning editorial policy.

One of the reasons for my subscribing to *Intercontinental Press* is that it published speeches and official documents of the African National Congress and the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Libera-



Barricada Internacional/Róger

tion Front. Will the *Militant* continue to publish such documents?

I look forward to receiving the *Militant* and a starter subscription to the *New International* as a result of the merger.

B.F.
Xenia, Ohio

Editor replies: The *Militant* will continue to publish speeches, interviews, statements, and other documents by leaders of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions, the African National Congress, and other revolutionary fighters as space will permit.

Fight for divestment

Fort Worth, Texas, has supposedly been immune to the controversy around apartheid. But recently a Black mayor from Soweto and another representative from the racist South African regime spoke before the Fort Worth City Council and urged it not to consider sanctions because this would hurt South African Blacks.

Black city council member Bert Williams, who is also mayor pro tem, accepted this argument, and Black city council member Jim Bagsby would take no position. (Anti-apartheid activists have been challenging the city council

to take a stand in favor of divestment of city pension fund investments in companies that do business in South Africa. This affects at least 5 percent of the \$345 million city pension fund.)

Williams and Bagsby were debated on radio and television by anti-apartheid activists, who also challenged them to attend the National Conference of Black Journalists meeting in Dallas. Rev. Allan Boesak, a leader of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, was to be the keynote speaker there.

Williams and Bagsby attended the conference and heard Boesak's appeal for sanctions and divestment, and they have changed their position to the extent of saying they are willing to support divestment if their constituency lets its support be known.

Bob Bruce
Fort Worth, Texas

Keep it up

Keep up the great work. We the people of the world shall defeat capitalist oppression. Sandino lives! Down with apartheid!

V. Prygoski
Wyandotte, Michigan

Won't play Sun City

New Orleans businessman Blaine Kern recently made a bold attempt to legitimize cultural exchanges with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

He announced his intentions to bring a New Orleans-type Mardi Gras show to Sun City, South Africa. As if that wasn't enough, Kern also proposed that pro-apartheid Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi be invited to be King of the Zulu parade in the 1987 New Orleans Mardi Gras.

Kern billed this operation as one that would keep the lines of communication going. He even got a Black Democratic Party official to go along with this scheme.

But his plans came to a halt when he ran into a brick wall of anti-apartheid opposition.

The musicians' union announced that it opposed the plans to perform in South Africa and that disciplinary action would be taken against any member who participated.

The leadership of the Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club, a Black Mardi Gras organization, announced that it would have nothing to do with the trip.

The *Louisiana Weekly*, a Black newspaper, took Kern and his supporters to task in an angry editorial.

In the end Kern was stopped. This was a victory for the movement to break all U.S. ties with apartheid. It will strengthen efforts to build the October 11 March Against Apartheid to be held in New Orleans.

Nels J'Anthony
New Orleans, Louisiana

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

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

S. African gov't massacres Blacks

Part of drive to crush anti-apartheid rent strikes

BY ERNEST HARSCH

It was a "cold-blooded massacre," declared the United Democratic Front (UDF), South Africa's main coalition of anti-apartheid organizations.

On August 26 and 27, large contingents of police stormed into the White City neighborhood of Soweto, the huge Black township just outside Johannesburg.

They came after residents of the neighborhood, one of the poorest in Soweto, began to resist government efforts to evict them from their homes. Hundreds of youths had poured into the streets to erect barricades and to stop local Black municipal officials from carrying out the evictions.

According to eyewitnesses, the police opened fire without warning. "The police are shooting left and right," one resident told a reporter over the phone. "They just shot an old man. They are shooting at everyone, everything."

'With guns blazing'

At a news conference called to protest the killings, UDF representative Frank Chikane revealed, "According to our witnesses, [the police] switched on searchlights and shot at anyone who moved in the street. One resident said they entered White City as if they were entering enemy territory with guns blazing."

The apartheid regime in Pretoria admitted that 20 Soweto residents were killed by police gunfire. But the UDF placed the death toll at up to 30. In either case, this would make it the largest single police kill-



Family in Soweto township evicted for participating in rent boycott.

ing in Soweto since the 1976 youth rebellions, when hundreds of Blacks were gunned down.

In the past two years of massive anti-apartheid protests, more than 2,200 Blacks have been killed, the bulk of them murdered by the police.

The latest Soweto massacre brought a storm of outrage. Joining UDF speakers at the Johannesburg news conference was Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest labor federation in the country. He blasted the regime for "replying with gunfire to the

legitimate demands of our people."

More than 1,000 white and Black students rallied at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand to protest the massacre. "We shall retaliate," declared one of the protest banners.

Rent boycotts

The police action in Soweto stemmed from a new drive by the apartheid regime to break a growing rent boycott in Black townships across the country.

Prevented, for the most part, from owning their own homes, millions of Blacks in South Africa's major urban centers must pay rent to local government administrations. Although many rents are just \$20 a month or less, they are heavy financial burdens to most Black families, many of whose incomes are below subsistence levels.

The rents, moreover, are resented because they constitute one of the main sources of income for Pretoria's local Black-staffed township councils, which are widely rejected by the Black communities they claim to represent.

Anti-apartheid activists have initiated rent boycotts to press their demands for rent reductions, as well as to undermine the regime's local administrative structures.

The earliest of the current rent actions were launched two years ago in Sharpeville, Evaton, Sebokeng, and other smaller townships in the Vaal Triangle region south of Johannesburg. They subsequently spread to other parts of the country. Two months ago residents in some Soweto

neighborhoods stopped paying rent.

Currently, some 300,000 Black households in 42 townships are refusing to pay rent. This is costing Pretoria's local administrations an estimated \$500,000 a day. Such financial losses, coupled with popular campaigns for the resignation of all Black township councillors, has led to the collapse of dozens of these councils.

For several weeks, Pretoria has been accelerating its campaign to break these community struggles. Under the headline, "Secret plan to bust the rent boycotts," the lead article in the August 1-7 Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* provided some details of the regime's drive.

Citing official documents that had come into its possession, the newspaper reported that Pretoria was coordinating its efforts with local community councils and businesses. The documents called for the creation of "local collection action groups," the eviction of those not paying rents, and the construction of new police stations in the Black townships.

Eviction proceedings were initiated in Sharpeville, Tumahole, and other townships. Zweekethemba, a small township in the Western Cape, has been placed under virtual police siege in an effort to break the rent boycott there.

The stiffest resistance so far to the apartheid authorities' eviction drive has come from the residents of Soweto. The anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches warned Pretoria that if it continued to try to evict rent boycotters there, it would face a "political time bomb."

Rally demands 'Free Puerto Rican prisoners'

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

HARTFORD, Conn. — A thousand Puerto Ricans and their supporters rallied here August 30 to demand freedom for 16 proindependence activists facing trial for the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck. Nine of those charged are still being held without bail a year after their arrest. The demonstrators also called for independence for Puerto Rico.

August 30 is the first anniversary of the paramilitary raids in which more than 200 FBI agents entered Puerto Rico, dragged Puerto Rican patriots from their homes in chains, brought them to the United States, concealed them from their lawyers, and denied them bail.

Protesters came from New York; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; Baltimore; Amherst, Massachusetts; New Haven, Connecticut; and Rochester, New York. Marching through a Puerto Rican barrio, they were joined by supporters lining the streets, who chanted and waved Puerto Rican flags from their windows and doorways and fell in step with the march. "Independence, jobs, housing," they demanded. "FBI, CIA, U.S. justice is a lie," they chanted.

The march was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, which brings together a broad range of organizations.

At the rally demonstrators stood to greet Irving Flores, the Puerto Rican Nationalist who served a 25-year jail sentence for his proindependence activities. He explained that the purpose of the FBI raids last year was to intimidate the independence movement because "whenever our movement is on the rise, they mobilize to repress us."

Digna Sánchez from the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression and William Kuntsler, one of the defense lawyers, explained that everyone's civil rights are

threatened by the "preventive detention law" that was used to imprison the activists.

Sánchez was one of several speakers who called for a united fight against U.S. imperialism. "We oppose the use of Puerto Rican soil to launch attacks on fellow Latin Americans," she said, "as was done with Grenada."

Antonio Camacho, one of the activists jailed in March in a second round of arrests on the same charges, came from Puerto Rico to participate in the demonstration. "U.S. imperialism is losing its hegemony in the world," he said. "This is shown by the fact that they have to resort to every kind of violence to sustain their position. We see this especially in Nicaragua today."

Vernon Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement talked about the repression faced by meatpackers fighting the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota. "They are not going for the settlement," he explained, referring to a recent contract proposal negotiated with Hormel by the United Food and Commercial Workers union. "The fight continues, the Hormel boycott continues," he said.

Bellecourt strongly condemned "the U.S. war going on in Nicaragua at this very moment." Part of fighting against this war, he explained, means exposing the U.S. government's lies about Sandinista repression against Indians in Nicaragua. "Indians and Blacks in Nicaragua are working to build their future within the context of the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua. This revolution is respecting the territorial rights of Indians, and the rights of Blacks also."

The Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression announced that rallies are held the last Sunday of every month in front of the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City to support the prisoners held there.



Militant/Susan Apstein

"Freedom for the Puerto Rican political prisoners, independence for Puerto Rico"

U.S. gov't orders deportation of author Margaret Randall

In a decision issued August 28, Judge Martin Spiegel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has ruled that writer Margaret Randall is subject to deportation. She has been given until December 1 to leave the United States voluntarily.

Randall was born in this country. In 1967, however, while living in Mexico, she gave up her U.S. citizenship in order to take Mexican citizenship. Since then she has lived in both Cuba and Nicaragua. She returned to the United States in 1984 and applied for permanent residency status.

Randall has written or edited more than 40 books, including *Women in Cuba*, *Sandino's Daughters*, and *Spirit of the People*, which contains interviews with Vietnam-

ese women. In his ruling, Spiegel said her writings "advocate the doctrines of world communism."

Randall's right to stay in the United States has been backed by many prominent writers, including Alice Walker, Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut, William Styron, and Arthur Miller.

In a letter of solidarity to Randall, Héctor Marroquín, an undocumented Mexican worker who has been waging a 10-year fight against INS attempts to deport him because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, wrote, "The recent INS decision to order your deportation represents an outrageous attempt at thought control aimed at opponents of government policy, in particular against those who oppose the U.S. rulers' war in Central America."