

Anti-Arab campaign in wake of hijacking

BY CATHERINE FRASER

The Reagan administration and the big-business news media in this country were quick to seize on the September 5 hijacking of a Pan Am jumbo jet at Pakistan's Karachi airport to deepen their propaganda campaign against Libya, its leader Muammar el-Qaddafi, and Arabs in general.

Initial television news coverage of the final shootout at Karachi that left 19 people dead and dozens wounded focused on Qaddafi and his alleged campaign of "worldwide terrorism" directed against the United States. Also pointing the finger at Libya, Washington ordered a navy battle group to the central Mediterranean on September 6 "in case President Reagan should decide to retaliate," the September 7 *Washington Post* reported.

These allegations and threats come on the heels of other moves against Libya over the past month, including the participation of 7,500 U.S. troops, backed by an aircraft carrier and other warships, in military maneuvers in neighboring Egypt on August 24-28.

The Libyan government condemned attempts to link Libya to the hijacking, pointing out that the U.S. government was making such allegations in order to prepare the way for a new military attack. The Libyan mission to the United Nations also denounced the hijacking and said Libya "has no connection whatsoever with what has happened."

Reagan administration officials, however, have been forced to back off a bit from the initial accusations against Libya. A Defense Department official said September 9 that "there is no connection to Syria or Libya here, none that we can establish."

Attention has turned instead to speculation that a Palestinian group was responsible for the hijacking. The Israeli government in particular has alleged that both the hijacking and the September 6 attack on a synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey, were carried out by the same group.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, the leader of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, has denied responsibility for either attack. Speaking from Tunis, PLO leader Salah Khalaf declared: "The PLO refuses to obtain the rights of the Palestinian people by making innocent people pay the price, whether in a

Continued on Page 17

Hormel presses attack on meatpacking workers

New contract proposal is big blow to union

BY MAC WARREN

AUSTIN, Minn. — The contract settlement announced at the end of August and being rushed to a quick vote is the latest attempt by the millionaire owners of the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. to escalate its profit drive at the expense of struggling meatpackers here.

Top officials of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) are pushing for a ratification vote on the contract they agreed to with Hormel management. The UFCW tops set a deadline of September 12 for workers to mail in ballots with their votes for or against the new contract.

The proposed contract is a far cry from what the meatpackers went on strike for at the Austin plant and have been fighting to win in their more than year-long struggle.

Austin workers have never seen a copy of the contract they are voting on. Instead of being able to read and study the full contract, they are being asked to approve it on the basis of oral presentations made by UFCW officials and a written summary

mailed out to those eligible to vote. But even on the basis of that summary, where the UFCW officials try to put the best possible face on the contract, it should be rejected.

Members of UFCW Local P-9 at the Austin plant had a bitter experience in the past with provisions promised in a written summary that never appeared in a printed contract.

When the local agreed to a takeback contract in 1981, UFCW Packinghouse Director Lewie Anderson had promised in a written summary that the wage rates were protected. But the provisions promising this never appeared in the written contract.

The current settlement proposal was announced at the same time the UFCW officials concluded contract negotiations for seven other Hormel plants with contracts expiring on September 1.

A year earlier, 1,500 union members went on strike in Austin after rejecting Hormel's attempt to force a third round of concessions on them.

Continued on Page 7



Militant/Tom Jaax

Nonaligned summit conference backs full sanctions against South Africa



Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega during summit.

BY SAM MANUEL

HARARE, Zimbabwe — The eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries ended here this morning, at 4:00 a.m., September 8. The central theme of the conference had been solidarity with the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa. It had been reported that the decision to hold the conference in Zimbabwe was made for that purpose.

One hundred and one governments, ob-

On-the-scene report

servers, and guests of the Nonaligned movement attended the summit. They unanimously condemned the apartheid regime and pledged to support the efforts to mobilize world opinion for full sanctions against South Africa.

At an early morning press conference immediately following the summit, Robert Mugabe, prime minister of Zimbabwe and newly elected chairman of the Nonaligned movement, explained that he expects the movement to carry this momentum toward sanctions into the next general session of the United Nations.

Soon after the summit, Zimbabwe and Zambia are expected to impose sanctions against South Africa. Zimbabwe in particular has massive trade connections with South Africa inherited from the former Rhodesian regime. In order to protect Zimbabwe, Zambia, and the other independent countries of southern Africa from retaliatory sanctions by the apartheid regime, the summit set up a special fund. Provisions were also made to ship the trade of these countries to other states of the Nonaligned movement.

In addition, in light of South African military intervention in Angola and Mozambique and raids upon Zimbabwe and Zambia, steps will also be taken to strengthen the defense capabilities of these

Continued on Page 17

Nicaragua businessman admits spying for CIA

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT) presented CIA spy Guillermo Quant Tai at a press conference here September 1.

Quant, a businessman and vice-president of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Commerce, was recruited by the CIA in 1983. He passed secret economic and military information to the CIA until his arrest on August 19, said MINT Capt. Oscar Loza.

At the press conference, Quant made a lengthy statement outlining his work with the CIA, and then answered questions from reporters.

Quant was in the fuel transportation business. He had frequent business and social contacts with the U.S. embassy in Managua, he said.

In 1983, he was recruited as a CIA informer by Albert Hamont, second secretary at the U.S. embassy. Quant told the re-

porters that he supplied data on the location and capacities of fuel storage tanks of the Nicaraguan armed forces, and of schedules of deliveries to the fuel depots.

Fuel is a critical question in Nicaragua, which must import all its oil. The U.S.-financed mercenary war against this country makes this all the more true. Nicaraguan counterintelligence studies have revealed numerous U.S.-organized efforts to sabotage the nation's fuel storage areas.

Quant said he later met with CIA agents in Miami. The agents had him take a lie detector test, and then asked if he wished to continue supplying them with information. "I told them that I had no problems doing so," Quant said. The agents then instructed him in using coded messages and invisible writing.

When Quant returned to Nicaragua, U.S. embassy officials gave him a bathroom scale and a radio receiver. Capt.

Loza displayed the scale at the press conference. Inside, in a secret compartment, it contained instructions for decoding messages, and a list of times and radio frequencies of CIA broadcasts that would send Quant further instructions.

Quant said that he sent his reports, written in invisible ink, to a post office box in San José, Costa Rica. He also described meeting with CIA agents in San José.

Captain Loza said that the MINT had uncovered Quant's activities in November 1985. The MINT told Quant that they were aware of his spying and warned him to stop. When he continued to send coded reports to the CIA in 1986, he was arrested, Loza said.

The MINT is aware of other individuals working for the CIA, and they have also received warnings, Loza said. "We hope that they will take it [the arrest of Quant] as a public warning," Loza stressed.

Press condemns gov't spying on socialists

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INTIMIDATION FBI's persecution of Socialists shows an arrogance of power

U.S. District Judge Thomas P. Griesa has awarded \$264,000 in damages to the Socialist Workers Party as balm for the afflictions visited upon it by the FBI over a 16-year period that ended in 1976.

The disruptions, the stimuli to paranoia and the invasions of privacy catalogued in Griesa's 214-page decision ceased a decade ago; and, although they have by no means lost every fascination, we might consign them to ancient history if we could be confident that the official spite they manifested was the spirit of a departed past.

The Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyite doctrines of the Socialist Workers find no comfortable lodgment with Griesa the philosopher; but, as judge and finder of fact, he exempts their practices from all taint of violence and even permits the inference that the Socialist Workers might be commended for encouraging their young to shun marijuana and deadly weapons.

Had their temper been fiercer, their numbers would have inhibited its menace. In 1960 there were 466 Socialist Workers, and 52 of them had been enrolled as informers by the FBI.

This mixture of one disguised intelligence implant with every nine honest Bolsheviks was maintained into 1966, after which there were fallings below the quota until 1976, when the FBI had only 19 informants for a thousand Socialist Workers.

The going wage for a full-time secret agent ranged from \$200 to \$300 a month, and the FBI spent \$1.68 million



Murray Kempton

Commentary

to maintain this branch of the service. There were also free-lance openings: A janitor was paid for rifling the wastebaskets at SWP headquarters, and an employee at a hospital favored by Socialist Worker families sold their medical records complete to the smallest child among them.

There were also the visits to employers and to landlords by FBI agents mandated to perform this office every 45 days for each of the 308 Socialist Workers listed in the National Security Index.

In case these routine reminders of the subject's possibly suspect character were not enough to set him apart, the FBI would now and then favor employers with detailed warnings about the Marxist-Leninist serpent in their garden.

As best Griesa could judge, the FBI carried out 204 breakings and enterings—all, as one of its internal memo-

randums put it, "clearly illegal"—and made off with nearly 10,000 documents. One instrument in these employments was Timothy Redfearn, a Denver Socialist Worker.

The bureau's files certified him as "excellent," and he was indeed versatile. Having learned burglary while pilfering from the SWP office, Redfearn moonlighted in the private sector and was caught breaking into the houses of respectable citizens. After his release, the FBI restored his retainer, and he gratified its faith by burglarizing the Socialist Worker bookstore.

The FBI took the fruits of this crime and denied all part in harvesting them. Redfearn was left to take the fall with a jail term. That was the FBI's style, and Griesa's opinion is most disturbing for the intimation that it still is.

His progress toward the light in this case was an unending struggle with the FBI's obstructions. When the SWP sued in 1974, it served the bureau with interrogatories demanding details of its conduct and the answers, in Griesa's judgment, were "grossly deceptive." There followed a period of three years while the FBI, in the court's words, "deliberately concealed" 204 burglaries from its own lawyers.

Such was the posture of a Federal Bureau of Investigation that had been conditioned across years of assurance that it was immune to ever being called to book.

And what visible reason do we have now to think that this posture has altered enough to give us confidence that to ask the FBI what it is doing would mean to get the truth in return?

DAILY NEWS

220 E. 42d St. New York, N.Y. 10017

JAMES HOGE, *Publisher and President*
F. GILMAN SPENCER, *Editor* MICHAEL PAKENHAM, *Editorial Page Editor*
JAMES P. WILLSE, *Managing Editor*

... as a freedom is affirmed

One of the fundamental principles of the Constitution is that people are free to say things and to advocate political opinions the majority of Americans disagree with. Federal Judge Thomas Griesa has rightly reaffirmed that in a case brought by the Socialist Workers Party.

For 36 years, the FBI tried to disrupt the party. It planted 1,300 informers in the party (in the 1960s, 10% of party members were on the FBI payroll). The bureau burgled SWP premises 193 times and carried out 46 disruptive operations to cause the party "internal mistrust and strife."

That went on from 1941 to 1976, under every President from FDR to Ford—and mainly under FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI never uncovered a single instance of "planned or actual espionage, violence, terrorism or efforts to subvert the governmental structure of the U.S."

The SWP sued the FBI for \$40 million. It won its case, and Griesa awarded \$264,000 in damages.

The SWP is a Trotskyite offshoot of the Communist Party—the loony left. It has never persuaded more than a handful of Americans that it makes any sense.

Its right to be nutty must be as secure as the rights of Democrats or Republicans. Why? If politicians can get away with black-bag jobs on the SWP, next they'll try the same thing on more important parties.

The Nation.

September 6, 1986 \$1.25; U.K. 85p

EDITORIAL

S.W.P.'S DAY IN COURT

The \$264,000 in damages that Federal District Judge Thomas Griesa awarded the Socialist Workers Party to compensate for eighteen years of government harassment is miniscule compared with all the money the F.B.I. poured into its COINTELPRO activities against the S.W.P. Judge Griesa noted that over the years the Bureau had paid some \$1.7 million to 300 S.W.P. members and 1,000 informers to be disruptive, invasive and subversive. All in all, it amounted to a domestic *contra* operation against a "lawful and peaceful" political organization, he said, for no reason other than its ideological orientation.

If the government's security forces did not actually keep the S.W.P. alive during those years, they certainly did create and exaggerate the

threat that they then campaigned to eliminate. The broader radical movements of the period, which did pose some danger to the stability of the system, were too anarchic and evanescent to respond to the F.B.I.'s methods of subversion. The S.W.P., however, maintained a familiar institutional structure, which was vulnerable to infiltration. If it did not exist in that form, the F.B.I. would surely have invented it, for the national security state needs identifiable domestic threats against which its power can be tested and deployed.

The Socialist Workers Party bore the brunt of government blows to progressive politics over the past two decades, and it has won a valuable moral victory. For the first time the F.B.I.'s disruptions, surreptitious entries and use of informers have been found unconstitutional. But when the government damages one area of legitimate political activity, it injures democracy as a whole, and everyone suffers. For that, relief will come not only in the courts but in a renewal and expansion of political action.

Shown here are three of the columns and editorials that have appeared thus far on August 25 federal court decision against FBI spying on Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Syndicated Murray Kempton column was run in major dailies. New York *Daily News* editorial appeared on Labor Day, September 1. *The Nation* carried above editorial on front page of September 6 issue.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!



Enclosed is

☐ \$3.00 for 12 weeks

Save \$6 off the cover price
AND

☐ for only 50¢ more, get the pamphlet

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

Telephone

Union/School/Organization

☐ One year for \$24.00

Send to THE MILITANT, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

SPECIAL
GOOD OFFER
November 15

At the plant gates, mine portals, and picket lines; at antiwar actions and demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa; at schools, the *Militant* is there, reporting the facts and participating in the struggles.

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

Closing news date: September 10, 1986

Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO
and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: MALIK MIAH

Nicaragua Bureau Director: CINDY JAQUITH

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Ernest Harsch, Arthur Hughes, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Ruth Nebbia (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Norton Sandler.

Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Campaign opens to broaden court victory over FBI

Political Rights Defense Fund seeks sponsors, funds

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is on a major drive to sign up new supporters as the next stage opens in the Socialist Workers Party landmark lawsuit against government spying.

The PRDF has been publicizing and raising funds for the suit ever since it was filed in 1973. The case was tried in 1981. On August 25 of this year, U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa handed down his decision, ruling that the FBI's use of burglaries, wiretaps, informers, and disruption programs against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal.

Next round in battle

"This federal court decision sets major legal precedents for the political rights of all those opposing government policy," said John Studer, executive director of the PRDF. "It is a powerful tool that activists can use to defend themselves from government spying and covert disruption."

"We want to defend what has been won in this decision, expand its strength, and get out the word about it to today's new generation of political activists. That's why we are urging people to become sponsors of our committee and make a financial contribution to our ongoing work."

"The next round in this battle will cost tens of thousands of dollars. We are preparing for the court hearings that will determine what happens to the millions of secret files on the socialists that the FBI collected illegally. In his court decision, Judge Griesa said he will grant a motion from the SWP that the files of the FBI and other police agencies be permanently segregated and barred from government use or distribution."

"There will be a significant battle in these hearings over the scope and breadth of the files to be segregated. This fight offers an opportunity to widen the victory won with the August 25 decision," said Studer. Noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin will represent the socialists in court.

Studer said the PRDF is on a campaign to explain the significance of the August 25 decision. "We're urging all supporters of democratic rights to read the 210-page decision, and to facilitate that, the PRDF is making copies available for \$10," he said.

The PRDF officer singled out three particular aspects of Griesa's decision that have never before been made by a federal court:

- that it is an illegal invasion of the right to privacy for the FBI to use informers against political activists;



Militant/Harry Ring
Prominent constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin is representing socialists in court hearings to bar government use and distribution of secret police files.

- that it is a violation of the Fourth Amendment for the FBI to burglarize offices to steal private documents or copy them, or to plant bugs. (The Fourth Amendment affirms the right of the people against unwarrantable searches and seizures.)

- and that government disruption programs such as the FBI's Cointelpro operation are illegal.

Thousands of new sponsors

This important expansion of political rights is of immediate interest to the many activists and leaders involved in struggles today. "Many of these people," Studer noted, "are not familiar with the SWP case because they've only recently gotten involved in politics. So we're on a special effort to reach them, urge them to become sponsors of the PRDF, and help us out financially. We think thousands will do so."

Activists in solidarity with Central America who learn about the case, he said, are quick to identify with it and see its potential for their own battles against FBI harassment of visitors to Nicaragua and use of informers against those defending the rights of Central American refugees.

There are also thousands of farmers and trade unionists who are today seeking ways to extend their political rights as they organize to prevent farm foreclosures and union-busting.

Black liberation activists and fighters for

Puerto Rican independence are suffering victimization from FBI spying and frame-ups, Studer pointed out. The court decision won by the SWP is a tool they can use.

Women struggling for their rights also have a stake in the SWP lawsuit, especially as it has deepened the constitutional right to privacy, a key issue in the defense of women's right to choose abortion.

The significance of the court victory continues to be noted by backers of civil liberties, forces on the left, and big-business press. (See articles on facing page.)

A syndicated column on the court decision by Murray Kempton, who is himself a PRDF endorser, appeared in several large dailies. Kempton titled his piece, "Federal Bureau of Intimidation: FBI's persecution of Socialists shows an arrogance of power."

The *Nation*, a liberal newsweekly, ran a front-page editorial saluting the case in its September 6 issue. "For the first time, the F.B.I.'s disruptions, surreptitious entries, and use of informers have been found unconstitutional," the editors said. "But when the government damages one area of legitimate political activity, it injures democracy as a whole, and everyone suffers. For that, relief will come not only in the courts but in a renewal and expansion of political action."

'An important victory for all'

The September 10 *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly, wrote: "Because the SWP took the U.S. government to court, we know a great deal more about the methods of the FBI."

The paper reported that "a number of activists contacted by the *Guardian* have praised the actions of the SWP in bringing this case. Gil Green, veteran member of the CPUSA [Communist Party], says it is 'an important victory for all those who fight for freedom of speech and want to act without interference.'"

Green was one of 12 CP leaders framed up under the Smith Act during the McCarthyite witch-hunt. He served five and one-half years of an eight-year sentence in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

The *Guardian* said that "credit for this victory must also go to the other left organizations which gave the SWP support and the members of the progressive community who also gave of their time and money to carry the case forward."

The *New York Daily News*, known for its conservative political views, devoted an



Militant/Etta Ettlinger
John Studer, executive director of Political Rights Defense Fund, says group is signing up sponsors among antiwar activists, unionists, farmers, and many other supporters of democratic rights.

editorial to the case on Labor Day, September 1. "One of the fundamental principles of the Constitution is that people are free to say things and to advocate political opinions the majority of Americans disagree with," said the editorial. "Federal Judge Thomas Griesa has rightly reaffirmed that in a case brought by the Socialist Workers Party."

Militant readers who want to get Judge Griesa's decision and become sponsors of the PRDF can do so by filling out the coupon on this page.

Court victory is news in Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Both daily newspapers here reported the court victory of the Socialist Workers Party in its lawsuit against government spying.

Barricada, daily of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, carried a back-page story August 27. "After 13 years of legal battles," *Barricada* said, the SWP "has at last won a suit against the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The FBI, it continued, subjected the socialists to "30 years of continuous, illegal harassment. During this time, the FBI carried out 193 illegal entries into the party's headquarters, employed 1,300 informers, photographed 9,864 internal documents, and carried out campaigns of slander and intimidation."

Barricada based its story on wire reports sent out by the Spanish news agency EFE, as did *El Nuevo Diario*, the other daily here, which carried an article on the case the same day.

N.Y. forum on civil liberties



Militant photos by Holbrook Mahn, Lou Howort
Speaking at September 5 Militant Forum in New York on court victory against FBI were Antonio Camacho (left), currently facing frame-up charges for his support to Puerto Rican independence, and Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party leader fighting deportation order. Jackie Floyd, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance, also spoke.

PR DF Political Rights Defense Fund

Help us win more victories for democratic rights

Now that a federal judge has ruled that the FBI's spying against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal, the case is going back to court to determine what will happen to the millions of secret files the government spies accumulated.

Every supporter of democratic rights has a stake in helping bring about another victory against the FBI in the upcoming hearings. The Political Rights Defense Fund needs your endorsement and your financial help to make the next stage in this battle a success.

☐ I want to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

☐ Send me a copy of the federal court decision against the FBI.
Enclosed is \$10.

☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.
\$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$50 _____ \$10 _____ other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ Organization _____

Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Appeal to readers for contributions to this column

BY MALIK MIAH

Regular readers of the *Militant* are familiar with this column. Every week it reports on sales of

after nearly a decade of the employers' offensive. Many workers began asking questions about the bosses' offensive and what could

gle in South Africa, the struggles of Blacks and women, and other issues.

Selling the *Militant* and *PM* to workers at plant gates is a way to solidarize with workers fighting back here and internationally.

The *Militant* is aiding meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota; Ottumwa, Iowa; and other cities by telling workers in steel mills, rail yards, garment shops, and other workplaces the truth about the meatpackers' fight.

Distributors of the two socialist publications are selling a 12-week *Militant* subscription and the pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead, for only \$3.50 and five issues of *PM* and the same pamphlet in Spanish for \$2.50.

In nearly every city where readers have taken goals, a focus is

selling the paper to workers on the job, at picket lines, and at the plant gates. In Philadelphia, for example, initial subscription sales included 12 to rail and oil coworkers and three at plant gate literature tables.

The drive also includes traveling teams that are fanning out across the country. They are also targeting plant gates.

A typical example is the experience of the Arizona-Utah team, which recently completed two weeks of subscription selling and socialist campaigning in that region. Dave Hurst, a member of the team, reports: "We sold at shift changes at two nonunion meatpacking plants, Trimiller and Miller Brothers, both in Hyrum, Utah, and we found a lot of awareness and interest in the Hormel strike. One worker said, 'We could use a union here.'"

The team sold 30 *Militants* and *PMs* and several Hormel struggle pamphlets there.

The biggest challenge, salespeople report, is how to get workers arriving to work at the last minute to stop and buy a subscription. There's no one way to do it. But a number of distributors tell us that big signs focusing on a few political issues and an explanation of the subscription offer help. Leafletting ahead of time with the same information is also helpful.

In the 43 months this column has appeared, we have learned a great deal about what workers are discussing and saying about the problems we face. Over the next weeks we want to hear from you — your suggestions and tips on selling subscriptions, single copies, and Hormel struggle pamphlets, and, most especially, what you think about the paper and how we can make it even better.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

the *Militant* and our monthly Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, to workers at mines, mills, and factories around the country.

Our current campaign to sign up 10,000 new *Militant* and *PM* readers by November 15 means it would be useful to explain the purpose of this column and how you — new and old readers — can contribute to it.

The plant gate column was launched in February 1983 at a time of high unemployment and

be done about it.

Some were looking for an alternative to what they read in the big-business dailies. Others didn't like what their top trade union officials were telling them either.

The *Militant* reports on the struggles and experiences of working people each week. But we decided a special column was needed to hear what workers are discussing and how they're responding to what the *Militant* is saying about the U.S. government's war on Nicaragua, the freedom strug-

Fall subscription campaign off to a flying start

BY MALIK MIAH

If you take a quick look at the first *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription scoreboard below, you'll see that the campaign to win 10,000 new readers to the two socialist publications is already in high gear.

Jim White, *Militant* business manager, reports 524 subscriptions came in the mail just between Monday, September 8, and Wednesday, September 10, for a grand total of 2,159.

New York and Newark led the way, selling 143 subscriptions on September 6.

Craig Gannon, one of the organizers of the subscription campaign in New York, said the key "was having sales teams. This made the effort a collective one. When the 10 four-member teams came back after sales, the question wasn't 'how did each of you do?' but 'how did the team do?'"

The combined sales and literature teams set up 10 tables and sold 88 subscriptions and some \$400 worth of socialist literature.

The New York Pathfinder bookstore, where the subscription teams gather before going out, sold three subscriptions that day. The bookstore has a goal of selling one subscription per day.

In Newark, 20 people sold 52 subscriptions on that same Saturday, nearly half of them to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Seven subscription-literature tables went out.

In New York most subscription buyers also bought a copy of the new Pathfinder Press pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead.

A challenge, Gannon stressed, is con-

vincing working people and students we meet of the importance of the Austin meatpackers fight and that it is well worth it to pay the extra 50 cents above the subscription price to get the pamphlet.

Other cities are getting in gear too. Maureen Coletta, subscription coordinator in Chicago, reports that their first big effort on Saturday netted 19 subscriptions. While the ratio wasn't as high as in New York and Newark (25 people went out), the response to door-to-door selling was especially positive. In a mostly Mexican and Chicano community four salespeople going door-to-door sold eight *PM* subscriptions. Afterwards the Chicago *PM* bundle was increased from 25 to 75.

San Jose, California, sales coordinator Greg Nelson reports that they've sold 84 of their 200 subscription goal. They plan to raise their goal to 300.

The number of cities listed on the scoreboard, we hope, will increase each week. At the end of August, for example, two readers in New Paltz, New York, decided to take a goal of five subscriptions for the campaign. There are other cities where regular or new readers are probably discussing subscription goals. Let us know when you decide, so we can add your city to the scoreboard.

The Northwest team on its first day out in Spokane, Washington, sold 42 *Militants* and 5 pamphlets on the meatpackers' struggle at two Kaiser Aluminum plants. The Kaiser Aluminum Rolling Mill makes cans for Hormel's Spam and one worker said, "We know all about concessions at our plant. We used to get top pay but just took a big concessions contract."



Sales team member talks with students at Pima Community College in Tucson, Arizona.

After one week the Pennsylvania team sold 71 *Militant* and 4 *PM* subscriptions. Fifty of these were sold to students at Indiana University in Indiana, Pennsylvania.

At a meeting sponsored by international students for the team, 4 of 10 students who came asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance and build a new chapter.

A worker at the Goodyear tire plant in Lincoln, Nebraska, said, "I haven't seen the *Militant* in a while. Glad to see you back out here."

A Central American solidarity activist from Iowa City said, "The *Militant* has a

lot of good information in it."

After two weeks on the road the Iowa-Nebraska team sold 113 subscriptions (106 *Militants*, 7 *PMs*); 346 single copies of the *Militant*; 9 copies of *PM*; 76 pamphlets on the Hormel strike; and 90 other pieces of literature.

At Idaho State University in Pocatello, Idaho, two students joined the YSA after the team participated in a Nicaragua solidarity meeting.

The Arizona-Utah team sold 62 *Militant* and 4 *PM* subscriptions during the two weeks they were on the campaign trail. Another 359 *Militants*, 54 *PMs*, 28 *Young Socialists*, \$134 in socialist literature, and \$54 in buttons and socialist T-shirts were also sold.

Some 15-20 *Militants* were sold to GIs at a shopping center outside Fort Benning in Columbus, Georgia, reports Katy Karlin from the Alabama team. The team wound up its second week of sales with 19 *Militant* subscriptions; 1 *PM* subscription; 330 single copies of the *Militant*; 40 YSs; and \$78 in literature.

An especially impressive sale was 41 *Militants* to some 300 first-shift workers at the nonunion Chemical Toxic Waste Dump in Enelle, Alabama.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are a big part of the sales effort. Frederick Lerouge, a member of the Dallas YSA, wrote to us about one of their experiences: "A team of three members of the YSA went to a public rock concert with a book table and our press. After only 20 minutes our table was surrounded by young people wanting to know about the YSA. In a period of an hour we sold 10 *Militants*, 8 YSs, 3 subscriptions, and a couple of T-shirts and some books."

These varied efforts are why we are off to a flying start in our fall subscription campaign. There is no reason why next week we can't be even further along and have several more cities listed on the scoreboard.

Fall Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	
Atlanta	140	10	16	0	11
Baltimore	120	5	14	1	12
Birmingham	150	3	27	0	18
Boston	225	50	45	9	20
Capital District, N.Y.	125	10	20	2	16
Charleston, W. Va.	65	—	24	—	37
Chicago	300	50	17	1	5
Cincinnati	90	10	7	1	8
Cleveland	125	15	23	1	17
Dallas	150	30	12	2	8
Denver	135	10	9	1	7
Detroit	230	20	51	4	22
Greensboro, N.C.	140	10	32	3	23
Houston	200	40	41	3	18
Kansas City	150	10	25	2	17
Los Angeles	300	200	41	31	14
Louisville	115	10	5	0	4
Miami	100	15	8	1	8
Milwaukee	100	5	16	6	21
Morgantown, W. Va.	100	—	24	—	24
New Orleans	90	10	9	1	10
Totals					
New Paltz, N.Y.	5	—	2	—	40
New York City	500	250	119	67	25
Newark	250	50	72	29	34
Oakland	200	30	27	4	13
Philadelphia	125	50	14	1	9
Phoenix	100	60	1	1	1
Pittsburgh	100	5	10	1	10
Portland, Ore.	85	15	16	0	16
Price, Utah	50	5	6	0	11
Salt Lake City	105	15	18	2	17
San Diego	80	20	10	7	17
San Francisco	170	80	18	6	10
San Jose	150	50	22	17	20
Seattle	140	10	5	0	3
St. Louis	200	5	48	0	23
Tidewater, Va.	60	5	3	0	5
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	10	0	10
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	20	27	2	11
Washington, D.C.	140	25	14	1	9
National teams	—	—	254	124	—
Other	—	—	660	6	—
Totals					
	8,500	1,500	1,822	337	22

Steel employers' four-year war on wages, jobs, rights

BY FRED FELDMAN

The lockout of 21,000 steelworkers by USX Corp. (formerly U.S. Steel) is now in its second month. It is the latest stage in an employer assault that has devastated the jobs and living standards of U.S. steelworkers.

The United Steelworkers of America, founded in 1936, is being dealt the biggest blows in its history.

In 1979 the union bargained for 453,000 steelworkers. This year it is representing 220,000 — including many who are laid off. USX employs 21,000 unionized steelworkers today. (Another 23,000 are laid off.) In 1974, 94,000 steelworkers were employed by USX.

Nonunion mills

Today 17 percent of U.S.-made steel is produced in nonunion minimills, compared with 5 percent in 1973. And a growing amount of work in unionized mills is carried out by nonunion contractors.

The membership of the USWA has been cut in half since 1979, down to 700,000 from its peak of 1.4 million.

The wages and working conditions of steelworkers are in decline. But average worker productivity has increased 38 percent since 1977. With speed-up comes deteriorating safety conditions. And the pensions and health coverage of retired steelworkers are now under fire.

The steel bosses, who face stiffening competition from companies in other countries, are squeezing workers to keep their profit rates from declining.

In 1982, as massive layoffs spread through the steel industry, the companies demanded that steelworkers give up some of the wages and other gains that had been won in previous struggles.

The Basic Steel Industry Conference of the USWA, made up of local union presidents, twice rejected takeback proposals. The local presidents reflected the pressure of workers who wanted to resist the demands.

The bosses kept the pressure on, however, and in 1983 a takeback contract, recommended by top union officials, was approved.

Wages were immediately cut by \$1.25 an hour, benefits and vacations were reduced, work rules were junked, and other rights undermined. The contract cost steelworkers an estimated \$1.4 billion in the

Labor Day march hits USX lockout

BY RAY PARSONS

LORAIN, Ohio — Some 300 marchers, led by United Steelworkers Local 1104, marched past the sprawling USX mill here Labor Day. They included auto workers from USWA locals 2000 and 425, members of Plumbers and Pipefitters Local 42, and members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Members of Citizens for a Free South Africa from Sandusky, and participants in the great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament, which was passing through Ohio at the time, were among the participants.

Speakers denounced USX Corp. for locking out 21,000 members. Al Peña, president of Local 1104, said: "The company has tried to cram a contract down our throats that would take us back to the '30s."

Dominic Tardio, a locked out steelworker who was interviewed by the *Militant*, expressed a common sentiment: "Every human being in this country has a right to a job. Now we took cuts back in 1983, which were supposed to guarantee our jobs. I had to wait a year to get called back to work. And they're not hurting. Almost every day I worked, the caster I was working on broke tonnage records. I don't mind giving a little bit up, but they can't keep dumping it on our shoulders."

first two years. It was followed by supplementary concession agreements with Bethlehem and others.

Escalating takebacks

In May 1985, Inland, LTV, Bethlehem, U.S. Steel, and Armco dissolved their joint bargaining committee and announced that, for the first time in nearly 30 years, the big steel firms would negotiate separately with the union.

In July Wheeling-Pittsburgh Corp., the seventh-biggest steel firm, which had filed for protection from its creditors under Chapter 11 of the federal bankruptcy law, tore up its contract with the USWA. It slashed the base wage to \$8.10 an hour and instituted other sweeping takebacks. Workers had already suffered \$141 million in takebacks since 1982.

Workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh walked out in protest and stayed out for three months. The company's high-handed behavior in ripping up the contract amounted to a lockout.

In October the company and USWA officials reached agreement on a contract that cut wages and benefits by 16 percent, to \$5.50 below the industry average. The company was permitted to replace the existing pension plan with a stingier one.

Steelworkers negotiator Paul Rusen was placed on the Wheeling-Pittsburgh board of directors. The agreement called for a "new partnership," committing the union to help the company squeeze more production out of fewer workers at lower wages.

Since the contract was signed, the number of union workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh has dropped from 8,200 to 5,500. Despite union protests, the company has continued to use nonunion subcontractors.

Another 600 will lose their jobs when the company goes ahead with plans to shut down the furnace and continuous caster at its plant in Monessen, Pennsylvania.

1986 pacts

The Wheeling-Pittsburgh defeat set the pattern for the pacts that followed. The framework of the negotiations was how much would be taken from steelworkers.

In March of this year a 40-month contract was signed with LTV, the second-biggest steel firm. The pact slashed wages and benefits by \$3.15 an hour — about \$6,600 a year per steelworker. The cost-of-living adjustment was axed, three holidays were eliminated, workers with two weeks or more of vacation lost a week, and health coverage was cut.

To help put over the package, LTV promised that lost wages would be paid back in cash or stock.

A 39-month pact with National Steel in April cut hourly wages and benefits by \$.99, canceling scheduled cost-of-living increases. National bosses got "greater flexibility to reform restrictive work rules, combine jobs, and shrink work crew sizes," the *Wall Street Journal* gloated. Company executives predicted that worker productivity would be driven up by 40 percent. National plans to eliminate at least 3,500 jobs.

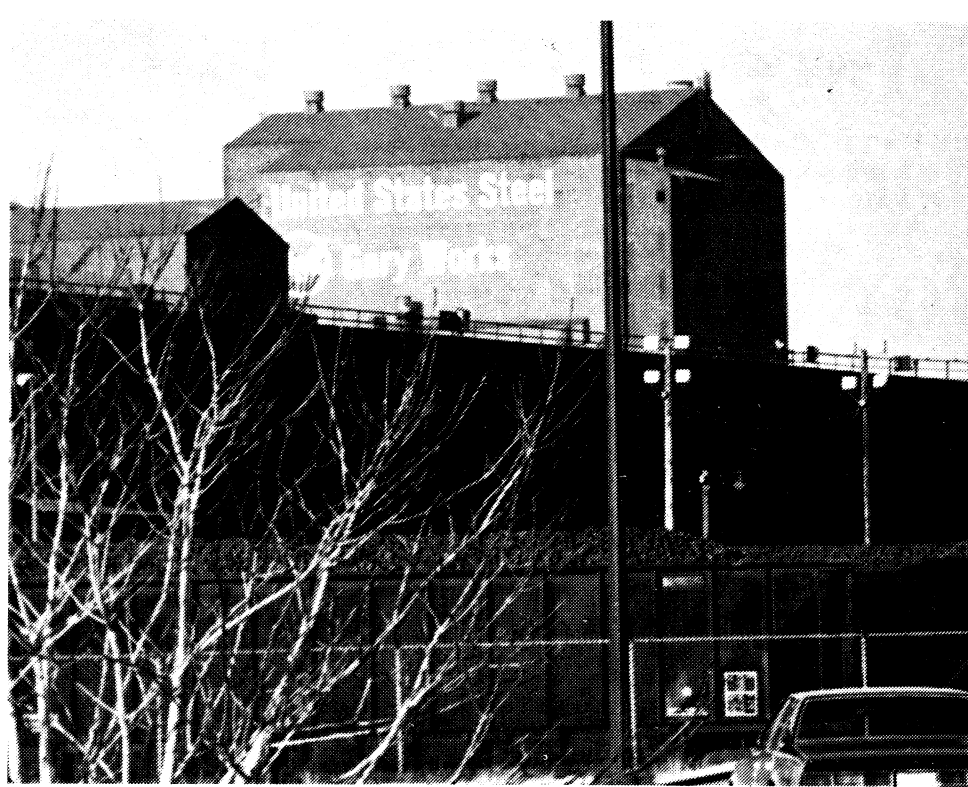
Many union members showed their discontent with this brutal hatchet job in the contract votes. At LTV, the contract was ratified by 13,162 to 8,474. The pact at National Steel was ratified by a vote of 3,412 to 2,247.

Bethlehem Steel signed a 37-month pact with the USWA in May. The union gave up \$1.96 in wages and benefits.

Despite a campaign by USWA Local 6787 at the Burns Harbor plant to organize opposition to the contract, it was ratified by a vote of 11,604 to 8,368. A leaflet issued by Local 6787 predicted that the contract would cost 3,000 jobs.

Copper and aluminum

The contracts signed in the copper and aluminum industries were cut from this pattern. The stage for the copper negotiations was set by Phelps-Dodge Corp.,



USX locked out steelworkers in effort to surpass takebacks by other steel employers this year. Since 1982, steelworkers' union has been dealt biggest setbacks in its 50-year history.

which defeated the USWA and other unions in its copper mine at Morenci, Arizona, in a strike that began in 1983.

The Morenci mine, now nonunion, accounted for about one-fifth of U.S. copper production last year.

There are less than 10,000 working copper miners in the country today — down 20,000 from five years ago.

The contract with Kennecott Corp. included a \$3.30 cut in hourly wages and benefits. Steelworkers at Newmont Mining Corp. were hit with a 20 percent reduction.

In aluminum, the employers aim to match the \$4.50 an hour in concessions won last year by Kaiser Aluminum. A five-week strike at Alcoa ended in July with a contract calling for a 95-cent slash in hourly benefits and a wage freeze.

USX offensive

USX has systematically prepared to deal another big blow to the USWA. During the contract fight at Wheeling-Pittsburgh last year, U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick boasted that U.S. Steel was determined to match or surpass any concessions obtained by its competitors.

USX was the only big steel firm to post a profit in its steel operations since the 1983 takeback contract. As a result of investments such as the purchase of Marathon Oil and Texas Oil and Gas, steel now accounts for only 29 percent of company revenue.

The USX bosses weakened the union even further by violating the takeback contract. Nonunion contractors were brought in to do jobs assigned in the contract to union members. Job combinations were imposed. The red tape of the grievance procedure was used to stifle any response on the shop floor to this attack, and arbitrators' findings in favor of the union were simply ignored.

With these methods and the shutdown of plants like the Homestead, Pennsylvania, mill, USX has eliminated 27,000 steelworkers' jobs since 1982.

USWA pickets arrested in Gary

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

GARY, Ind. — Police arrested 43 USX pickets here at the Buchanan Street gate of the Gary Works Sheet and Tin Mill on September 3. The pickets, charged with "criminal trespass," were part of a group of 400 steelworkers who blocked traffic entering and leaving the plant.

The pickets got fed up with watching cars and trucks freely entering the plant, so the local of the United Steelworkers of America organized to move the picket line.

"The state has their map. The company has their map. Nobody knows whose property that is," said Cary Kranz, president of USWA Local 1066. He was among the first to be arrested.

"This will be a test to determine if we have the right to stand on this spot," said Local 1066 Recording Secretary Robert Watson. "We had to do it this way so the courts could decide."

After the arrests, pickets were set up on

At the same time a 49 percent increase in productivity was squeezed out of steelworkers.

New attack by LTV

The union came under added pressure when LTV, which had signed a contract with big takebacks in March, filed July 17 for Chapter 11 protection in the courts and attempted to stop health payments for retirees. A strike by LTV workers at the Indiana Harbor plant spurred a court ruling delaying this action, but the company is still seeking a go-ahead from the courts to slash or eliminate payments to retired steelworkers.

Another round of LTV demands for takebacks from steelworkers lies ahead.

This set the stage for USX to insist on takebacks even greater than those extorted by the other big steel companies.

USX demands cuts of \$3.50 an hour in wages and benefits, no restriction on its contracting out of work, and the reduction of job classifications from 33 to nine. To top it off, it wants its violations of the last contract to be written into the next one.

This led to the USX lockout that's going on now.

Top USWA officials have responded to the employers' hammer blows by attempting to continue the collaborative relations with them that were established over previous decades. "Where there is a readiness on the part of management to engage in joint problem-solving, we have shown we are very anxious to do this," USWA President Lynn Williams states.

"We recognized the companies' need for some relief on labor costs," said George Becker, the chief USWA negotiator in the aluminum industry.

This approach, however, has not succeeded in stopping the loss of jobs or the decline in working conditions and living standards. Moreover, the union has been greatly weakened. This is the framework in which the current USX lockout of steelworkers is taking place.

the island of the toll road ramp. No attempt was made to block traffic. Indiana state troopers, after consulting with Gov. Robert Orr, ordered the pickets moved back to their original site.

"There are two different sets of laws here. One for the workers and one for the company," Kranz said. The arrested pickets were released without bail. They were ordered to appear in court September 23.

Meanwhile USWA Local 1014 called for a rally of "unions united against concessions" for September 27 at the Genesis Center Plaza in downtown Gary.

Hosts of the rally include Larry Regan, president of Local 1014; Bob Bratulich, president of the USWA local that represents the USX taconite ore miners in Virginia, Minnesota; Al Peña, president of USWA Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio; and Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania.

Margaret Randall faces deportation for political views

BY CATHERINE FRASER

Author Margaret Randall is at the center of a battle that challenges the Immigration and Naturalization Service's right to refuse someone entry to the United States simply on the basis of his or her political ideas and writings.

On August 28 Judge Martin Spiegel denied Randall's application for permanent residence in the United States and gave her until December 1 to leave the country voluntarily, or face deportation. Spiegel based his ruling on his view that Randall's writings, which include books such as *Women in Cuba* and *Sandino's Daughters*, "advocate the doctrines of world communism."

"My reaction, of course, is one of disappointment," Randall told the *Militant* on September 5. "But I feel that if the decision had to go against us, the best possible ruling was the one we got, basically because the judge threw out all the allegations that the government made [against me] except for the allegation that my writings advocate communism."

"We've been saying all along that this is a First Amendment case, a case about freedom of expression. The government has been denying this."

Randall was born in the United States. In 1967, while living in Mexico, she gave up her U.S. citizenship in favor of Mexican citizenship to make it easier to get a job. Since then, she has lived in both Cuba and Nicaragua, working as a writer, editor, translator, and photographer.

She returned to this country in 1984 and applied for permanent residency status. This should have been a straightforward process — her husband, parents, and oldest son are all U.S. citizens. But, because of her years in Cuba and Nicaragua and her opposition to Washington's wars in Viet-

nam and Central America, her application was denied.

The INS based its decision on the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act. Two subsections of this act give immigration officials the right to refuse entry or permanent residence to noncitizens whose works advocate communism, anarchism, or opposition to organized government and to noncitizens who have affiliations or membership in communist or anarchist organizations.

Thousands of people have been refused entry to the United States under these provisions, including Nicaraguan government leader Tomás Borge. In June 1982 the act was used to prevent 286 Japanese delegates from attending a special United Nations session on disarmament.

Margaret Randall's case has been taken up by the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights. Center attorney David Cole told the *Militant* that the August 28 ruling against her was "outrageous."

An appeal against the ruling will be lodged, which, once it reaches a federal court of appeal, will challenge the constitutionality of the McCarran-Walter Act, he said.

You should be able to advocate what you want "and not be punished for it," Cole commented. "That's what the First Amendment says, that's what we hold ourselves out to the rest of the world as upholding, and yet here we're punishing someone for writing positively about women's rights in Cuba and Vietnam."

Contributions to the Margaret Randall Defense Fund can be sent care of the Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Letters of protest should be sent to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson, 425 Eye St., Washington, D.C. 20536.



Margaret Randall: "This is a First Amendment case."

Oscar Mayer lockout ends

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

CHICAGO — Oscar Mayer workers here are back at work after a two-month lockout. On August 29 members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 100A voted 441 to 31 in favor of a 39-month contract with the company.

The contract freezes the workers' hourly wages at \$10.67 an hour, but they were able to hold onto their insurance benefits, vacation time, and sick pay. "We see it as a victory when you consider what the company asked for in June," Judy Hopkins, a negotiating committee member, told the *Militant*.

On June 1 union members voted down a contract that would have frozen wages for three months, then cut the wages to \$10.25 an hour along with a week's vacation and sick pay. At that point Oscar Mayer began issuing layoff notices.

In July Oscar Mayer came back with a proposal for a 10-month contract with a wage and benefits freeze. That offer too was overwhelmingly rejected, because Local 100A members did not want to face the company from a position of weakness next May. The company responded by hiring replacements for the laid-off workers.

The Illinois Employment Security Department then cut off unemployment compensation on the grounds that the workers were involved in a "labor dispute."

Under the leadership of Kinfolk, a grouping made up mostly of Black women from the plant, the Oscar Mayer workers pushed for united negotiations with their coworkers at Oscar Mayer plants in Davenport, Iowa, and Madison, Wisconsin, whose contracts expired September 1.

Kinfolk looked to the leadership of the

militant fighters in UFCW Local P-9 who are waging their own struggle against another profitable meatpacker, Geo. A. Hormel & Co., in Austin, Minnesota. Like P-9, Kinfolk met with resistance from UFCW officials in their efforts to win solidarity from other members of their amalgamated local. They organized spirited picket lines at the plant on a daily basis and held a rally at the plant on August 17.

"You've got to pull together," Hopkins said. "Oscar Mayer has what they call 'focus plants' that they use to take up the work of plants that go on strike. So you have to get three, four, or five plants working together."

Hopkins cited examples of several Oscar Mayer plants in Nashville, Tennessee, and in Texas that went on strike last year and wound up taking pay cuts anyway. "The company broke them one at a time." At the Oscar Mayer slaughterhouse in Perry, Iowa, the wages were cut back to \$9 an hour.

"We wanted a raise, but we settled for a freeze. This is the first time in seven or eight years that we didn't have to give back. Maybe next time we can gain something," Hopkins said. "If we'd had more help from the union maybe we could have accomplished more."

By uniting with the Davenport and Madison plants, the Chicago workers had hoped to win a common contract expiration date for all three plants. The agreements ratified at those two plants, however, will now expire on Sept. 1, 1989, three months earlier than the Chicago contract. The Davenport and Madison contracts will raise the wages of workers in those plants from \$10 an hour to \$10.70 by 1989.

Maine paperworkers fight cuts

BY HEATHER RANDLE

RUMFORD, Maine — The 1,200 workers at the Boise Cascade paper mill here have been on strike since July 1. The walk-out followed a vote in which 90 percent of the members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 900 rejected a company contract proposal.

The proposal would cut wages by 25 percent, allow mandatory overtime, and institute a system in which warnings can remain on workers' files indefinitely. It would also give management a much freer hand in promoting workers and in making assignments on the shop floor without regard to seniority or work rules.

On July 14 the company began accepting applications for strikebreakers. Fifty scabs are now working in the plant, including 14 union members. Many of the scabs are college students working for the summer. The union is planning picket lines this fall at the campuses attended by these students.

Boise has brought in 100 security personnel since the strike began. In the neighboring town of Mexico, some of these company cops attacked strikers with blackjacks when they got involved in an argument with a scab. Because of their dress and behavior, Rumford people call them "the Blackshirts." During shift changes at Rumford these guards can be seen along the roof of the plant. Company snoops also film union pickets during shift changes.

Court injunctions obtained by the company have limited the number of pickets to no more than 20.

Company executives have claimed that production is now 80 percent of average. One official contradicted this, however. "We're doing about 50 percent," he said.

In the first six months of 1986 Boise made \$56 million in profits. Its profits have surpassed \$100 million in seven of the last 10 years.

Many union locals in New England have expressed support for Local 900, including

Shipbuilders Local 6 at the Bath Iron Works. Local 6 was on strike last year.

On July 22 relatives and other supporters of Local 900 founded Spouses of Solidarity to collect food and other supplies for the workers and their families.

The group held a solidarity parade in mid-July that drew 2,500 supporters. At another parade on August 2, some 4,000 people turned out.

Special offer for 'New International'



All five issues of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York, are still available. If *Militant* readers send their order by October 30, they can receive all five issues for US\$10, which is a big saving.

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

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

tionary Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters

"Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean" by Manuel Piñeiro

"The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge

• Vol. 2, No. 1 — Spring 1985
"The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.," articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness
"Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba"

• Vol. 2, No. 2 — Fall 1985
"The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes
"The Future Belongs to the Majority," Speech by Oliver Tambo

"Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," Speech by Fidel Castro

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

Canadian meat strike teams get big response

BY JOE YOUNG

EDMONTON, Alberta — Support continues to grow for the strike against the Gainers' meatpacking company here that is now in its fourth month. The over 1,000 strikers, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 280-P, are striking to win a contract that all other meatpacking companies in Canada have accepted. In 1984 the workers were forced to accept deep-going concessions and a two-tier wage system.

A victory for the strike would mean an increase in the hourly rate of newly hired workers from \$7 an hour to \$9.38 an hour. The owner, Peter Pocklington, a leading member of Canada's big-business Conservative Party, is operating the plant with scabs. Over 500 charges have been laid against strikers for strike-related activities.

On September 4 representatives from the union and the company sat down to bargain for the first time since early July. But the talks broke off the next day when Pocklington insisted that all scabs retain their jobs and that the base rate for all workers be \$8 an hour. The base rate for workers hired before the 1984 contract is \$11.99 an hour.

John Ventura, the president of Local 280-P, explained to this reporter that Pocklington "didn't go to the negotiations with a sincere intent to conclude an agreement. He admitted at the table that the boycott is hurting him, that he was mostly selling to the States because of the boycott here in Canada. He felt that by making an appearance that he was ready to sit down, that would help to upset that."

At the same time, the courts have stepped up their attacks on the union. On September 4 Justice J.C. Cavanagh found the union guilty of criminal intent for violating an injunction severely limiting strike activities. One of the violations was informational picketing of businesses handling Gainers' products. Union spokesperson Ed Seymour reacted by saying he was "disturbed a simple communication of a message is regarded as contempt of court. That's kind of sad and really scary."

The union will likely appeal the ruling, which is an attack on the democratic rights of everyone.

In an effort to broaden support, the union has sent 20 strikers across the country to tell their story. It has the backing of the Canadian Labour Congress, the country's main union federation, for this. Two who speak French will be touring Quebec. In Newfoundland the tour will link up with the renewed strike of 5,500 provincial government workers there.

Chris Barker, a striker who visited British Columbia in mid-August, raised \$68,000. On August 20 she addressed a meeting of 400 in Vancouver. In Ontario the strikers are participating in the picketing at Mister Grocer stores. Mister Grocer is the only major chain of grocery stores still handling Gainers' products in Ontario.

Ventura says the union can't supply the touring strikers with enough strike support material fast enough. The union has had to

order 10,000 more Boycott Gainers' buttons.

The Nova Scotia Federation of Labor has announced plans to participate in the boycott. Also UFCW members in California are planning to picket 33 Safeway stores that sell bacon distributed by Gainers' Oakland plant. A major solidarity march and rally is planned in Toronto on September 27.

In another move to broaden support the union recently held a meeting of Chinese and Vietnamese strikers to discuss how to approach Chinese and Vietnamese who are scabbing in the plant. According to Ventura, 70-75 percent of the scabs are Vietnamese or Chinese. He explained that "these people are not aware of what is going on with the strike because a lot of them can't read English and they are being taken advantage of in that fashion and we made steps to correct this." As a result of this meeting, the Chinese-language media was approached and an article was published explaining the issues in the strike.

Hormel presses attack on meatpackers

Continued from front page

Unable to get UFCW Local P-9 to agree to go back to work on Hormel's terms, the UFCW officialdom, with the backing of the federal courts, was able to impose an appointed trustee to take control of the local, remove its elected officers, and force an end to the strike.

Refusing to give up the fight to win a decent contract, hundreds of meatpackers filed a petition in July to have their own union, which was renamed the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU), recertified as the bargaining representative at the plant.

In a pending National Labor Relations Board election, workers in Austin will vote for either NAMPU, the trustee-controlled UFCW, or to have no union, which is a choice required by law in such an election.

Trustee presses contract

In a letter dated September 5, UFCW trustee Joseph Hansen said, "This agreement is being presented to you with a recommendation to accept. It is a good contract which should allow the rebuilding process to begin in Austin."

"During the long negotiating process all the issues were discussed," Hansen said. "Although we were not 100 percent successful in making all the changes in the implemented agreement, there are improvements in several areas. This contract proposal provides solid gains in wages and the critical area of health insurance. The two-tier wage system will be eliminated during this agreement."

What are the facts about the proposed contract?

First of all there is no guarantee that the 800 workers who remain outside the plant will ever get their jobs back.

The company hired workers to replace

people who took a stand and continue to take a stand against the International? These are the people we think are great."

"It takes a lot of guts to do what they did," Harnish said. "I'd like to see these people back on the job where they belong and making a decent wage."

Dan Pedersen, a member of Local P-9 and a leader of the meatpackers' struggle, was the only speaker at the rally following the march. He explained that bad conditions in the plant, such as the high injury rate, had forced the workers to strike in August 1985. "Labor history is repeating itself. It took the rank and file to get union power, and it will again. Union power wasn't made by some union bureaucrat who came off a golf course to make a speech."

Eighteen copies of "The 1985-1986 Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," a pamphlet by Fred Halstead with a foreword by Jim Guyette, were sold at the march.



Strikers at Gainers' halt scab bus early in strike. Union is seeking ways to inform and win replacement workers, most of them Chinese and Vietnamese.

the strikers and was able to reopen the plant in January after the governor of Minnesota mobilized the National Guard to escort the scabs into the plant.

Over 500 P-9 members returned to work over the course of the long struggle.

Hormel Senior Vice-president Charles Nyberg, according to the Austin *Daily Herald*, stated, "The needs of the business will dictate how many additional employees come into the plant, that (rehiring more people) would be only if and when people currently on the work force retire, quit, or move on for some reason or another."

The summary repeatedly refers to something called the "implemented agreement." This is Hormel's code name for the terms it actually imposed on the workers in the Austin plant after it reopened last January. The implemented contract is based on a takeback contract Hormel workers in Ottumwa, Iowa, were forced to accept in 1984.

The summary supplied by the UFCW officials mentions the implemented agreement 21 times.

Grievance procedures, disciplinary procedures, seniority provisions, recall rights, work standards, vacations, health-care provisions, and life insurance provisions in the new contract are supposed to be the same as those in the implemented contract.

But few if any of the 800 workers outside the plant who are eligible to vote have ever seen a copy of the implemented contract.

The Austin plant had the highest injury rate in the meatpacking industry prior to the strike.

Being able to protect life and limb on the job is a key aspect of winning a decent contract. Not knowing what is in the implemented contract on safety is reason enough to reject the new pact.

A four-year contract

The proposed contract is supposed to run for four years. Wages will go from their current level of \$10 an hour to \$10.70 an hour in 1988 where they will remain until 1990.

At the time Hormel tore up the contract in 1984, workers in Austin were being paid \$10.69 an hour.

Inflation in 1984 and 1985 ran nearly 4 percent a year. If the inflation rate remains at that level until the proposed contract expires, the weekly take-home pay of each meatpacker will go down nearly 16 percent.

Under a threat of the company closing the Austin plant, Hormel workers accepted large concessions in 1978. As part of getting the workers to agree to the givebacks, the company promised to build a new plant in Austin. Over \$20 million of workers' incentive pay was put into an escrow account to help Hormel finance the plant. The funds were to be repaid later with interest.

Escrow payments the workers are still owed will now be canceled out by the meager wage raises the proposed contract

contains. The escrow fund itself is to be ended in 1990 when the contract is due to expire.

The contract also calls for ending the two-tier wage scale in the Austin plant by the end of the agreement. But workers throughout the Hormel chain now work under contracts with many different pay tiers. There is no provision that prevents two-tier from being reinstituted in the future.

Austin workers have demanded a common contract expiration date with workers at the other Hormel plants. The seven other contracts just negotiated expire in 1989, not 1990.

UFCW Packinghouse Director Anderson says that after that time the company has agreed to let the union establish common expiration dates for future contracts. But there is nothing in the summary affirming this.

In addition, Hormel effectively excluded the Austin plant from the next round of negotiations that will begin in 1989.

The proposed contract ties future Austin pacts to the contract workers at Hormel's plant in Fremont, Nebraska, agree to in 1989. The Fremont plant is one of the oldest Hormel plants. The company has repeatedly threatened to shut it down.

The new Austin plant was opened in 1983 as a state-of-the-art facility. Hormel will try to force a bad contract on the workers in Fremont in 1989 under the threat of shutting down the plant. Whatever workers in Fremont agree to will apply in Austin under the "me-too" provisions.

A "me-too contract" is one that allows what is negotiated and agreed to at one plant to be then arbitrarily applied to another plant.

If Fremont is closed prior to 1989, workers in Austin will be tied to what is agreed to by workers at the Algona, Iowa, plant.

NAMPU calls for 'no' vote

In a statement distributed to meatpackers whose contracts were due to expire September 1, the leaders of NAMPU said, "In spite of what you will be told by the UFCW, we support you in your upcoming contract negotiations. The UFCW has it in its power to bring your company to its knees — if it only will." NAMPU is urging Austin workers to reject the contract.

The proposed contract being rushed to a vote in Austin is a powerful example of the weakness of the UFCW tops in the face of Hormel's profit drive. It underscores why the decision to form a fighting meatpacking union that NAMPU members made earlier is correct.

As the deadline for counting the ballots approached, suspended P-9 President Jim Guyette and 400 union members filed a petition asking the federal court to block the ratification vote until procedures to "ensure a fair and democratic vote" could be put in place.

A court hearing was scheduled for September 12 in St. Paul.

P-9ers invited to Wisconsin Labor Day

BY MARIA GREEN

LA CROSSE, Wis. — Carrying a banner proclaiming "Fighting P-9ers," a group of Hormel meatpackers from Austin, Minnesota, and their supporters joined the Labor Day march here. They marched with a contingent organized by International Association of Machinists Lodge 1115.

Lodge 1115 had convinced the Central Labor Council in La Crosse to invite the meatpackers to the march. In June the local hosted a dinner for Jim Guyette, president of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, who has been suspended from his post by International officials who placed the local under trusteeship.

"We believe that rank-and-file workers need a voice, and that's what P-9 is doing," "Babe" Alfred Harnish, vice-president of Lodge 1115, told the *Militant*. Regarding the recent contract that the officials of the trustee local have negotiated with Hormel, Harnish stated, "The part that disturbs us the most is what's going to happen to the

Talks in Sri Lanka fail to end civil war

Government troops continue to terrorize oppressed Tamil people

BY MALIK MIAH

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka — Will a settlement be reached? Is peace at hand?

That's what everyone here is asking following the negotiations between the government of President Junius Jayewardene — led by the United National Party (UNP) — and leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). The talks ended August 29.

The TULF leaders immediately left for India to consult with officials of the Indian government and the militant organizations that are leading the armed struggle for Tamil self-determination. The militant groups and the TULF, which doesn't have an armed wing, are headquartered in Madras.

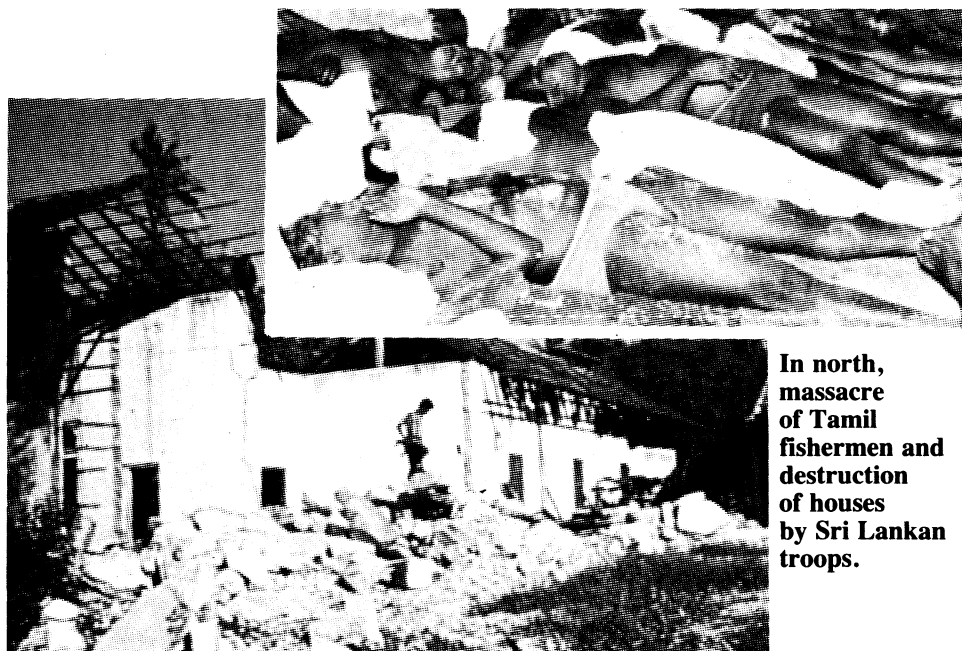
The talks centered on the government's proposal to establish directly-elected provisional councils. The aim is to end the civil war in this island country off the southern coast of India. This year alone some 2,500 have died. Most were Tamil civilians killed by the army and Home Guards. Since 1983 some 300,000 Tamils have become refugees.

The proposed councils would give the discriminated against Tamil-speaking minority a degree of autonomy from the central government. Currently, the island is divided into nine provinces and 24 districts that are administered by government agents.

It appears that most questions in dispute on the character of the councils have been resolved. The major stumbling block is over the issue of a unified Tamil province or region.

Jayewardene insists that there can be no "merger" of the northern and eastern provinces. Tamils are a majority in these contiguous regions.

TULF General Secretary Appapillai Amirthalingam explained in an interview with the *Sri Lanka News*: "What we are asking for is that the entire Tamil-speaking areas, or the entire areas where the Tamil-speaking people are in a majority, should be demarcated into one province, state, or unit, whatever you may call it. Without it



In north, massacre of Tamil fishermen and destruction of houses by Sri Lankan troops.

the problem will not be solved, and the aspirations of the Tamil people cannot be satisfied."

The militant groups also emphasize that self-determination begins with a recognition that the Tamil people in the northeastern region are living in their traditional homeland and are a distinct nationality. They call for "Tamil Eelam" — an independent state.

Negotiations are expected to continue in India in early September.

The Indian government expressed "cautious optimism" about the talks. For the last three years it has actively sought a political solution to the civil war. There is broad sympathy for the Tamil struggle in India, especially among the 50 million Tamils in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Oppressed minority

In talking to a number of Sinhala and Tamil workers, civil libertarians, and political activists here, however, a less optimistic picture emerges.

A young Tamil restaurant worker told

me that for "three decades the government promised equality between Sinhala and Tamil people. But after each agreement the government would turn away and break it."

Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile, Industrial and General Workers' Union (CMU), told a public meeting I attended that "to reach a solution, the government must first recognize that Tamils are a separate people. This they refuse to do."

Tampoe, himself a Sri Lankan Tamil, also pointed out that the nine provinces were drawn up by the former British colonialists. "So if the government was sincere about reaching an agreement," he said, they would simply redraw the map.

Tamils are less than 3 million of the country's 16 million people. The largest ethnic group is Sinhala — 75 percent of the population. Tamils are 18 percent, with 12 percent known as Sri Lankan or Ceylon Tamils, who have lived on the island almost as long as the Sinhalese.

Another 6 percent are Indian Tamils, who were brought to the island by the British colonialists in the 19th century to work the tea plantations.

The Sri Lankan Tamils are fighting for regional autonomy or independence in the northeastern part of the country. Most Indian Tamils simply want citizenship, which was denied most of them after independence was won in 1948.

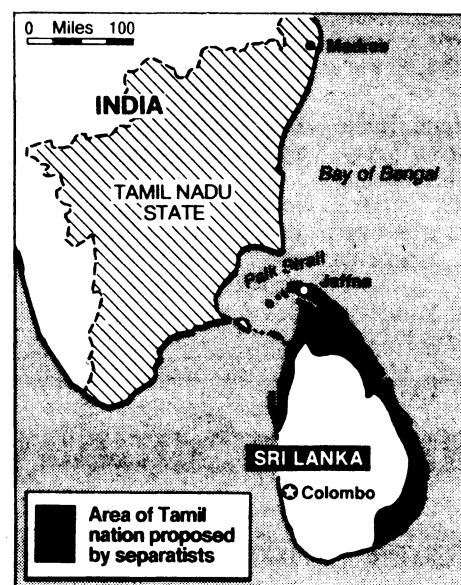
Repression

Persecution and oppression of *all* Tamils is the underlying cause of the civil war.

Civil rights groups report there are more than 3,000 political prisoners — most of them Tamils.

Even as the talks between the TULF and the government opened, the military rounded up hundreds of Tamil workers and youth for questioning in the eastern province. This is a common practice.

Most were later released as a "peace" gesture to TULF. But as Ranjit, a leader of the Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners, told me (himself a Sinhala democrat held in jail without charge for nine months in 1985): "The roundup and release was a publicity stunt for international consumption. The government continues to indiscriminately pick up Tamils, who have no legal recourse under the Emergency



Fleeing repression, Tamils meet racist persecution in Canada

The following article is from the August 25 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a biweekly newspaper published in Montreal, Canada. It is slightly abridged.

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

MONTREAL — The 155 Tamils who were rescued from the sea off Newfoundland August 11 have been the target of a racist campaign led by the big-business media and the Canadian government.

They have had to endure virtual interrogation day after day by immigration officers, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and journalists who claimed that the admission of the Tamils into Canada would open the door to a massive wave of other refugees. The Canadian government reiterated its intention to introduce legal changes to further restrict the rights of political refugees to enter this country.

Once it became clear that the ship that brought the Tamils to Canada had come from West Germany, and not from India as they had originally stated, the press, police, and capitalist politicians stepped up their racist attacks. The Tamils thought they would be denied entry as refugees if it was known they had come from a European country.

"Backlash against Sri Lankans' 'lies.' Liberals suggest opening a refugee camp" was the headline in Montreal's *La Presse*. "Send them back," screamed the *Toronto Sun*.

This entire campaign, which transformed the victims into the guilty, is nothing but pure hypocrisy. The real liars are not the Tamil refugees, as the media claim. It's all those who present Canada as a "humanitarian" country that welcomes immigrants with open arms. In reality it's the

Canadian government that forces refugees such as the Tamils, often fleeing for their lives, to find a way around the enormous obstacles blocking their legal entry into this country.

A great number ended up in West Germany where they must wait for up to six years before finding out if they will be given permanent status or not. During all this time the Tamil refugees are kept in cramped communal residences without the right to work, study, or travel while remaining under the constant threat of deportation back to Sri Lanka.

Little wonder then that the Tamils who fled West Germany were ready to pay about \$3,500 each (including children) to criminal fast-buck artists in order to come to Canada. They were forced to stay in the ship's hold for 10 days in filthy conditions with very little food. Then they were left adrift in the ocean in two small lifeboats until rescued by fishermen two days later.

The Canadian government has done everything it can to make the entry of Tamil refugees as difficult as possible. It has, for example, demanded a visa for anyone coming here from Sri Lanka since 1983 — in other words, ever since large numbers of Tamils have been forced to flee the repression there. Since 1983 the government has refused all applications for visas from those trying to flee Sri Lanka.

As a result, the Tamils, like most other refugees who come to Canada, were forced to find a way around the obstacles erected to prevent their entry. After having to risk their lives and use up their life savings to get here, they're then accused of not having followed the "legal" procedures.

The Canadian government should immediately grant the Tamils permanent status as landed immigrants, removing all threat of deportation or harassment.

Regulations and Prevention of Terrorism Act."

In Colombo, which was hit by several bombings in the spring, the tension is visible. There are many road checkpoints. All public buildings and hotels have security guards carrying out body searches and checking bags for guns and bombs.

Suspected "terrorists" can be arrested and held for up to 18 months without charge. Many people just disappear.

In May the government put Tamil employees in some government departments on compulsory leave for "security reasons."

The state terror is mainly directed at Tamils; few Sinhalese are arrested.

Behind current talks

The current talks began in July after the Jayewardene government concluded its "military solution" was not working.

Under pressure from the Tamil militants and the Indian government, the regime organized a Political Parties Conference on June 25. At that meeting the government circulated a draft proposal for "devolution" of power. The proposal called for provisional councils in the north and east, while maintaining the "unitary state."

This document, after some modifications, was accepted by both the Indian government and the TULF as a basis for discussion.

The armed groups took a stance of "neither support nor oppose" the TULF entering talks with the Jayewardene government.

A major weakness in the militant camp is disunity. Last May the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) physically attacked the second-largest group, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO), killing its central leader. The Tigers have also boycotted recent meetings of the Eelam National Liberation Front, which includes three of the largest armed groups. Another group, People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), recently had a major split.

Divisions in the ruling class

There are also deep tactical divisions in the Sri Lankan ruling class.

The main capitalist opposition party in Parliament opposes the Jayewardene proposals. Former prime minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, president of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), publicly charges that the United National Party is waging "war" on Sinhala people instead of the "terrorists." Provisional councils will lead to an independent Tamil state, she warns.

The SLFP boycotted the Political Parties Conference and calls for a national referendum on the provisional council proposal. Along with the rightist top Buddhist clergy, it opposes any concessions to the Tamils. Since most Sinhala people practice Buddhism, the clergy's religious bigotry is used to whip up anti-Tamil chauvinism. Most Tamils are raised as Hindus.

The workers' movement

The traditional reformist-led workers' parties, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party, have joined hands with Jayewardene.

On the other side, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) backs the anti-Tamil chauvinist campaign of the SLFP. (The JVP led the aborted upsurge in 1971 crushed by the SLFP-led coalition government, which included the CP and the LSSP.)

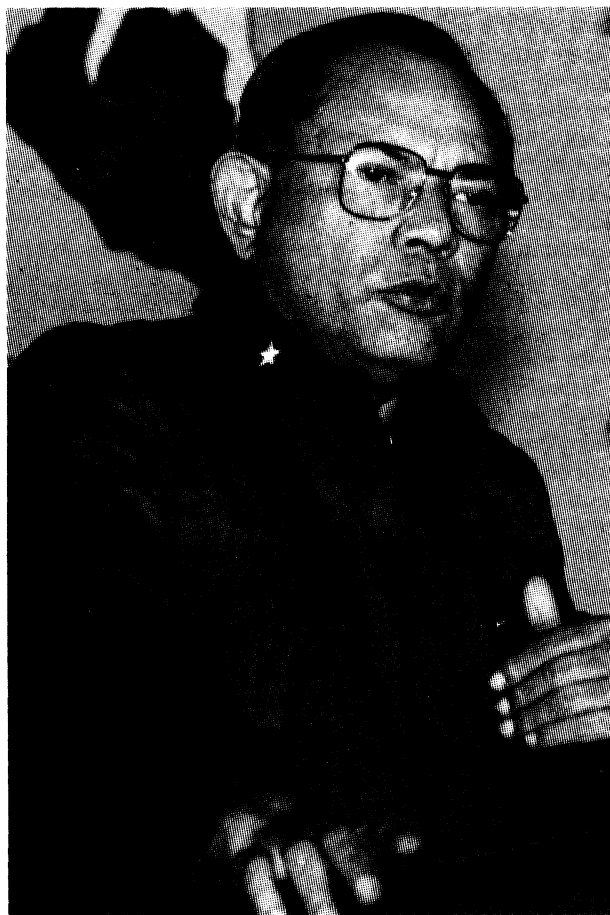
The biggest trade union, the Ceylon Workers Congress, representing more than 500,000 mostly Indian Tamil plantation workers, supports the government's proposals.

Only a few independent trade unions such as the Ceylon Mercantile Union and the General Clerical and Service Union continue to actively speak out for Tamil self-determination.

While it's unclear if the recent TULF and government discussions will lead to peace, the political discussions opened by the talks are not likely to cease. Many Sinhala working people I talked to said they recognize that the only way to end the conflict is by granting the Tamils their rights.

Nicaragua: without revolution, there is no autonomy

Speech by Tomás Borge



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Tomás Borge, president of Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission: "Autonomy is an example for millions and millions in Latin America suffering discrimination."

The trauma could not be erased from the Miskito community.

Radiance of revolution

There is an ideological, political, and moral identity between those who massacred the Miskitos, Sumos, and Zambos then and those who kill and kidnap them today; those who want them to become lost along the path of their history, make them lose their way so they never find *Sandinismo*, which is to find their land and their river. This is the real meaning of homeland, a homeland finally won, which now projects the attractive, hard-won, clear radiance of its revolution.

This radiance covers the skin of the Indians, copper-skinned and red-skinned, Quechuas, Aymaras, Guaraníes, Mayas, Zotziles, Cholos,⁴ whites, Blacks, mestizos — all the exploited and discriminated against, who see in this revolution the possibility of a world in which isolation will finally disappear.

The radiance has become even more important and

4. These are Indian tribes. The Quechuas and Aymaras live in Peru and Bolivia. Guaraníes are concentrated in Paraguay. Mayas live in Mexico, Guatemala, and other parts of Central America. Zotziles are in Mexico. Cholos refers to persons of mixed Indian-European ancestry.

One of the great historic challenges before working people in the Americas is overcoming the racial, linguistic, and cultural barriers maintained by imperialism to keep workers and farmers of the continent divided.

The Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua is shining a spotlight on the existence of these racial divisions — in particular, the plight of Indians and Blacks — and pointing the way forward to a solution.

Like many other countries in Latin America, Nicaragua's population is a rich combination of Spanish-speaking *mestizos*, Indians, and Blacks descended from African slaves. While the Nicaraguan Pacific Coast is mainly *mestizo*, the Atlantic Coast has Miskito, Rama, and Sumo Indians; Creoles, who are Black; Garífonas, a mixture of Caribe Indian and Black; and *mestizos*.

The Pacific was historically occupied by Spanish colonizers; the Atlantic was taken over by British plunderers, followed by rapacious U.S. companies.

The Atlantic Coast peoples suffered special forms of racial and cultural discrimination and were kept in forced isolation from their fellow working people on the Pacific.

When Nicaraguan workers and farmers seized political power in 1979, the door was opened to uproot the racial prejudice, disunity, and discrimination of the past. The lessons learned by the Sandinistas in the seven years since are today being consolidated in what is known as the autonomy project.

To enhance worldwide understanding of this project, Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission organized an International Symposium on the State, Autonomy, and Indigenous Rights in Managua, July 13-15. Attending were sociologists and anthropologists from around the world and Indians from North, Central, and South America.

This month's *International Socialist Review* is devoted to material coming out of this symposium. Below, we print major excerpts from the opening speech to the gathering, given by Tomás Borge, president of the National Autonomy Commission. Borge is also Nicaragua's minister of the interior and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The translation is by the *Militant*.

* * *

The oral tradition of a Miskito community, recorded by some Moravian brothers back in the 1940s, tells us that in the early summer of 1934, on the banks of the Wanki River,¹ many Miskitos, Sumos, and Zambos were massacred while they were dreaming of peace and building a cooperative project.²

The bodies of the Miskitos, Sumos, and Zambos were thrown into the river, which — like an indigenous divinity — dissolved them and carried them to sea. The Miskitos recalled that the river flowed red and sad for many weeks and months.

How many Miskitos, Sumos, and Zambos, how many Nicaraguan peasants, were massacred?

The figure is not known, but what we are sure of is that this was the massacre of March 4, 1934, which followed the murder of Gen. Augusto César Sandino in Managua on the night of February 21.³

General Sandino and his men had organized the Wiwilí cooperative to initiate the work they thought would take place under conditions of peace. National Guard forces attacked the cooperative after the U.S. Marines had been forced by dynamite-filled sardine cans, snipers, and ambushes to leave the country. The Guard razed the cooperative and murdered its inhabitants.

The only thing the indigenous people remember is that image, that river of blood, that stream of death.

1. Wanki River is another name for the Río Coco, the river that divides Nicaragua and Honduras on the Atlantic Coast.

2. Zambos is a term referring to persons of mixed Black and Indian ancestry.

3. Augusto César Sandino was the Nicaraguan general who organized a guerrilla army to drive the U.S. Marines out of his country in the late 1920s. Following withdrawal of the marines, Washington set up a Nicaraguan repressive force, called the National Guard, murdered Sandino, and installed the Somoza family in power.

controversial since the end of 1984, when the autonomy project for the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast was proclaimed all over the world.

From objects to subjects

For the people of the coast, the first of the miracles was that they ceased being objects of history and became subjects of history. They brought forth from the womb of their communities an infant — autonomy — which, in strict terms, is democratic and popular in nature.

Many leaders — men and women from the entire country and in particular from the Atlantic Coast — became involved in a discussion that led to an initial document entitled "Principles and Policies for the Exercise of the Right to Autonomy."⁵

Dozens of these natural leaders came together in the National Autonomy Commission, chaired initially by Commander Luis Carrión, and in the regional commissions in which they made valuable contributions.

From that moment on, hundreds of meetings took place, with heated debates and agreements that opened the floodgates to a giant people's consultation. This consultation was a melting pot of hopes, doubts, suspicions, optimism, and guilt complexes. The comings and goings have led to growing trust, not only due to the just nature of the proposals, but also to the real possibility of their execution.

The main principles that inspired the consultation and provoked debate were not pulled out of a magician's hat. Rather, they emerged from the very life of the communities. This is to a great extent why they have been able to survive and be enriched in the course of the consultation.

Autonomy, revolution, nation

One principle that is more than basic, that is the most recognizable, a sort of Holy Trinity, is the union of the autonomy project, the People's Sandinista Revolution, and the inviolable existence of the nation.

Without revolution, there is no autonomy. There is no national unity, and furthermore, there is no nation. There is no veneration of the immortal bones. There is no sovereignty. There is no dignity. There is nothing.

The People's Sandinista Revolution was made to save the country, which had been kidnapped by irrationality and foreign domination. The nation — Nicaragua itself — had never existed before July 19, 1979. And if it existed, it was only in the struggle led by the masses throughout our history.

Now, when we have made a revolution to rescue our country, when we have a nation to reclaim the past and recover the future, to get to know ourselves, so Nicaragua can be Nicaragua for the first time, we Nicaraguans propose the autonomy of the Atlantic Coast, with the modest but uninhibited hope that it will become a model.

The revolution initiated the great march of this project, which has its very own identity. It bears no relationship to any project of the oligarchy that was ousted here or of the oligarchies that will one day be ousted elsewhere. These oligarchies have nothing national about them, unless by national one means the wagging tail of a lapdog and the vacant eyes of a gorilla.

Coast handed over to greed

At the price of devalued currency, the liberal-conservative oligarchies of Nicaragua handed over the Atlantic Coast to the greed of foreign companies, which brutally plundered our mineral resources and our precious forests. And for a few dollars more, they handed over the whole country politically to imperialism.

Only the revolution can create the conditions needed to end the rotten circle of isolation and make room for all ethnic expressions in a society that guarantees the development — with equal rights — of an entire array of cultural colors and linguistic expressions. A society that sends to the firing squad of history all ethnocentrist prejudices and all forms — always stupid and inhumane — of racial discrimination that include the sometimes hidden superiority complex of one group over another.

For the people of the coast, autonomy is not only the

Continued on next page

5. The full text of this document was published in the Oct. 21, 1985, *Intercontinental Press*.

Continued from previous page

answer to their historical ethnic and linguistic-cultural aspirations. It also implies the establishment of a regional government with a political-administrative structure, which — within the national framework — plans and implements its policies based on the reality of the region itself.

Not a petrified cocoon

Autonomy also means developing the economic potential of the Atlantic Coast. Autonomy is not only respect for the past, although it is that too. Autonomy suggests and demands changes and transformations. It is not a petrified cocoon that condemns our people to catalepsy and perpetual backwardness.

Insofar as the contradiction between necessity and possibility is resolved, autonomy will mean for the inhabitants of the coast and for the revolution: economic and social progress, development of the communities, schools, hospitals, universities and polytechnic institutes, deep-water ports, catching elusive fish, the sand under bare feet on blue beaches, chopping precious woods, harnessing the rivers to transform them into electricity, highways, the rebirth of the mining centers, the multiplication of the rivers of milk and honey.

These are our dreams. These are the dreams of the Sandinistas. Or maybe we don't have the right to dream? We dreamed of revolutionary victory for many years. Didn't we have the right to dream?

We dreamed of a national literacy campaign. Didn't we have the right to dream? We dreamed not of individual but of collective glory. Don't we have the right to dream? We dreamed of defeating imperialism. Don't we have the right to dream?

I believe we have not only the right but the duty to dream, as long as we do so with both feet on the ground and our finger on the trigger.

Comrades, the dream of autonomy is closer every day. The roosters are already crowing, brothers and sisters of the coast. In historical terms, the sun is about to rise.

With the consensus obtained in the popular consultation, autonomy definitively demands the establishment of autonomous regions within the united and indivisible Nicaraguan territory and people, above and beyond their ethnic and cultural diversity.

This project is a reaffirmation of our people's sovereignty and self-determination. It expresses the firm determination of the Nicaraguan nation to adopt the forms of political organization best suited to its national and historical interests. As stressed by Commander Daniel Ortega, autonomy does not block national unity but rather consolidates it.

Roots of problems on coast

There are people who, maybe out of ignorance of our specific historical development — or sheer wickedness — believe or try to make others believe that all the ethnic and social problems we are facing now are new, that they emerged mysteriously in the early hours of July 19. Actually, the roots of the numerous problems of our Atlantic Coast are far older than Reagan — which is saying a lot. They go back to the evil hour of colonialism, of sell-out governments, and merciless dictatorships.

The Sandinista People's Revolution meant the immense liberation of social and creative forces and suppressed grievances in that region.

With the expansion of the social and cultural vitality of the people of the coast, the emergence of contradictions was inevitable. At one time — this we have stated with



Miskito Indian. "For the people of the coast, the first of the miracles was that they ceased being objects of history and became subjects of history."

the courage born of honesty — we were not prepared to fully understand this rebirth. And the historical enemy of the Nicaraguan people and humanity — the beast lying in wait — is trying to take advantage of these conflicts.

There are a mass of contradictions on the Atlantic Coast and the most outstanding are the projects of peace and the projects of war. In this context, one must also include the accumulation and disappearance of neglect and resentment; the intermittent flashes that kindle and extinguish consciousness; the coming together and falling apart of cultures; the urgent efforts to give answers; the weariness and enthusiasm; the mystique of the Sandinista cadre, models of selflessness and sacrifice; and the FSLN leadership's unwavering dedication to solving this painful and splendid drama.

The solution to these contradictions is not algebraic, nor simply anthropological. It is essentially and without a doubt political.

Imperialism has military strategists to lead the criminal gangs; to calculate on death computers the number of their casualties in an interventionist adventure; businessmen and certain priests to lead the task forces of ideology; and sociologists and anthropologists to pinpoint the weak spots of our social project.

In the global strategy of the U.S. counterproject, the Atlantic Coast has been chosen for its strategic importance. We can't ignore the fact that there are serious contingency plans involving this important region.

Among other aspects, the U.S. strategy emphasizes counterrevolutionary military activity, for which they are organizing Miskito military units.

The U.S. Congress has specifically allocated \$5 million for the counterrevolution in the Atlantic. Part of the millions of dollars given to the FDN⁶ is also assigned to the Atlantic Coast, as is a good part of the funds going directly to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for its "covert operations."

This means treacherous attacks against peace, against the autonomy process. More important still are the U.S. preparations in Honduran territory — especially on the Atlantic Coast of Honduras — which include a military apparatus aimed at the very heart of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

We can anticipate that in the coming weeks and months, provocations will increase in the Río Coco sector of the Nicaraguan-Honduran border in order to provoke incidents that would facilitate an intervention by the Honduran army and by U.S. troops.

No one can measure what a direct intervention by U.S. troops would cost the Nicaraguan people. But since we are not passively waiting for this increasing danger to become a reality — we are getting ready to answer with our armed people — the invading troops will also pay a price they are in no position to anticipate, despite their historical experience, their sophisticated computers, and their mathematical equations. There is no thermometer that can measure the temperature of a people ready to go into combat.

A cheap labor force

The U.S. rulers try to artificially change a reality they see through warped lenses. They confuse what is known as a set of values. They despise and manipulate people. That is why no one was surprised when all of a sudden one morning, the U.S. administration noticed that the Miskitos were human beings.

In the past, which is still present in our national memory, the Miskitos and Blacks made up a cheap labor force for lumbering and gold mining. They were insignificant creatures, the subject of obscure and marginal references in university studies and chronicles.

Yet suddenly, from his White House office decorated with "redskin" scalps, Buffalo Bill — the exterminator of Indians — discovers that the Miskitos are men, now being exterminated by the Sandinistas.

From that moment on, enormous resources are allocated to organize them into a counterrevolutionary army. A "Red Christmas"⁷ is planned. They are supplied with guns and disinformation and encouraged to divide the Nicaraguan territory and people.

When the U.S. leaders discovered that the Miskitos were human beings, Alexander Haig showed Congressmen a photograph purporting to be Miskitos massacred by our army. The photo was subsequently published in the French *Le Figaro*, without the Eiffel Tower falling. Later on, it was explained in some insignificant little paper that it was actually a photo of bodies mutilated by Somoza's Guard.

Despite the ridicule he endured, Mr. Haig never offered a self-criticism or even blushed.

About the same time, Mrs. [Jeane] Kirkpatrick charged that 250,000 Miskitos were in concentration camps. The distinguished lady never bothered to find out beforehand that this figure is almost four times the entire Miskito population. They say Mrs. Kirkpatrick gasped, which caused her to blush, but this was made up for later when the counterrevolution named an FDN task force after her.

At a party to raise funds to murder Nicaraguans, with a studied paternal attitude, Ronald Reagan presented to the world a sweet Miskita girl who survived the Sandinista genocide.

The little girl said in all her candor that her parents were Nicaraguan residents in the United States, that she had been born in that country, and that she was not Miskita.

With admirable audacity, Mr. Reagan also accuses us — no less — of drug trafficking; having Angolan troops on the Atlantic Coast; having set a Jewish synagogue on fire; being a threat to the security of the United States; threatening Brazil, Patagonia, the North Pole, the foreign debt, St. Peter's Basilica, democracy, the Statue of Liberty, and public morals.

Any day now, we expect Mr. Reagan to accuse us also of being responsible for AIDS and the devaluation of the dollar.

They cannot speak the truth

They have no intention of speaking the truth, nor can they. The most they can do is impudently resort to half-truths.

The only truth in all this is that they have allocated \$100 million to the counterrevolution and the beneficiaries will be Pro-Death Kisan and the warmongering sector of Misurasata.⁸

The only truth in all this is that the Yankee Congress became an accomplice of President Reagan's policies. The only truth in all this is the mangled bones, the women and children turned into mincemeat. The only truth is the blood, the tears, the tens of thousands of teenagers who have joined combat units, risking their lives, and the anguish of their mothers and their fathers, their brothers and sisters, their wives and children.

The only truth in all this is the economic blockade, the lack of basic consumer goods, the fostering of speculation and hoarding, deliberate price-fixing, and the unavoidable allocation of almost half of our resources to the war imposed on us.

The only truth in all this is that Mr. Reagan's spokesmen — some of whom are invested with the symbols of Christianity — consider themselves exempt from punishment and defy our laws and international law, as well as our sense of honor and authority.

The only truth in all this is the U.S. rulers' profound contempt for ethnic minorities, including those in the United States. It is not by accident that U.S. Law 93-531 divides up the area known as Big Mountain [Arizona] and places Navajo Indians on one side of a wire mesh fence and Hopi Indians on the other side, with the aim of kicking them off the land they have lived on for more than 400 years.

Whose interests lie behind such an eviction? The Peabody Coal Company — whose main stockholder is the multinational Bechtel company, where [Caspar] Weinberger and [George] Shultz worked before taking up their

Continued on ISR/4

Further reading on Nicaragua and autonomy

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution

412 pp., \$8.95 paper

Speeches and writings of Sandinista leaders, including:

"We Had Difficulty in Grasping the Ethnic Character of the Miskito Problem," by Tomás Borge

"Problems of the Atlantic Coast," by Ray Hooker

"Today We Speak Naturally of Atlantic Coast Autonomy," by William Ramírez

Sandinistas Speak

160 pp., \$5.95 paper

Early speeches, documents of the Sandinistas

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add 75 cents for postage and handling.

7. "Red Christmas" was a CIA-organized mercenary assault on the northern Atlantic Coast beginning in November 1981. It left many Miskito civilians and Sandinista troops dead and embroiled the area in intense warfare.

8. Pro-Death Kisan, sometimes also called Pro-War Kisan, is the loose coalition of armed Miskito groups based in Honduras who have refused to accept a cease-fire with the Nicaraguan government and maintain ties with the FDN. Misurasata refers to Miskitos who took up arms against the Sandinistas under the leadership of Brooklyn Rivera and have been based in Costa Rica.

6. FDN are the initials of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the main mercenary army organized and armed by the U.S. government to attack Nicaragua.

Undoing 400 years of cultural extermination

The following are excerpts from the July 15 speech by Ray Hooker that closed the autonomy symposium. Hooker is coordinator of the National Autonomy Commission and a Sandinista delegate to Nicaragua's National Assembly from Southern Zelaya Province on the Atlantic Coast. The translation from Spanish is by the autonomy commission.

Nicaragua's autonomy process is a natural outgrowth of its past. Throughout most of our history, two mainstreams of nationhood flowing parallel to each other have continually nurtured our national identity. A cultural stream emerging from the tropical rain forest of the Atlantic and another spouting forth from the volcanic plains of the Pacific.

When the cultures of Europe clashed with those of America during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the way of life of the Indian population in the Pacific region of Nicaragua was altered irrevocably. Spain imposed its language, its religion, and its patterns of production. Many of the vital sources of Indian cultures were extinguished.

The systematic extermination of people and culture carried out by the Spanish on the Pacific was widely known on the Atlantic, where the clash of cultures was with the British. In this conflict of cultures two of the three Indian tribes of the Atlantic, the Sumo and the Miskito, were able to retain many of the fundamental characteristics of their way of life — such as language, patterns of production, and social organization.

Against its will, the cultural wealth of Africa became intermingled in this volatile milieu [through the slave trade], introducing diversity into the Atlantic source of Nicaragua's identity.

Toll of cultural extermination

Four hundred years of exploitation and oppression have weakened the identity structure of our Atlantic cultures. The policy of cultural extermination practiced by past regimes has taken its toll.

Since 1952 more than 80 percent of the high school graduates of the secondary schools of Bluefields have abandoned the region.

Before the triumph of the revolution, Miskitos who emigrated to the Pacific usually denied their Indian identity, pretending that they were Spanish-speaking *mes-tizos*.

The Ramas and Garífonas have virtually lost their languages. As late as July 1979, Black parents gave preference to the lighter-colored children of the family.

Before the triumph of the revolution, most important government positions on the Atlantic were in the hands of Spanish-speaking individuals from the Pacific.

Prior to the revolution classes were taught only in Spanish, and the Sumo child who did not know that language was required, as if by miracle, to learn Spanish on the first day of school and was punished if he didn't.

The revolutionary government initially sought to resolve the problems of the Atlantic Coast through a policy that emphasized economic and social measures. Costly and impressive projects were initiated.

The number of teachers was tripled, and medical attention was made available on an unprecedented scale. *Cos-*

teños were named to occupy most of the top political and administrative positions. At no other time in our history was so much attention paid to the problems of the region.

But this was not enough. The level of participation of the people of the Atlantic in the tasks of the revolution was less than that of the population of the Pacific, even though on a per capita basis more investment was being channeled into the Atlantic than into the Pacific.

Impact of war

In late 1981 the Reagan administration unleashed its policy of systematic aggression against Nicaragua and identified the Atlantic Coast as one of its primary targets. More than 35 percent of the economic damage suffered by Nicaragua has been inflicted upon Atlantic Coast communities. Forty thousand Miskitos and an unspecified number of Sumos and Creoles are no longer in Nicaragua. Many of them were forced to abandon the country and are held in Honduras.

Practically every village, town, and city, including Bluefields and Puerto Cabezas, has been attacked when our armed forces were not present.

This U.S. policy of death and destruction forced the revolution to introduce a military component to its original approach to the problems of the Atlantic Coast.

It soon became apparent, however, that the military component — while necessary to repel foreign aggression in the region — exacerbated the difficult problems on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. It was clear that



Militant/Tony Savino

Autonomy commission coordinator Ray Hooker: "The sons and daughters of the Atlantic will learn to be proud of their physical characteristics and culture."

something vital to secure greater popular participation and defense of the revolution was still missing.

For a revolution such as Nicaragua's, in which popular participation in decision-making processes is an essential principle, the lack of active support for its programs, especially from the most oppressed of the oppressed, is a challenge that must be honestly and intelligently met.

Faithful to its revolutionary principles, the government of Nicaragua initiated a process of profound introspection, in which the people of the Atlantic Coast still loyal to the nation participated actively. Thus the Nicaraguan revolution acquired a better understanding of the fears and the hopes, the nature, aspirations, reality, and dreams of the people of the Atlantic Coast.

When we speak of rights of autonomy we mean the exercise of political, economic, and cultural rights by the Indian people and ethnic communities of the Atlantic Coast in the areas where they have traditionally lived.

By political rights we mean that the people of the Atlantic will actively participate in the law-making process, in the selection of their own leaders, and be entitled to be elected to positions of power within the government of the autonomous region and at the national level.

By economic rights we refer to the prerogative of the people of the Atlantic Coast to rationally handle the natural resources of their region and enjoy the benefits from the correct exploitation of these resources. Natural resources are defined as all that is to be found on land, sea, and air used by human beings to satisfy their needs.

We define cultural rights as the direct participation of the people of the Atlantic Coast in the establishment of an environment in which the sons and daughters of the Atlantic will learn to be proud of their physical characteristics and of their culture, without being ashamed of their essence, as was the case before July 19, 1979. A program of bilingual-bicultural education is an essential vehicle in the establishment of this environment.

Deeply entrenched barriers

We do not delude ourselves into believing that autonomy will magically solve the problems of the Atlantic. We are aware that there are barriers in the way of complete communication and mutual understanding. Some of these barriers are deeply entrenched. Because autonomy for many Nicaraguans is a journey into the unknown, certain apprehensions related to separatism exist. It is natural that this be so.

We believe, however, that these concerns will eventually disappear and that autonomy will enable us to exorcise the demons of mistrust and despair, and for the first time in our history, we will breathe the purified air of lives without fear.

The absence of autonomy will not threaten the survival of the Nicaraguan revolution, but it surely will modify its nature.

With unsparing clarity it must be understood that without autonomy our Miskito, Sumo, Rama, and Black cultures are doomed.

The people of the Atlantic are clamoring for peace, so that our divided families can once again be united. We must have peace in order to channel all our energy, dedicate all our efforts, and, hand in hand with the people from the Pacific, transform the dream of autonomy into the fullness of this new reality.

'Indians are looking to Nicaragua as the model'

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — One of the most persistent lies against the Nicaraguan revolution is the charge by the U.S. government that the Sandinistas persecute Miskito Indians.

The U.S. government has succeeded in gaining a hearing for this slander among some U.S. liberals, self-appointed "friends" of the Indian peoples, and even among some Indian rights activists in the United States.

Among the important voices countering this propaganda have been leaders of the International Indian Treaty Council and the American Indian Movement.

Both groups sent delegates here to Managua in late July to participate in an international symposium on the autonomy process under way on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, the home of three Indian groups, the Miskitos, Ramas, and Sumos.

Troy Lane, one of the treaty council delegates, and Wabun-Inini, a delegate of both the council and AIM, granted an interview to the *Militant* following the symposium.

'Both sides of story'

For Lane, who is also a photographer, it was his first trip to Nicaragua. He spent a lot of time filming interviews with Miskito leaders that will be used to help explain the truth about Nicaragua to audiences in the United States.

"For the first time, the American people can hear both sides of the story," Lane explained. "Myself, I'd only heard one side until I came here."

"It's important that people know how the indigenous people of Nicaragua feel. They don't want war, period. They want peace."

Wabun-Inini, also known as Vernon Bellecourt, has been to Nicaragua many times since the 1979 Sandinista revolution. The idea that the U.S. government is the champion of Indian rights flies in the face of history, he said.

Indians throughout the continent have been the victims of "genocide, terrorism, germ warfare, and forced removal from the land" ever since the first colonial settlers arrived, he pointed out. That domination and exploitation continues today, particularly at the hands of the U.S. government.

The U.S. Congress recently legalized the expropriation of 200,000 acres of land from the White Earth Chippewa Reservation in Minnesota, Wabun-Inini's home. He pointed out that this could set a precedent for legally stealing more land from other Indian tribes around the country.

In Guatemala, Indians have been the prime victims of the scorched-earth policy of the recent regimes there, backed by Washington. Many of the Salvadorans killed by the U.S.-supported dictatorship of that country have also been Indian, he said.

So when President Reagan talks about "Indians starving in concentration camps," Wabun-Inini explained, "if he's referring to Miskito camps in Honduras, refugees in El Salvador, or Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico, yes — they live in wretched conditions." Wabun-Inini personally visited Guatemalan refugee camps in Chiapas, Mexico.

But it's a lie that the Nicaraguan government has forced Miskitos into concentration camps, he continued. He mentioned the example of Tasba Pri, where the Sandinistas resettled Miskitos in 1982 to protect them from Washington's mercenary war.

"I visited Tasba Pri," he explained. "There were new homes, clinics, schools. While there were shortages of food, that was the case throughout Nicaragua. People are sacrificing to defend the revolution."

The roots of the conflict that has existed between Nicaragua's revolutionary government and some Miskito Indians lies in a historical situation "that was created by outsiders," he charged.

"A partnership of the Spanish colonizers and the church" originally occupied Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, forcibly assimilating the Indian peoples there and exterminating much of their culture, he observed.

On the Atlantic Coast, British and then U.S. companies moved in, suppressing the Indians and introducing African slaves.

Continued on ISR/4

'Indians are looking to Nicaragua as the model'

Continued from ISR/3

The Moravian church aided this exploitation, he said. "The church was there to tell the people that in order to enter the kingdom of heaven you have to suffer in this world."

The Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua kept the peoples of the two coasts separate from and ignorant of each other.

Indians and Blacks of the Atlantic Coast were opposed to Somoza, but the 1979 Sandinista revolution that overthrew the dictator was based on the Pacific Coast. It triumphed "long before the masses of people on the Atlantic had been integrated into the revolution and into the revolutionary consciousness," Wabun-Inini said.

Valid issues manipulated

With the triumph of the revolution, Indians and Blacks began raising demands for their historic national rights, which had been trampled upon by the Somoza dictatorship and his U.S. and British friends. Because of the isolation of the Atlantic Coast from the rest of Nicaragua, these demands were not initially understood by many in the revolutionary government.

Wabun-Inini said that when he first visited Nicaragua in 1980, "some of the leaders of Indian organizations were raising valid issues — territorial land rights, rights of natural resources, self-determination, cultural, linguistic, and spiritual rights." Washington manipulated these demands "in a way guaranteed to bring about defection, division, and mistrust."

The situation degenerated to the point where significant numbers of Indians accepted arms from the CIA and joined the *contra* war against the Nicaraguan government, believing they were fighting for Indian rights.

Wabun-Inini said that Washington's recruitment of Indians to fight the Sandinistas reminded him of the experience of Indians in the United States. During the Revolutionary War against the British and the Civil War, Indians were enlisted by the armies of both sides, and tribes were encouraged to take up arms against one another. The only result, in his view, was that the Indians lost lives and more of their land.

During the first and second world wars, he said, "while U.S. Indians were off fighting on the battlefields of Europe, supposedly to save their country, more than two-thirds of our treaty-reserved lands were stolen by the politicians, the bureaucrats, and the bankers, who turned

around and sold something they had no right to sell."

When the military clash between some Indians and the Sandinistas broke out, he continued, "The International Indian Treaty Council always took the position that the issues that were being raised by the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama people with regard to autonomy were valid issues that had to be realistically dealt with by the government."

"There were those within the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front who understood this historical problem, and there were those who had no understanding of it because of the isolation of the Atlantic Coast. So there were different opinions."

"The destruction, the refugee problem in Honduras, the fighting that broke out probably could have been avoided had the leadership of the Indian and Black communities and the Sandinista Front persevered in their dialogue and discussion to resolve this matter for the good of all the peoples of Nicaragua and for the good of the revolution."

Important change

An important change has taken place in the last two years. The revolutionary government has embraced the demand for autonomy, and a broad-based process of discussion has unfolded on the coast to draw up statutes for autonomous government structures.

At the autonomy symposium here, all the Indian delegates held a caucus meeting where Nicaraguan Indians of various political viewpoints said "that they supported the process, that they wanted peace, that they wanted to sit down with the government and negotiate a final, permanent agreement," Wabun-Inini reported.

"There were criticisms, yes. There were those who said we have a long way to go; this is not a magic wand that's going to solve all our problems immediately. But they were for the most part satisfied that the government and their leaderships were moving forward in good faith."

At the same time, the divisions sown by imperialism "still exist," he warned. "And if anyone knows and understands this division, it's the intelligence agents within the Pentagon and the CIA."

"Until the question of territorial rights, the questions affecting the Indians and the communities of the Atlantic Coast, are resolved," he emphasized, "the house is going to remain divided. And the enemy knows how to manipulate, particularly when the house is divided."



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt): Nicaragua's autonomy "could inspire Indians to rise up and become part of the revolutionary process of the Americas."

The final resolution of the autonomy project, he said, "has to be genuine, unlike the more than 400 agreements that we have made with the U.S. government, where we have seen them walk on their words before the ink is even dry on the paper."

Success for autonomy in Nicaragua has great international importance, he stressed. "Indian people in North, South, and Central America are looking to Nicaragua as the model. This model could inspire the 100 million or more Indians to rise up and become part of the revolutionary process that brings about their liberation and the liberation of all the disenfranchised, oppressed, and exploited peoples of the Americas."

Stopping the U.S. mercenary war that aims to destroy the autonomy project is crucial, he concluded. "People should be outraged and cry out for an end to this war," he said.

This is the message he and Lane plan to spread in the United States. "We support the autonomy process that is moving forward here and is the model; we call for a halt to the U.S. war on Nicaragua and a halt to the \$100 million going to the CIA."

Nicaragua: without revolution, there is no autonomy

Continued from ISR/2

present posts in the U.S. government — is the one trying to get hold of these mineral-rich lands. It couldn't care less about the fate of the Indians who were born there.

They haven't discovered yet — just as Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz, and Mrs. Kirkpatrick haven't discovered — that these U.S. Indians are also human beings.

Not first time

As you all know, since you have dedicated many hours to studying this matter, [Nicaragua] is not the first time that the U.S. government has resorted to creating or fostering all kinds of conflicts, including ethnic conflicts, with the aim of smashing popular liberation movements or destabilizing democratic governments. They have done it in Asia and Africa and time and again in the Middle East and other countries of the world. They will continue to do so as long as they are still alive and are the wealthiest owners of death and hatred.

We were unfamiliar with the ABCs of the ethnic problem. Our cadre and officials on the Atlantic Coast were true scholars of anthropological ignorance — not out of bad will, of course, but for objective reasons. We arrived on the coast and did things mechanically, smiling, sweet, and disoriented. We rapidly began creating vicious circles. We never lost our good faith, but it was not until very recently that we regained our sense of reality, which is closely related to common sense.

We have publicly acknowledged these unavoidable mistakes, and we have tried to learn in order to overcome them. But no one can say we acted in bad faith. What can be said is that at the same time, the imperialists did their best to stir up those conflicts. They created conditions to foster clashes with the deliberate aim of provoking an "ethnic" war that would split our homeland.

Revolutionaries do not content ourselves with lamentations, nor do we accept as fate any unsatisfactory feature of our times.

We will not fall into the cynicism of the oligarchies. Availing themselves of their historical experience as hired mourners, they every so often deplore the degraded state of the ethnic groups of their countries. At the same time they maintain in full combat readiness their oppression of more than 30 million indigenous people in Latin

America. They don't lift a finger or enforce a single law that is not aimed at guaranteeing that this immense population will continue to hang from the cross. Such a sacrifice, however, does not absolve the abominable sin of the ruling classes, who will one day receive the punishment of hell, which is nothing but their removal as the ruling class.

Our response to Nicaragua's ethnic problem has aroused an interest that is going through all the tests in Latin America. This is no accident, given our peoples' multiethnic nature and similarity of conditions. We have been able to put forth an answer here because we have carried out a revolution here.

There is no doubt that our autonomy project is a cause for concern for oligarchies everywhere and for imperialism. Autonomy means rights; it means land; it means breaking with the enclaves and their infernal logic. It means prohibiting landlords and transnational corporations. And above all, autonomy is an example for millions and millions of Latin Americans suffering discrimination for ethnic reasons.

Imperialism might be able to come up with solutions for some of Latin America's problems. We might even imagine that in a fit of lucidity and zeal for survival, forced by the rebellion of the indebted peoples, they might solve the problem of the foreign debt. Or get rid of Pinochet and Stroessner,⁹ who have massacred thousands of Mapuche and Guaraní Indians, in order to maintain dependency by other means. But they will never be able to solve the ethnic problem.

For the imperialists, supporting autonomy would be like putting a pistol to their heads and pulling the trigger. They would be denying their own essence.

Actually, what most surprises our enemies is that in the midst of the aggression, we Nicaraguans have announced the goal of unity in diversity. They couldn't understand our holding elections in the middle of the aggression either. Nor will they ever understand the bold course of our poetry and the nimble and provocative

beauty of the *palo de mayo*.¹⁰

The revolution will never halt the march of its historical clock — not on the Pacific Coast nor on the Atlantic, not in the north nor the south, not along the rivers nor on the lakes and surrounding seas, nor in the minds of our revolutionary people.

Reduced to dust

In six days in Estelí, we will celebrate the seventh anniversary of our revolution.

Throughout these seven intense chapters, we have reduced to dust all projects aimed at retreat and surrender.

Brothers and sisters of all latitudes, we Nicaraguans offer to all humanity the contributions of our sacrifices.

In the history of the coming years, we shall be united in our diversity: speaking Spanish, Miskito, Sumo, or English; with skin that is white or Black, the color of corn or of the soil; bold or shy; reflecting sad or sweet melodies in our eyes or sensual and violent dances in our feet and hips; inhabitants of river banks and jungles, of fertile lands and exciting cities; adventurers in the good sense of the word; warriors who are enemies to the death of war; proud and full of dignity.

The Nicaraguans — this nation of madmen because we have defied the almighty dollar, of heroes and saints, of mestizos, Miskitos, Blacks, Sumos, Ramas, and Garífonas — will join together in a single national consciousness, in a single process of liberation, in the homeland that we have resurrected with our blood, so that it may be immortal, like the fire of the gods.

We have learned by heart our duty to be loyal to the hopes of the people, to the trust of the poor, to all the races that look down from their cross at the possibility of their liberation as members of an ethnic group, as members of a class.

Some day, all peoples will be free, as we Nicaraguans are free. Some day, they will begin the building of a new society, like the one Nicaraguans are building.

Some day, they will be able to say as we say: Free homeland or death! Some day.

9. Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the dictator in Chile, and Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the tyrant who has ruled Paraguay since 1954.

10. *Palo de mayo* is the popular Nicaraguan dance that originated in the Creole communities of the Atlantic Coast.

Socialists win ballot spot in New York state

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party will be on the November ballot in New York state.

"We were informed by officials at the New York board of elections that the party has met the qualifications for ballot status and that 40,000 signatures submitted August 15 have not been challenged," SWP gubernatorial candidate Theresa Delgadillo told the *Militant*. "A working-class party will appear on the ballot in the general elections."

The names of Michael Shur, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, and Jim Callahan, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 23rd C.D., will appear on the ballot.

Shur and Callahan join Delgadillo and George Kontanis, candidate for lieutenant governor, on the SWP statewide slate.

The names of Delgadillo and Kontanis will not be on the ballot. Undemocratic state laws bar anyone under 30 years of age from appearing on the ballot as a candidate for governor. Delgadillo is 26. The SWP is calling for a write-in vote for them.



Militant Mike Shur, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, talks to striking workers at Hebrew National meat-packing plant.

'Impossible to be for landlord and tenant'

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "It is impossible to represent both the landlord and tenant, the banker and the debtor, the corporation owner and the worker. My opponents stand with the rich minority."

Deborah Lazar, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., made this statement at a news conference after filing 4,500 signatures August 26 on petitions to place her name on the ballot. The total is 50 percent more than the

signature requirement set by the government.

Lazar, a railroad worker and member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recently participated in an international work brigade in Nicaragua.

Coverage of the mayoral election in the big-business media has focused on federal investigations into corruption in the administration headed by Democratic Mayor Marion Barry. "These investigations target individuals," said Lazar. "But a government representing the interests of a few superrich families against the working majority can't be anything but corrupt."

Lazar said she is promoting the October 25 protest opposing the U.S. war on Nicaragua and the October 10-11 actions demanding an end to all U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Not a cent for Star Wars, say socialists

SALT LAKE CITY — The Sierra Club, an environmental group, is distributing a brochure containing brief replies by candidates for U.S. Senate and Congress from Utah to questions posed by the club.

Among the candidates whose responses were published are Mary Zins and Scott Breen, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Senate and Congress.

They called for stronger legislation to protect the air, water, and other natural resources, and to stop plunder of public lands by big corporations.

Asked how much they favored spending on Washington's "Star Wars" weapons, the Republican and Democratic candidates replied, "Less."

Zins and Breen proposed spending "\$0."

Asked about the arms budget, the Republicans and Democrats again claimed to favor "less"

spending.

Zins and Breen opposed spending a single cent.

Georgia candidate backs unionists in Ford strike

ATLANTA — Maceo Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Georgia, recently went to the Ford plant in Hapeville to express solidarity with 3,000 members of the United Auto Workers who are on strike there.

The plant is one of two auto plants making the Ford Taurus and Mercury Sable.

The strike is over health and safety. The workload is too heavy, unionists say, and the plant is poorly ventilated and intensely hot with temperatures over 100 degrees every day. The company refuses to negotiate.

Dixon, a production worker at the General Motors plant near Atlanta, has some experience with the kind of conditions the Hapeville Ford workers face.

He talked to two union members who had transferred to Hapeville from a Detroit Ford plant. One said, "We have to fight back. We didn't move down to Georgia to work just to have to turn around and move back to Detroit."

Protest stalls plan to slash Boston busing program

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — A plan to turn some 8,000 high school and junior high school students here into subway riders, removing them from the yellow school buses that have been a major aspect of court-ordered desegregation since 1974, has been temporarily pushed back in the wake of public protests.

The plan was to have begun with the opening of school on September 8.

Boston school superintendent Laval Wilson, backed to the hilt by the city's main newspapers and television and radio stations, claimed the change would have "saved" around \$3 million. He later proposed cutting the number of students to 4,000 and dropped the "savings" to \$900,000 — less than half of a percent of the current school budget.

A widely covered news conference by union-organized school bus drivers, however, made a point that Wilson and his school committee allies bent over backwards to avoid.

"The people who oppose desegregation have never gone away," union spokesperson Susan Moir said. "Busing is a symbol of desegregation and this union is a symbol of busing."

Wilson's proposal would result in a layoff of 40 to 60 school bus drivers, whose union and contract rights have long been a target of school superintendents. This includes Wilson, who unsuccessfully sought to break the union with major giveback demands in a strike last winter.

The union, United Steelworkers of America Local 8751, emerged out of a victorious organizing drive following the beginning of school desegregation here in 1974, and the ensuing struggle by the Black community and others to defend the court order.

The desegregation plan created a single school system and broke up a scheme of one school system for whites, and another, inferior one, for Blacks.

Local 8751 officials blasted the student subway rider program as "union-busting."

They pledged legal action to halt it should Wilson make good on his pledge to implement a similar plan for the winter semester, which begins January 1987.

Thomas Atkins, attorney for the plaintiffs in the 1970s desegregation suit, said if there was a chance that the safety of Black students moved to the subway system would be less than on the school buses, he would take the plan to court.

Under such pressure, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority that operates the subways refused Wilson's request for student transfers, at least until January 1987.

Black and white parents protested Wilson's proposal. And the plan didn't fly with students either. A majority of students, asked by the *Boston Herald* what they thought of the plan, preferred the buses.

Direct transportation to and from neighborhoods to schools is simpler and safer than a variety of transfers from public buses to subways and back or walking long distances.

Removing the 8,000 students would have cut those using the school buses by more than 25 percent. It would lead inevitably to discussion about a general elimination of busing for all students in the school system.



Militant/Betsey Stone Attempt to shift students from school buses to subways was an attack on school desegregation.

Wilson's plan would put the entire burden of transportation on individual students. Moreover, it would undercut the central theme of the 1974 desegregation order: that it was the city's duty to take full responsibility for providing equal access to education, including the use of busing to achieve it.

Nicaraguan unionist will tour U.S.

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Estela Rocha, a Nicaraguan teacher, trade unionist, and veteran of her country's struggle against the U.S.-imposed Somoza family dictatorship, will be touring the United States from October through November of this year.

The tour is sponsored by the New Institute of Central America (NICA), a Spanish-language teaching project in Estelí, Nicaragua.

Rocha, 29, teaches at the NICA school, which has brought more than 700 students, mostly from the United States, to Nicaragua since 1983. She is also employed as a workers' education teacher in Estelí, instructing trade unionists, farm workers, housewives, and working youth in mathematics, social sciences, and natural sciences. She is a member of the Nicaraguan teachers' union, ANDEN.

Rocha played a leadership role in Estelí and Ocotlán in the massive literacy cam-

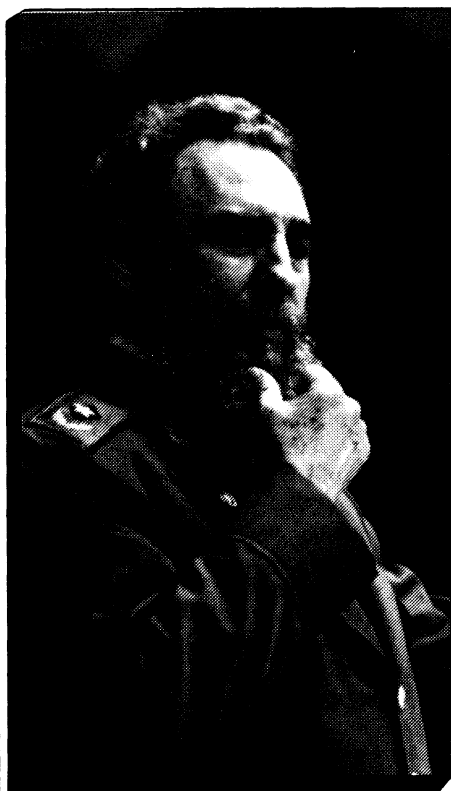
paign launched by the Sandinista government in 1980 to help teach peasants to read and write.

"We hope Estela's tour of the United States will help bring the truth of Washington's escalating war to the people of America, while explaining the gains the people of her embattled country have made despite the effects of this war," Beverly Treumann, executive director of the NICA school, told the *Militant*.

The tour coincides with the build-up to nationally coordinated fall actions October 25 and November 1 against the U.S. mercenary war in Central America. A front-page article entitled "Build Fall Contra War Protests" in NICA's bimonthly newsletter hailed these protests.

For more information on the Rocha tour, which will be coordinated by former NICA school participants, contact Kevin Whelan at (617) 497-7142 or NICA, P.O. Box 1409, Cambridge, Mass. 02238.

New. . . . from Pathfinder



Fidel Castro Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

"Undoubtedly the longest and most wide-ranging interview ever conducted with Cuban President Fidel Castro. In it, Castro speaks directly to the people of the United States on questions of vital importance to citizens of both our countries."

It spans dozens of topics: U.S.-Cuban relations, the Reagan administration's foreign policy, the New International Economic Order, unity and disunity in Latin America, Cuba's relations with Africa, the events in Afghanistan. . . .

From the preface by Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally, who with Jeffrey M. Elliot conducted the interview. 276 pages, \$7.95

Available from Pathfinder Bookstores listed on page 16 or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

Filipinos crushed under \$26 billion debt burden

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — The streets here are swollen with people striving to make a few pesos from passersby, especially the overseas visitor. Street vendors selling sweets, cigarettes, lottery tickets, and any imaginable knick-knack; hustlers for money-changers, massage parlors, and night clubs; beggars and pickpockets. These scenes reflect the poverty of millions of Filipinos.

On August 3 the *Manila Chronicle* wrote, "It has been estimated by some economists that as much as 50 percent of the labor force is unemployed or underemployed."

The world capitalist crisis and the demands made on Filipinos by the imperialist bankers are now bringing the chronic problems of capitalist underdevelopment and imperialist domination to a head.

After the February "people power" uprising that overthrew Ferdinand Marcos, millions hoped that Corazon Aquino's assurance that she would revive the Philippines' economy by eliminating corruption and restoring business confidence in the country would be proven true.

Recession

The economy, however, has plunged into a deeper recession, adding thousands to the unemployment lines as agricultural output is cut and factories and mills are idled.

Based on government figures, the *Manila Chronicle* calculated a 6.58 percent decline in the gross national product for the second quarter of 1986 compared to the same period in 1985. The gross national product had already dropped by 5.3 percent in 1984 and by about 4 percent in 1985.

Plunging world market prices in recent years for major Philippine agricultural exports such as copra and sugar have contributed to this recession.

Another important factor has been the disinvestment by Filipino and foreign capitalists during the last years of the Mar-

cos dictatorship in face of growing instability. At the Bataan Export Processing Zone in Central Luzon, for example, employment by the end of 1985 was only 40 percent that of the early 1980s.

Business is demanding that the Aquino government curb the labor movement as a condition for major new investment. "We must realize that Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and others ban strikes and we have to compete with these countries," said industrialist Raul Concepcion, railing against the "infiltration" of industry "by militant labor unions."

The overriding reason for the economic slump, however, is the imperialists' demand that interest continue to be paid on the massive foreign debt. In the words of the *Manila Chronicle*, the "government monetary and fiscal authorities have been unable to reverse the effects of the so-called 'austerity measures' imposed by the International Monetary Fund."

The total Philippines debt to imperialist banks and governments is estimated at more than \$26 billion, making it the fourth most indebted nation after Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina.

According to the July 14-16 Manila liberal news magazine *Veritas*, "Just last year, our debt servicing accounted for 54 per cent of our total exports, amounting to \$4.6 billion. For 1986, our external obligations represent around 73 per cent of total export income."

'Development' program

The bulk of this debt was incurred during the martial law period after 1972 when Marcos embarked on a World Bank-directed "development" program. It resulted in the "Green Revolution," whereby Philippine agriculture was more systematically opened to U.S. seed, chemical, and agricultural multinationals. It also helped establish cheap labor "export processing zones" and other avenues of imperialist investment.



Militant/Russell Johnson

Home of landless peasants, island of Negros, Philippines. Plunging world price for sugar spreads destitution in countryside and city while imperialist banks demand debt be paid. Aquino government is pledged to honor dictator Marcos' borrowings.

One example is the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant. Built by the giant U.S.-based Westinghouse Corp., it has been found to be defective, making it doubly dangerous. Aquino has promised to keep Bataan closed down. But the Filipino people still must pay the \$2.2 billion to imperialist banks that was borrowed to pay Westinghouse.

Undoubtedly, many of the IMF and other banks' loans also went to finance the business activities and luxurious lifestyles of Marcos and his "cronies" such as Roberto Benedicto, Eduardo Cojuangco, and Juan Ponce Enrile, who came to dominate whole sections of the economy.

Cojuangco, for example, gained control of the giant beer and food conglomerate, San Miguel Corp., from the old Spanish Soriano family. Imelda Marcos' family operated the port facilities at the Bataan export zone.

Following the overthrow of Marcos, the newly established Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) took over many businesses and properties belonging to the dictator and his cronies. Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez, supported by the unions, had proposed that such companies be nationalized and run by the workers.

Peasants' demands

Peasant organizations have proposed that sequestered lands be turned over to landless peasants free of charge. On the island of Mindoro, the landless have occupied some of these lands to back up their demands.

The Aquino government rejects these demands, however. Instead, it is implementing the IMF demand that it sell the assets back to private capitalists. Already San Miguel has been returned to the Sorianos.

The representatives of the big landholders and capitalists, who are the majority in the commission drafting a new national constitution, are pressing to do away with the PCGG altogether, fearing the popular precedent being set of taking over the property of corrupt capitalists.

"The government says only people with illicit wealth should be afraid," the *Wall Street Journal* quotes a prominent Manila banker as saying. "But after 20 years of Marcos, most businessmen have some deal they're nervous about, a skeleton in some file cabinet."

The IMF and the World Bank are demanding a continuation of measures aimed at driving the living standards of the workers and peasants still lower, and opening the economy up further to U.S. exports and capital, as a condition for extending further credit.

The government responded to the sugar and copra crisis by shutting down or selling off government-owned sugar and coconut-processing mills, throwing thousands more out of work. It has agreed to float the peso freely.

In July the finance minister drew up a budget that projected 45 percent of govern-

ment expenditure be devoted to debt servicing.

However, fear that further austerity measures could provoke a massive response from a restive and more confident labor movement and significant opposition from sections of Filipino capitalists to further lifting of import controls provoked divisions in the cabinet. This led to a July 30 announcement that the decision on implementing the latest series of IMF demands to "free up the economy" would be postponed for 90 days.

No answer

The Aquino government, which has committed itself to honoring all the debts incurred by the Marcos government, has no answer to the debt crisis except to plead with the imperialists to give them more time in which to pay. A July proposal that private imperialist banks convert their loans to equity in Philippine companies met with little response.

Planning Minister Solita Monsod is part of a minority within the Aquino cabinet that has advocated limiting repayments on the foreign debt and "selective repudiation" of those loans that could be shown went directly into the pockets of Marcos and his cronies.

The article in the July 14-16 *Veritas* also endorsed that proposal. In addition, it proposed, "The government should seriously think of participation in the formation of a strong debtors' bloc. Solidarity among the debtors is essential if they are to exert pressure on the creditors for reasonable repayment terms."

Similar proposals are also being discussed within anti-imperialist mass organizations such as Bayan and the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation. There is a growing interest in and agreement with the proposal put forward by Cuban President Fidel Castro that the oppressed debtor nations should band together and collectively cancel their debt to the imperialist bankers.

1,000 join march for immigrant rights

LOS ANGELES — More than a thousand people marched through downtown Los Angeles August 30 to protest the Simpson-Rodino bill — Congress' latest attempt to victimize undocumented immigrant workers.

The bill includes mandatory sanctions on employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. The Senate version of the bill would permit up to 350,000 immigrant farm workers to enter the country for up to nine months. The only right these workers will have is to pick the crops and then leave.

The demonstration, which was also a commemoration of the 16th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam, also demanded an end to Washington's war in Central America.

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



in the U.S. and around the world. ¡Suscríbete ahora!

Subscriptions: \$7 for one year; \$4 for six months; Introductory offer, \$2.00 for five months.

☐ Begin my sub with current issue.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Clip and mail to PM, 408 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Bolivian gov't proclaims state of siege

BY CATHERINE FRASER

A state of siege was proclaimed in Bolivia on August 28, as 7,000 miners marched on the capital, La Paz, from the mining district of Oruro.

The marchers were protesting layoffs in the state-owned mines. Over the last year, 7,000 miners have lost their jobs and a recent government announcement of more mine closures means that about 8,000 of the remaining 20,000-strong work force are also likely to be laid off.

At least 2,000 soldiers, 10 trucks, and 6 tanks were used to surround the marchers' camp 45 miles from La Paz. The miners were loaded onto army trucks and sent back to Oruro.

State-of-siege regulations include a curfew from midnight to 6 a.m., bans on union and political activity, searches and arrests without warrant, and restrictions on intercity travel.

When the state of siege was imposed the national guard cordoned off the university and some union headquarters in La Paz. The government reported 162 arrests. Sources in human rights organizations, however, said at least 260 labor, political, and church leaders in La Paz and other cities were arrested. A few have since been released.

Twenty thousand miners staged a 24-hour strike August 29-30 to protest the government's measures. Speaking from hiding, Walter Delgadillo, general secretary of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), condemned government use of terror to curb "the just aspirations of the working class."

The proclamation of the state of siege came a week after a 48-hour general strike called by the COB in protest against President Víctor Paz Estenssoro's austerity policies. Paz, the 78-year-old leader of the bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-Historic, came to power a year ago. On August 29 last year he launched an "anti-inflation" program that reduced inflation from 25,000 percent to 20 percent at the cost of thousands of jobs and the erosion of working people's living standards.

Under this program all controls on prices, interest rates, and imports and exports were lifted, the currency was devalued 93 percent and the black market in currency legalized. Seventeen thousand jobs in the public sector were eliminated and the wages of those remaining were frozen. Companies were given the right to fire workers. The price of gasoline, a state monopoly, was raised tenfold.

3,000 protest in Puerto Rico: 'FBI out, free the patriots'



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Banner on August 30 march in Puerto Rico demands release of arrested patriots

The following article, translated from Spanish, is abridged from an article that will appear in the October issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

BY SELVA NEBBIA
AND DOUG COOPER

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Under the slogan "August 30 — united against the repression," 3,000 people demonstrated on that date to protest government repression and demand freedom for proindependence political prisoners.

"Damned FBI out of the country, freedom for the arrested patriots, their rights violated by the FBI," the demonstrators chanted.

On August 30 a year had passed since more than 200 FBI agents invaded Puerto Rico, broke into the homes of 30 families, and arrested 13 proindependence Puerto Ricans. Two others were arrested in Mexico and the United States. Today nine of them remain imprisoned in the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York.

Washington accuses these patriots of being "terrorists." It charges them with having participated in a \$7 million robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in 1983 in the United States, and of being members of the proindependence organization Los Macheteros.

The demonstration was sponsored by a wide range of organizations: the Committee of Friends and Relatives, Independent Union of Legal Services Workers, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, National Ecumenical Movement, Workers Socialist movement, United Independence Committee, and others.

The march passed through the working-class neighborhood of Puerta de Tierra.

Many of the residents appeared on their balconies to watch the demonstration.

One young woman there with her two children told *Perspectiva Mundial*, "It seems to me this activity is good. They violated their rights, and we should protest."

When the march passed in front of the Ramon Power Street jail, many of the prisoners gave the clenched-fist salute in solidarity with the demonstration.

Among the participants were many relatives of those under arrest, as well as well-known patriots who have been victims of repression by the U.S. government, including the nationalist hero Rafael Cancel Miranda. Three of the accused who are out on bail were also there: Carlos Ayes, Norman Ramírez, and Jorge Farinacci.

A rally was held in the plaza of the old part of San Juan. It was chaired by Rita Zengotita from the Committee Against Repression. She read messages to the rally from the Puerto Rican prisoners in the Metropolitan Correctional Center. The rally also heard taped messages from some of them.

A message from Los Macheteros group was received with much applause. Among the organizations that sent messages was Puerto Ricans for Justice and Against Apartheid in South Africa.

Jorge Farinacci, who is out on \$100 million bail, also spoke.

He pointed out that the attacks by the U.S. government against the Puerto Rican independence movement take place at a time when "imperialism is on the defensive internationally, with problems exploding for it in Central America, southern Africa, and Asia, because all the peoples of the world are rising up against their oppression."

These measures had a devastating effect in a country which has the second-lowest per capita income in the Western Hemisphere. Only Haiti is poorer. The official minimum wage amounts to \$15 per month, but close to half the potential work force is chronically out of work.

When the COB called a general strike last September in protest at these measures, the government introduced a 90-day state of siege and sent 179 trade union leaders to internment camps in the jungle for three weeks until they called off the strike.

The most recent general strike also targeted the continued presence of U.S. troops in Bolivia. The COB describes their presence as a violation of Bolivian sovereignty.

The U.S. Army troops were sent to the country on July 14 under the guise of a "cooperative" venture against cocaine pro-

duction. But the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario* described it as a "dress rehearsal for invasion . . . on other terrain."

Washington claimed it was acting at the request of the Bolivian government, which has been conducting its own campaign against growing coca, the raw material for cocaine. As Bolivian presidential adviser Jacobo Liebermann pointed out, however, his government had sought only technical and economic assistance. "Instead we got the invasion of Normandy," he complained.

Liebermann added that his government had no choice but to be "resigned" to the U.S. invasion. "We in Latin America," he noted, "especially Bolivia with all its weaknesses, have to accept certain things from the north that we might not accept if we were stronger."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Protests in Chile hit Pinochet's repression

Late on September 7, Chile's governing military junta reimposed a state of siege on the country and began roundups of opposition figures and activists. The clampdown came just a few hours after a failed assassination attempt against Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the head of the dictatorship.

Those known to have been detained within the first few days included some two dozen leaders of political parties, student associations, neighborhood organizations, and human rights groups, as well as several religious figures. Six magazines were ordered shut down.

Police and troops converged on the poor Santiago neighborhood of La Victoria, which has been a center of opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship, ringing it with tanks and armored personnel carriers.

José Carrasco Tapia, head of the Chilean journalists federation and foreign editor of *Análisis*, one of the closed publications, was seized at his home by several men identifying themselves as police. His bullet-riddled body was later found.

This latest crackdown follows two days of demonstrations and strikes against Pinochet's dictatorship September 4-5, during which two people were killed and more than 500 arrested.

German Social-Democrats reject nuclear plants

West Germany's opposition Social-Democrats voted at their party convention in August to close the country's 20 nuclear plants in 10 years if they are returned to power in the January 1987 elections. In the past the party has supported the use of nuclear energy.

The convention also called for the repudiation of a pact with the U.S. government on space-weapons research and advocated the withdrawal of medium-range Pershing and cruise missiles from West Germany.

Mitterrand implicated in Greenpeace bombing

French President François Mitterrand had advance knowledge of the July 10, 1985, bombing of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*, according to a front-page article in the August 30 issue of the French newspaper *Le Monde*.

This conclusion is based on the findings of two prominent French journalists, Jacques Derogy and Jean-Marie Pontaut, in their book *Inquiry Into Three Secrets of State*. Not only did the president "decide to 'cover up' the Greenpeace affair in the last two weeks of July," the journalists write, but even be-

fore the attack he "was well-informed" of the operation mounted by the DGSE — the General Directorate of External Security.

The attack, which was code-named "Operation Rainbow," took place while the Greenpeace ship was berthed in Auckland, New Zealand. According to Derogy and Pontaut, about 20 DGSE agents were involved in the operation that left one crew member dead.

The journalists say that Mitterrand was kept informed throughout the planning stages by DGSE chief Admiral Pierre Lacoste. According to their account, he assured Mitterrand that "there will not be any victims and France will never be implicated." Lacoste was sacked last September for his part in the affair.

Japan-U.S. military links increase

The Reagan administration's pressure on the Japanese government to increase its military spending, share military technology with Washington, and step up joint exercises and other military cooperation is beginning to have results.

On August 24 the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* and other U.S. warships sailed into Japanese ports in preparation for naval maneuvers in the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk in September. Both seas lie between Japan and the Soviet Union. Between April 1986 and April 1987 the Japanese armed forces are scheduled to stage 15 or more joint maneuvers with U.S. forces.

More than 8,000 antinuclear protesters demonstrated in the Japanese city of Sasebo against the arrival of the *New Jersey*, which is equipped to carry Tomahawk nuclear missiles. Smaller demonstrations took place in other cities.

On August 8 the government of Yasuhiro Nakasone published a review that proposed a sharp increase in military spending. And on September 5, U.S. and Japanese officials reached accord on the first transfer of weapons-related devices.



Or maybe state legislators — “If you teach children they are evolved from apes, they will start acting like apes.” — From a brief



Harry Ring

urging Supreme Court to uphold Louisiana Creation Act.

Fly the schlock line — Carl Icahn, union-busting head of

TWA, has plans for the flight attendants who replaced strikers. Bargain basement sales in the sky, with the attendants peddling close-out merchandise purchased abroad. Bait for the attendants will be commission on sales. Those who know Icahn assume this will be leveled out by cuts in pay.

The sane society — “For status-conscious parents, their children sometimes seem like fashion accessories who are dressed and shown off. How else to explain Giorgio Armani’s gorgeously crafted children’s line. Armani Bambino features \$100 sweatshirts, \$185 crested wool blazers and a \$185 suede-detailed

denim jacket.” — Report on drive to lay adult fashions on children of well-heeled.

P.S. — If you want to ensure that your youngster is on the fast fashion track, check out the leather bomber jacket by Cerutti. \$260. Or, for more formal occasions, a Harris tweed kiddie coat from New York’s Bergdorf Goodman. \$405 to \$430.

On their toes — A D.C. cop was busted in a raid that netted a stash of cocaine and an arsenal of weapons. An official deplored the cop being involved, but said his arrest confirmed the department’s ability to do its job.

And vice versa? — What with shrinking Social Security checks, 9 percent of fast food workers are older people. Commented a satisfied McDonald’s manager, “It’s very tiring work, but when the younger employees see the older workers keeping up, they say to themselves, ‘Hey, if they can do it, we can too.’”

Miami Vice — “MIAMI — Six grams of cocaine apparently disappeared from a jury room during a drug trial and the suspects include the 12 jurors who acquitted the defendant.” — News item.

Now they’ve got it made — “Yuppies . . . do I think there’s

anything wrong with them? No. Some of them stick with their work, become 39 like me, have their first child, and become totally enthralled by it.” — Reagan’s ex-adviser David Stockman.

Really? — “Higher Fares, Reduced Service Expected in Denver” — Headline on story assessing effect of Frontier Airline shutdown on competing lines.

Spiritual uplift dep’t — On 16 cassettes, a 20-hour rendition of the New Testament by Gregory Peck. And if you’re at the right bookstore, you can catch Him (Peck, not Jesus) to personally autograph the set.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women. A panel discussion followed by film *Killing Us Softly*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Embargo South Africa, Not Nicaragua! Socialist Election Campaign Rally. Speakers: Nels J’Anthony, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation requested. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign ’86 Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

“We Won’t Pay!” Mexico and the Debt Crisis. Video of Fidel Castro speaking on the debt crisis. In English and Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Struggle Against Concessions and the Challenges Facing the Unions Today. Panel of trade unionists. Speakers: Carl Pontius, charter committee member North American Meat Packers Union and representative of fighting “Original P-9”; members of International Association of Machinists and United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Sept. 20, Social, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Crisis in the Kansas City Schools. Speakers: Rev. Nelson “Fuzzy” Thompson; others. Sun., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Film: Rosie the Riveter. Discussion to follow. Fri., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Victory Is Certain. A concert celebrating five

Victory rallies:

How to Use Ruling in Socialist Workers Party Suit Against FBI to Fight for Political Rights

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Speakers: John George, Alameda County supervisor and anti-apartheid leader; Jessica Mitford, author and long-time activist; Oba T’shaka, national vice-chairperson, National Black United Front; Deborah Liatos, Young Socialist Alliance leader and garment worker; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St., Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Speakers: Ann Braden; Jeanette Tracy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D.; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Speakers: Stuart Comstock-Gay, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

years of solidarity with the South African revolution. Performers: Sechaba, musical group of the African National Congress; Azzaam Hameed, jazz musician. Speaker: Damu Smith, founder of Free South Africa Movement. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. Page Hall, SUNY Downtown campus. Donation: \$4.50. Ausp: Capital District Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Student Coalition Against Apartheid.

Manhattan

Why Are Dairy Farmers Losing Their Farms While Milk Prices Are Still Rising? Report on New York state milk strike and on United Farmer and Rancher Congress. Speaker: Jo Bates, upstate New York dairy farmer. Translation to

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Speakers: Fred Slough, National Lawyers Guild; representatives of sanctuary movement and civil rights movement. Sun., Sept. 21, 7 p.m. Reception to follow. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Speakers: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Lewis Pitts, director Christie Institute South, lead counsel in Greensboro civil rights suit; Irving Joyner, president North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers. Sun., Sept. 21, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; Kay Bishop, Hospital and Health Care Workers 1199; Art Slater, Cincinnati Coalition Against Apartheid; Morris Starsky, plaintiff in SWP suit; Robert B. Newman, civil liberties lawyer; Marion Spencer, former member, Cincinnati City Council; Jerone Stephens, professor, Bowling Green State University; Shane Quehee, professor, University of Cin-

cinnati Medical School. Sun., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Speakers: Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet; Barry Sheppard, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Price

Speakers: Charlene Adamson, Socialist Workers Party and member International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union Local 294; others. Fri., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Speakers: representative, National Lawyers Guild; representative, Socialist Workers Party; representative, Young Socialist Alliance; John Sillito, member Democratic Socialists of America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St. 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Spanish. Fri., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Family Farmers in Crisis: A Report from the United Farmer and Rancher Congress. Speaker: Ben Layman, Virginia dairy farmer. Sun., Sept. 28, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

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.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Winnie Mandela: South African Anti-apartheid Fighter. A video showing of *Winnie and Nelson Mandela*. Sat., Sept. 13, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114E Quail St. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist Books, 226-8445.**

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meeting backs sanctions on South Africa

Continued from front page countries.

Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) stressed that "this fund should be regarded as a war chest of the liberation struggle."

The summit stressed the fight for the immediate independence of Namibia. A special resolution was adopted calling upon the United Nations to spare no resource in its efforts to implement UN Resolution 435, which calls for the withdrawal of South African military forces. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) received diplomatic recognition from many countries at the summit. Among the newer ones were Vanuatu, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Peru.

In face of the international campaign for sanctions, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha is traveling to Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The announced purpose of the trip is to strengthen South African trade with these countries.

Last year, for example, South African trade with Japan came to just under \$3 billion. Several groups in Japan, including the 4.5 million-member General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), have demanded that the Japanese government not receive Botha.

In addition to the many delegations from the Nonaligned movement that condemned apartheid, many other anti-apartheid fighters from around the world were associated with this international forum. Among them were Coretta Scott King and Allan Boesak.

Boesak, a leader and founder of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, explained here, "Our people are angry and very determined. They know that this is a historic moment and the momentum must not be lost."

In answer to those who say that imposing sanctions on South Africa would drive the apartheid rulers into their *laager* (circle of wagons), Boesak answered, "They already are in their *laager*."

Solidarity with Nicaragua

A second central theme of the conference was opposition to the U.S. war in Central America. Speaking before the media, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega drew parallels between the aggression faced by the Frontline States in southern Africa and that faced by Nicaragua.

"In Nicaragua," he explained, "the U.S. uses Honduras as a springboard to launch attacks against Nicaragua, while in southern Africa the racist regime of South Africa is used to attack Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, and Mozambique."

As an act of opposition to the U.S. policy of aggression against Nicaragua, several countries and liberation organizations — among them Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, Burkina Faso, the ANC, SWAPO, and the Palestine Liberation Organization — had proposed that the next Nonaligned summit be held in Managua. Daniel Ortega confirmed earlier reports that Washington had circulated a "diplomatic note" threatening economic reprisals against those countries that voted for hosting the next summit in Nicaragua.

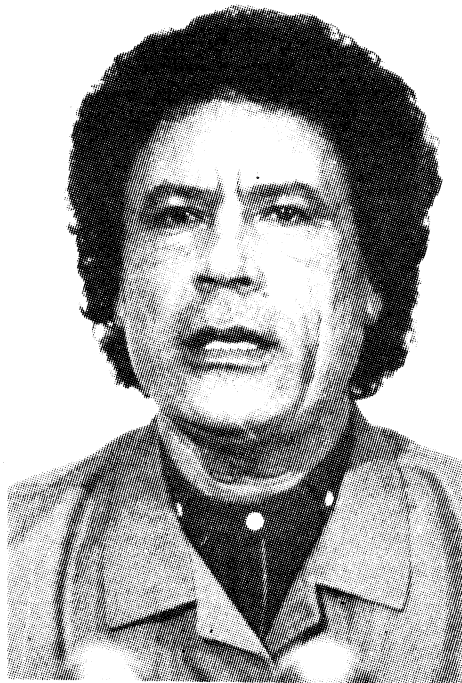
The decision was referred to the next conference of foreign ministers of the Nonaligned movement, which is scheduled to take place in North Korea in 1988. Ortega explained, however, that "a consensus is being built for Nicaragua. We are sure that at the meeting of foreign ministers it will be decided that Nicaragua will host the next summit."

He continued, "Hosting the next summit in Managua would defend the verdict of the International Court of Justice, defend international legality, and defend peace, which the people of Nicaragua are already defending with their blood."

'The debt is unpayable'

Another prominent issue at the summit was the foreign debt. Fidel Castro, president of Cuba, pointed to the ever-growing character of the debt. He noted that in 1977 the foreign debt of the developing nations stood at \$373 billion. Just eight years later it had nearly tripled to \$950 billion.

To the laughter of the assembled heads of state, Castro said, "One day we decided to estimate how long it would take a man just to count the Latin American debt, at a rate of one dollar per second. The result



Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi addressed Nonaligned summit meeting in Zimbabwe. Conference condemned U.S. aggression against Libya.

was 12,000 years."

He concluded, "All of this is to say that the debt is unpayable."

The draft political declaration approved by the summit calls upon the industrial countries to begin serious negotiations for the settlement of this world economic

crisis.

Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi attended the conference as U.S. warships were conducting naval maneuvers off the Libyan coast. Earlier this year, Washington bombed Libya, killing scores, including Qaddafi's year-old daughter.

At the conference, Qaddafi expressed Libya's continued solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa. The draft declaration of the summit was amended to "condemn the U.S. attacks upon Libya," and "to demand payment to Libya for loss of life and damage to property."

The heads of state also agreed to place the issue of the U.S. attacks upon Libya on the agenda of the next session of the United Nations.

The eighth summit agreed to work for total nuclear disarmament and a substantial reduction of conventional weapons. The draft declaration states, "The greatest peril facing the world is the threat to the survival of humanity posed by the existence of nuclear weapons. Since annihilation needs to happen only once, removing this threat is not one issue among many, but the most acute and urgent task of the day."

The summit also strongly condemned the acquisition of a nuclear weapons capability by the apartheid regime and deplored the collaboration of certain NATO members and Israel with South Africa's nuclear program.

The summit expressed its approval,

Arabs targeted in wake of hijacking

Continued from front page

synagogue or a plane. The PLO rejects these methods and condemns this form of struggle."

Pakistan commandos

The hijackers started firing after the plane's generator ran out of fuel, causing the lights, air conditioning and cockpit radio to stop working. In his first statement to the news media after the hijackers had been arrested, Air Vice-marshal Kurshid Anwar Mirza, chairman of the Pakistan Civil Aviation Authority, said that the authorities had known the generator was about to fail and had deliberately turned off the tarmac lights so that a specially-trained unit of Pakistani commandos could advance toward the plane under cover of darkness.

Later, however, attempts were made to minimize the role played by the commandos and to deny the possibility that their actions may have triggered the shooting. Mirza made another statement, this time saying that the commandos did not reach the plane until 15 minutes after the shooting broke out.

Doubts still remain, however. The September 6 *New York Times*, for example, referred to unconfirmed reports "that the Pakistanis had prompted the end of the siege by storming the aircraft."

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told a news conference: "I do not believe that fuel of the power unit just ran out. It was a concerted deliberate action to enter the aircraft and take over from the hijackers. Unfortunately, it was bungled very badly, and it has caused the death of a number of people."

Hypocrisy

President Reagan described the hijacking as a "cruel and sinister terrorist act." Declaring that "nothing can justify such barbarism," he said that no punishment was "too severe for the criminals responsible."

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres responded to the Istanbul killings by declaring that Israel would strike at "the murderous hand reaching it at every place and at any time."

Both Reagan and Peres are representatives of governments that are among the chief perpetrators of state-organized terrorism in the world today. Such statements from their mouths are gross hypocrisy.

The Israeli regime has the blood of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese civilians on its hands.

Washington is the chief backer of antigovernment terrorists operating against Nicaragua and Angola.

Where, for example, were the banner headlines and expressions of outrage when Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries blew up a truck filled with peasants July 3, killing 32 people? This massacre occurred less than two weeks after the U.S. House of Representatives approved \$100 million in funding for the contra terrorists.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25c

September 17, 1976

The Socialist Workers Party has opened a political war against the government's use of undercover informers. On September 4 the party released files, obtained from the FBI, which partially document the activities of paid government informers against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the same time, the socialists made public a legal brief, filed in connection with its omnibus suit against government spying and harassment, seeking to force the FBI to open the files on its informer program.

The two related moves add a new dimension to the SWP lawsuit. FBI Director Clarence Kelley has stated repeatedly that he views informers as absolutely essential to the bureau's so-called domestic intelligence operations. He has also stated that he will "never" divulge the names of FBI informers.

It is likely that the FBI will immediately appeal any court order requiring disclosure of the names of informers. Such a move could take this specific issue all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court before the suit itself comes to trial in the lower courts.

According to the statistics turned over to the SWP, the FBI currently has 66 paid informers masquerading as members of the SWP or the YSA. In addition, the FBI has an army of some 1,300 free-floating informers who have provided information since 1960 on a variety of groups including the SWP and YSA.

however, of the "peaceful use of nuclear power." It stated that the concept of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should not be used as a pretext to prevent developing countries from exercising their full rights to acquire and develop nuclear technology for the peaceful purpose of economic and social development.

Support for Palestinians

The summit reaffirmed its long-standing position of support for the people of Palestine fighting for their liberation. It likened the state of Israel and its acts of violence to that of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The summit also expressed "profound regret" at the war between Iran and Iraq and called upon them to cease hostilities and negotiate a peaceful settlement of the war.

For the first time, the issue of the rights of women was discussed at the summit. The draft political declaration was amended to call upon developing countries to introduce legal, political, and organizational measures to improve the conditions of women.

The summit likewise discussed the next Olympic games scheduled to take place in Korea. Washington wants the games to be held solely in South Korea. The summit condemned this move as "an attempt to perpetuate the division of Korea." It called upon the International Olympic Committee to host the games in both the north and south.

And, in addition to its support for the Israeli regime, Washington is the main backer of the governments conducting a reign of terror in South Africa and Chile.

Given these facts, antiterrorist statements by the U.S. and Israeli governments can only be seen as cynical attempts to further their aim of destroying the revolutionary conquests of workers and peasants in Libya and the Palestinian freedom struggle and keeping the countries of the region under their thumb.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People
September 18, 1961 Price 10c

At the United Auto Workers special convention last April, a resolution containing the views of the union's president, Walter Reuther, was passed as the guide to this year's contract negotiations. It said in part:

"Since 1953, the number of production workers in our industries [those under UAW contract] has declined by 381,000. . . . This dilemma will grow, not diminish, as technology advances and productivity rises. . . . The UAW approaches the bargaining table in 1961 with an open mind, flexible with respect to how we solve the problem of getting our members back to work but rigidly determined to find an answer. We are prepared to explore the following approaches in seeking a solution: Reduction of the work week or workday without loss in pay; Longer vacations; Additional paid holidays; Industrial sabbaticals; Early retirement."

Not one of these points is embodied in the contracts recently negotiated by Reuther with American Motors and General Motors. As usual, Reuther's "flexible" approach has proved simply a device to sidetrack the swelling movement within the UAW — and U.S. labor generally — for a resolute fight for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

Once again Reuther is revealed as "rigidly determined" to avoid this fight. But, as the resolution says, technological unemployment will grow, not diminish. And when the new contracts expire three years from now, "shorter hours with no reduction in take-home pay" will still be the answer to automation unemployment.

Labor's stake in fighting Hormel

Geo. A. Hormel & Co., through the contracts it is attempting to impose on meatpackers in eight of its plants, has shown itself to be the enemy of all meatpackers, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) members, and the entire North American labor movement. The concessions imposed in these contracts are a continuation of Hormel's practice since it unilaterally imposed and implemented a takeback contract on UFCW Local P-9 members in Austin, Minnesota, in 1984.

Through separate negotiations with the trustees of Local P-9, Hormel has effectively isolated and weakened the workers at the Austin plant. This plant is Hormel's flagship facility, with almost one-third of the entire work force in the chain.

Hormel's strategy in the current negotiations was to weaken Local P-9 as much as possible and set up the entire work force for further blows in the next negotiations.

Hormel refused to negotiate on recall rights for the 800 Local P-9 members who were out on strike for nearly a year starting in August 1985. In fact, Hormel insisted that if it were forced to recall them it would do so on the basis of who sent individual letters to the company requesting reinstatement, not by seniority.

Hormel demanded and got a four-year contract for the Austin plant while the other seven locals got three-year contracts. Hormel demanded and got a "me-too" clause tying Local P-9 in Austin to Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska. These two measures exclude Local P-9 from the next chain negotiations (through its different contract span) and tie the fate of Local P-9, the strongest local in the chain, to one of the weakest locals in Hormel's oldest plant.

Hormel demanded and got a two-tier wage rate for the chain, effectively paying Austin workers less than in other plants by stealing the money the Austin workers were being paid in escrow.

Local P-9 in Austin can be legally excluded from striking during the 1989 negotiations, opening the way to massive new attacks on all Hormel workers. Most of the proposed contract is a carryover of the conditions imposed by Hormel on Austin's Local P-9 after it reopened the plant in January 1986.

Hormel's contract will foster divisions among meatpackers in Austin — between the workers who stayed out and those who crossed the picket line; between those who were members of Local P-9 before the plant's being closed by the strike and those who were hired as replacement workers after the plant was reopened early this year; between workers who were getting escrow money and those who were not.

Moreover, this contract will be used to sow divisions between union members in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, and members in Austin.

Hormel is threatening to transfer Local 431 workers from its Ottumwa plant to the Austin plant, to take the jobs of former Austin employees. This is in response to the ruling by the arbitrator in Ottumwa that employees there, who were fired for honoring Local P-9 roving pickets, were unjustifiably terminated. This is Hormel's way of trying to take that victory for Local 431 members and all meatpackers, and use it to pit members of Local 431 against those in Local P-9.

Hormel's goal is to convince as many meatpackers as possible that they are better off without a union. Moreover, it attempts to divide meatpackers in the United States from the strikers at the Gainers' meatpacking plant

in Alberta, Canada, and from meatpackers in Mexico. It tries to divide meatpackers by craft and fosters red-baiting and race-baiting to try to pit workers in North America against each other.

These efforts are tied to Hormel's attempt to promote the illusion that meatpackers in these small Midwestern towns are not really workers at all, but have left the working class to become part of the middle class.

In face of the onslaught by Hormel and other packinghouse bosses, thousands of meatpackers are being shaken from these illusions.

Hormel's union-busting actions are taking place in spite of the UFCW leadership's attempts to mutually work out with Hormel a "solution" acceptable to the profit interests of the company.

Hormel understands clearly that its main enemy is the meatpackers, who in their vast majority are organized by the UFCW. The UFCW top officials, unfortunately, have failed to see that the union's main enemy is Hormel. This has led them to the horrible spectacle of presenting the proposed contract as a step forward for meatpackers when in reality it is a ratification of the union-busting designs of Hormel.

The arrogance of Hormel and the other packinghouse bosses makes even the owners of USX seem mild. But the general character of their attacks is not exceptional. They are doing what all corporate owners are trying to do today.

Nor are Hormel's attacks on Local P-9 emotionally motivated nor aimed only at P-9. They are the result of a cold-blooded decision in the current negotiations to take what it can from workers in the chain as a whole. In addition, it wants to exclude Austin from the chain negotiations in 1989, thereby setting up all Hormel workers for a body blow.

The truth about the proposed contract must be told to UFCW members throughout the Hormel chain. As every worker knows, the actual contract is worse than the summary which puts the best face on the contract. And life in the plant is worse than the provisions of the contract itself.

The North American Meat Packers Union shows the way forward in this fight. NAMPU is a union organization that is attempting to maintain a fighting perspective for meatpackers in North America and the entire North American labor movement.

NAMPU is on a campaign to tell the truth about the contract being imposed by the Hormel bosses. It has campaigned for a "no" vote on the contract, and is pointing the ranks of the meatpacking industry toward a fight against the packinghouse bosses. By waging this fight NAMPU places itself in the best position to win the allegiance of a majority of meatpackers in Austin in the upcoming recertification elections, and the solidarity and respect of meatpackers throughout the rest of North America.

Unionists everywhere should redouble their efforts to get NAMPU members to speak before their unions in order to get the story of this important fight out as widely as possible. They should urge their unions to support NAMPU by adopting a family of one of the workers in Austin who Hormel refuses to let back to work.

This is a fight that should be supported by the entire North American labor movement and is the fight of all North American workers.

Why socialists don't conceal their aims

BY DOUG JENNESS

The Justice Department, FBI, and other cop agencies have for years accused the Socialist Workers Party of having two political lines — a phony one for the public and a secret one for organizing illegal and terrorist activities.

Judge Thomas Griesa, in his recent court ruling in the case brought against the FBI by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, found that there was no evidence for that accusation.

After decades of extensive spying, he said, the FBI was unable to show that the SWP was involved in any ac-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

tivities other than what it publicly said it was doing. "The FBI had accumulated evidence of a variety of lawful political pursuits by the SWP," the judge stated, "but no evidence of sabotage or violence or anything else of that nature."

SWP leaders have repeatedly explained for many years that the party does not say one thing and do another. It openly presents its perspective of social revolution in which the great majority of working people will bring down the political rule of the handful of families that run this country.

The SWP has nothing to hide; there are no skeletons in its closet. To the contrary, it is the FBI, the immigration cops, and other police agencies that operate in the dark, because their disruptive operations and snooping are outside the law. This is why the SWP was confident about locking horns with the FBI in the courts by initiating the lawsuit in 1973.

This is one of many important points in Griesa's ruling. And *Militant* readers who want to learn more about this decision should get a copy and study it. (See ad on page 3.)

But I chose this question to discuss here because it relates to a point in last week's column. That was that socialists "have no interests different than those of the working class as a whole." And that socialist workers are "the most advanced and resolute part of the working class."

If this is true, then it would not only be contradictory, but a colossal blunder, for socialists to keep their views hidden from the working class. If socialism is the generalized experiences of the working class itself — the lessons of its own setbacks and conquests — then what possible reason could socialist workers have for keeping this from workers, for hiding it under a bushel?

Socialists explain that nearly a century and a half of experience demonstrates that the only force that can advance the cause of working people is workers themselves, through their own organizations and actions.

But a great many workers do not see this clearly yet and look in other directions for help — from individual solutions to counting on politicians — bought and paid for by the bosses — who masquerade as "friends of labor."

Their own experience, including some sharp raps on the head from the employers, are beginning to teach many workers the problems of looking elsewhere for solutions to the worsening conditions they face. As this educational process takes place socialist workers attempt to lead in explaining the necessity of workers not subordinating their fight to any other interests.

Socialists have an advantage over other workers because they bring to this educational process the outlook of the working class as a whole — both nationally and internationally, as well as its past and its present — and not the viewpoint of just a section of the class. They help to point the road forward which ultimately will lead to the overthrow of capitalist political rule and the conquest of political power by the workers and farmers.

If the real line of socialist workers is hidden, it is much easier for the enemies of the working class to define socialism in their own twisted way. They can then say to workers: "Look. These people aren't what they say they are. Socialists are really a handful of conspirators who are plotting violent and disruptive actions to bring down the government by themselves." Or some similar such nonsense.

If the real program and activities of socialists are secret, they will then not be able to effectively counter these lies. Workers will be confused about what socialism is.

If socialists had some other aims that we kept concealed and around which we organized, it would, in fact, be a denial of the decisive role the working class can and will play in shaping its own future. It would mean setting up sectarian principles separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. This revolutionary socialists have fought against and will continue to fight against.

Farm tools to Nicaragua banned

Oxfam America, a private Boston-based relief agency, wanted to send a shipment of farm tools to Nicaragua, to help Nicaraguan peasants grow food. But the Reagan administration said "no."

As a justification for denying Oxfam's license application, the government declared that "such transactions are inconsistent with current U.S. foreign policy."

But Washington's own trade embargo rules, which were adopted in May 1985, permit shipments "to relieve human suffering." In fact, last year a similar Oxfam shipment was approved.

By any objective standard, the Oxfam aid to Nicaragua is certainly intended to "relieve human suffering." It was to include \$41,000 worth of rakes, seeds, shovels, agricultural books, wrenches, chain saws, hammers, a mimeograph machine, housing supplies, and water pipes.

The recipients were to be the Agricultural Mechanization School and Servicios Múltiples, a relief agency run by Catholic clergy. The agency works with refugees from northern Nicaragua who have been displaced by the U.S.-organized *contra* war. The Oxfam aid was aimed at helping the refugees build emergency shelters and grow food in small garden plots.

To Washington, such efforts "to relieve human suffering" are clearly "inconsistent with current U.S. foreign policy."

According to Colleen Westbrook, a public relations officer for Oxfam America, the Reagan administration is applying a "double standard on humanitarian aid."

It has okayed the provision of "humanitarian assistance" to the Honduran-based *contras* who carry out daily terrorist attacks against Nicaraguan peasants and workers.

In a protest against Reagan's trade embargo last year, Oxfam America and five other relief organizations declared that the embargo's effect "will be to increase human suffering in Nicaragua by disrupting constructive social and economic development undertaken by its people and institutions."

The relief groups noted that "the majority of Nicaraguan imports from the U.S. are for private and public sector agriculture, including machinery, spare parts, tools, pesticides, fertilizer, and seeds. These restrictions will surely decrease food production and cause hunger."

The blocking of this year's shipment of farm tools by Oxfam now marks an attempt to further tighten this trade embargo.

The relief organization plans to appeal the decision. Its Boston office reports that it has received phone calls from around the country expressing concern over the rejection of the license.

All opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America should add their voices in protest against the blocking of the aid shipment. The October 25 nationwide Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice offer a good opportunity to demand that the U.S. government lift its trade embargo, stop harassment of aid shipments, and halt all intervention in Nicaragua.

St. Louis electrical workers fight back — P-9 style

BY GREG PRESTON

A few weeks ago my union approved a contract with Emerson Electric in St. Louis that gave all workers a 1 percent yearly wage increase. It also retained previous contract provisions on seniority, work rules, and benefits.

Just four and one half months earlier the company had

UNION TALK

demanding pay cuts of up to 41 percent from nearly half the work force in job classifications held mainly by women. The other half faced drastic work-rule changes. We all faced severe takebacks in benefits.

Our victory was the result of a fight in which our local — International Union of Electronics Workers (IUE) Local 1102 — attempted to apply some lessons from the meatpackers' struggle in Austin, Minnesota.

Emerson Electric has turned a profit for 23 years straight, including \$401 million in 1985. But we were told in March that "the new competitive environment in our industry" required us to make concessions. And they had multicolor graphs and charts to prove it.

Emerson threatened to move our jobs to Orlando, Florida, if we didn't accept their demands. In fact, later in the negotiations we all received a copy of a full-page ad from the Florida Chamber of Commerce extolling the "friendly" business climate there.

After a couple of angry and scared union meetings in April and May where we dispensed with the usual business to discuss how to respond, one member took the floor to invite anyone who wanted to discuss how to fight back to meet with her.

Twelve people came forward after the union meeting. The next meeting, held in a park, attracted 60 workers.

Already union members were making homemade buttons and T-shirts with slogans such as "Don't give back, fight back!" and "IUE, not IOU." Cartoons, poems, announcements, and information related to the fight were posted in the time clock areas.

During the course of the fight, over 200 people came to at least one meeting of what was known as the 1102 Action Committee. Another 100 actively carried out tasks on the shop floor. Most local members wore T-shirts, buttons, and ribbons, when the action committee called for it.

When we showed a video about the Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers' struggle against Hormel at an action committee meeting, the effect was galvanizing. The discussion was shaped by references to the video and United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, the meatpackers' union.

Later, Terra Johnson, the central leader of the 1102 Action Committee, and I went to Austin. When we returned we redoubled our efforts to explain the Austin meatpackers' struggle and to absorb as much as we could learn from it.

Labor solidarity became a cornerstone of the action committee's activities. Helen McDermott, a leader of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants in St. Louis that had struck TWA over concessions demands, spoke to both the action committee meeting and a union meeting. She and several members of the action committee helped build the August 3 "Rally for Labor Fighting Back" sponsored by the St. Louis Labor Solidarity Committee.

Before that rally, which took place the same day that we voted on our contract, the action committee heard Dan Pedersen, an Austin meatpacker, recount the struggle of his union. Jim Guyette and Floyd Lenocho, suspended leaders of Local P-9, also spoke to the action committee before our vote. They pledged to send someone down to help us if we went on strike and described

what they had learned from being on strike for nearly a year.

Company representatives complained to the union negotiating committee that we shouldn't be listening to "those losers." They also arrogantly told our negotiators that we would have to accept the company's concessions because "there were only a couple of hundred radicals" and the rest of the work force would not go along.

In response to the company's claim that there was just a small handful of radicals, the union called a meeting on July 27, one week before the vote. Eight hundred members showed up and took ribbons saying "I'm a radical" the action committee had made.

The ribbons, some adapted to say "I'm as radical as I need to be to win," were widely visible in the last week of negotiations. Foremen complained to one another during this last week, "I can't get those women to do any work, I don't know why I should go in there."

On August 1, two days before we voted on the contract, we left the plant in a 300-car caravan with lights on that circled out of the parking lot and then back through for what seemed likely to be one last time.

If anything, the company had appeared to harden its negotiating position in the last week. But by the time of the vote they had given in entirely and presented the settlement we approved 637 in favor, 329 against.

The union won. But beyond the contract victory, we had won by fighting together, by fighting with others like the Austin meatpackers and the TWA flight attendants, and by *not* fighting among ourselves.

The union had deftly parried the company's attempt to divide the "radicals" from the union. Through the course of this struggle we also turned back their attempt to divide us as men and women workers.

Greg Preston is a member of Local 1102 and an active participant in the 1102 Action Committee.

LETTERS

Former postal worker

It was with great interest that I read the *Militant* article on the recent incident in an Oklahoma post office. As a former postal worker, my first reaction when the news hit the press was not far from the workers who wondered why it hadn't happened sooner.

In 1971 I worked in the Chicago post office. My supervisor was a white man who'd been demoted to the station I worked in for blinding a Black postal worker with mace.

He was finally fired for calling the Chicago police in to arrest two Black women workers he was trying to frame up on charges of stealing. The reason for his dismissal? He called out the cops when he should have called in the FBI, the only agency allowed to police postal workers. A shining example of justice in the civil service system of America.

Working for the post office was an object lesson in the most intense racist and sexist harassment imaginable. Fifteen years later, it comes as no surprise that not much has changed.

*Jeri Mullan
Chicago, Illinois*

PRDF supporter

The editorial in the September 5 *Militant* indicates that you will be featuring articles on the significance of the Political Rights Defense Fund victory.

Having been a PRDF supporter since 1973, I'll be interested.

Beginning with next week's issue, please send me 12 issues at the special rate of \$3.

*G.C.
Silver Spring, Maryland*

No future for P-9

It seems to me the situation of the meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, has become quite similar to that of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers (PATCO) members. P-9 does not appear to have a future.

Most critical, to me, are relations between local and national leaders. If local leaders, regardless of how perceptive in other ways, fail to maintain a strong connection, they defeat themselves.

It is for those who are able, to

lead. Unfortunately, the greatest lack of ability is seen in the highest places today. The result is decay of the union movement. It may be that the AFL-CIO has come close to the end of useful life. If so, perhaps a more political entity will eventually take its place.

But until then, local leaders and members will need to be very realistic in relations with national leaders. Good intentions will not be a useful substitute.

*Jim Krahn
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

Environment

I'm a bit of an environmentalist and would like to see an occasional article in the *Militant* devoted to this subject.

Although I realize it is a half-issue with regard to politics, it is very important. A socialist world will never be realized if the earth is contaminated and polluted to the point of being unable to support life as we know it.

*A prisoner
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

S. Africa shipping ban

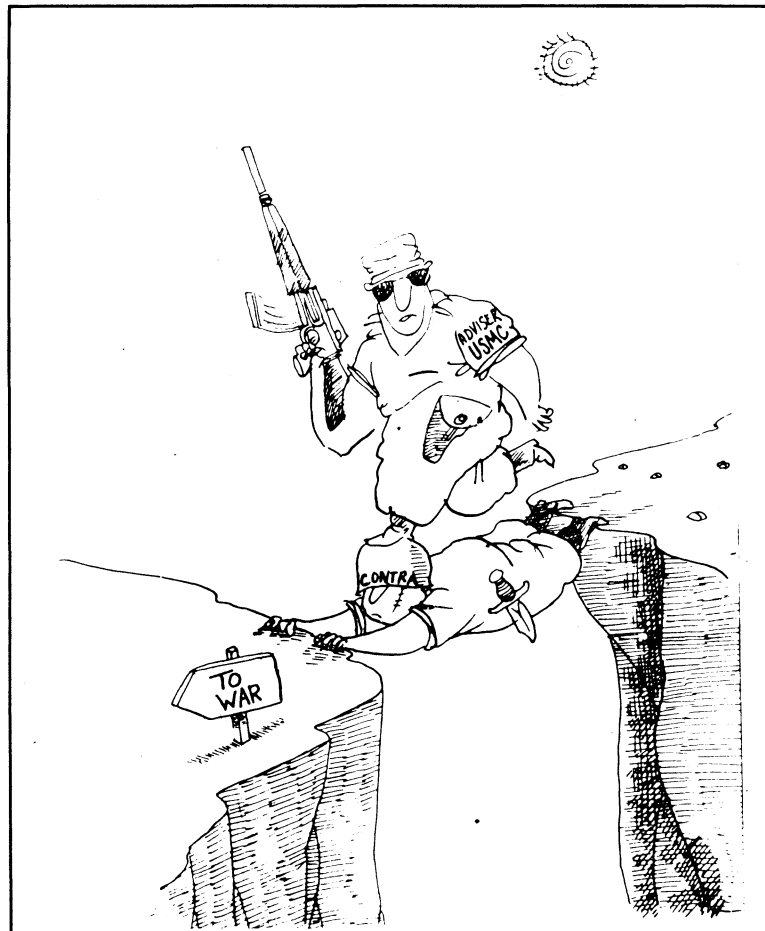
On July 3 the port of Wilmington, Delaware, was closed to South African shipping by resolution of the city council and proclamation of the mayor. All city departments were also prohibited from buying any South African goods or services.

Representatives of the two stevedore companies in the port and Arthur Wilson, president of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1694, recently tried to get the ban reversed.

A city council meeting was set up to discuss the issue. But a number of longshoremen came to the council chambers to protest their president's pro-South Africa position. After half an hour the meeting broke up in confusion and Wilson left, saying he had never favored lifting the ban.

The ban was a victory that followed on the heels of a successful effort to force the county to divest pension funds from South Africa.

A militant campaign involving several hundred people and including unions, churches, Black organizations, peace groups, and



Barricada Internacional

students was built. A movement was created that scared the hell out of the local politicians and that could demand a shipping ban and get it.

*Roy Inglee
Beacon Hill, Delaware*

Frame up

Wilfredo "Cito" Santiago was recently convicted in the killing of a Philadelphia policeman. Santiago, 22 years old, was convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison, with no possibility of parole.

At a press conference announcing a demonstration to protest the conviction, City Councilman Angel Ortiz joined with Puerto Rican leaders and Santiago's family in charging that Santiago had been framed up and railroaded to prison.

The policeman was found shot on May 28. City cops immediately carried out illegal sweeps of the Hispanic Spring Garden neighborhood, rounding up and detaining

Puerto Rican youths for interrogation without charges.

The sweeps came to a halt only when a judge issued an injunction and a \$45,000 fine against the police department for violating the civil rights of more than 80 residents.

The city began constructing its case against Santiago without a weapon, without evidence, and with no witnesses to the killing.

Its case was based on prison informers, three of whom said the cops conspired with one informer to frame Santiago, soliciting false statements in return for favorable treatment.

*Alison Davis
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Marijuana

It is sadly ironic that "liberal" Democrats are competing with Reaganite Republicans to see who can launch the most vicious repression against users and suspected suppliers of the natural herb cannabis (marijuana).

If 1 percent of the antimarijuana propagandists' claims were true, at least half of the people now in their 30s and early 40s would have been mentally incapacitated or dead for at least 10 years.

I do not wish to see my tax money wasted on military raids against Northwestern farmers, or prison cells to confine perfectly harmless citizens.

Instead of adding to drug-related harm by enacting more repressive legislation, why not put marijuana under appropriate and enforceable controls by replacing prohibition with regulation? Why not provide accurate drug education for our youth, instead of inundating them with "reefer madness" propaganda that destroys the credibility of warnings against truly harmful drugs like crack?

Why not restore funding to our much-needed income assistance, food assistance, medical assistance, and youth employment programs, thereby alleviating most of the conditions that lead to substance abuse problems?

And if Republicans and Democrats alike are so concerned about citizens' health, why not enact tougher laws against environmental pollution, instead of giving corporations carte blanche to inflict mortal damage on people without our consent or even our knowledge?

Would the majority of Americans rather let children starve or die of radiation poisoning than let adults enjoy an occasional after-work joint?

*R.B. Wilk
Bloomfield, New Jersey*

Correction

In the September 5 issue Betty Tsang was misidentified in an article on postal workers. She is the executive vice-president of the Miami-area local of the American Postal Workers Union.

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.

Dairy farmers seek labor support

Milk strike spreads to many states across the country

BY ANDY COATES
AND JIM CALLAHAN

ALBANY, N.Y. — A milk-withholding action that began in the Northeast is spreading quickly to other parts of the United States. The milk strike began in Maine on August 31 and moved into New York and other states earlier this month.

Striking dairy farmers in New York came to this city on Labor Day to explain their action to participants in a union-organized parade and picnic.

Some workers helped support the farmers by passing out over 400 leaflets at the gathering. The leaflet explained that "for too long the working farmer has been pitted against the worker, especially those in organized labor."

"Farmers have been told," the farmers' leaflet noted, "that wage increases raise the prices of the products they must buy. Workers have been told that prices needed by farmers will raise their food prices at the supermarket. The only beneficiaries of this division," the farmers pointed out, "have been the big banks and corporations who profit from the labor of both farmers and workers."

The farmers urged unionists to picket milk handlers and supermarkets and participate in protests demanding an end to farm foreclosures and a price for farm produce that makes it possible for farmers to make a living.

Protests spread

One protest meeting in Maine drew 300 dairy farmers, one-third of the milk producers in that state.

The center of the strike is in three New York counties — Oneida, Madison, and Herkimer — with at least 150 participating farmers. Forty dairy farmers used Dairy Day at the New York state fair in Syracuse to picket and demand a "livable" price for their milk.

In Cooperstown, New York, Clifford Brunner began dumping \$400 worth of milk on his cornfield September 1. In Ellenburg, dairy farmer Maurice Brunet dumped 52,000 gallons of milk, representing 15,000 of his own and the rest from neighboring farms.

In Madrid, Kenny Mitchell and 11 other dairy farmers participated in the strike by dumping thousands of pounds of milk. "We can't work at 50 percent of parity anymore," Mitchell said. "We've got to get something more out of it."

Farmers in other states, including Georgia, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Texas, Tennessee, and Vermont, are participating.

Dairy farmers, like many independent producers, get paid after their product is consumed. Milk checks come six to eight weeks after dairy farmers have shipped their milk.

Producers find out what price they got paid for their milk when they open the envelope with their checks.

In explaining to workers how they get paid, dairy farmers often use this example: "Go to the grocery store and fill your cart with food. Tell the cashier that you'll send them a check in six weeks for what you thought the food was worth."

Milk prices have been steadily falling for producers since 1981. Currently they get about 75 cents a gallon for the milk they sell to the processors. To break even, they need to double that amount. They point out that their price is determined by a complicated government scheme while supermarket prices are not fixed. Farmers argue that for them to get a higher price processors and giant retail chains should pay rather than raising supermarket prices to consumers.

A big bonanza for the large dairy corpo-



Dairy farmers are currently getting only half the price they need to meet production costs. They argue that corporate milk processors and giant retail chains should pay them more, rather than gouging working-class consumer.

rations is the government-run Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) which warehouses dairy goods after the processors have bought them from the farmers. The CCC supposedly uses its stored dairy goods in the market to try to keep prices stable, but in fact it's used to steadily drive down producer prices. Under current laws if a processor claims to have a surplus of cheese, for example, the government through the CCC has to buy it from them. Companies like Borden, Dairyalea, and Kraft sell cheese to the CCC, which then turns around and rents warehouse space from these same companies to store the cheese they own. This way the government helps the processors double their profits and drives down the prices farmers are paid. One New York dairy farmer says, "The companies use CCC to roll their stock."

Farmers are paid for their milk per hundredweight (cwt), which is 11.6 gallons. The current price they get is about \$11.27 per cwt, down from over \$14. Deducted from their milk checks is 15 cents per cwt for milk advertising and 10 cents per cwt for cooperative dues (the producer pays higher shipping charges if they don't belong to a co-op).

One of the biggest spurs for the with-

holding action is the adverse effects of the dairy-herd buy-out scheme launched early this year as part of the new farm bill approved by Congress.

Under this plan, if dairy farmers agree to slaughter their entire herd, the government will partially reimburse them for the milk their cows would have produced that year.

One hitch is that the costs of the program are borne by the remaining producers, who are taxed by the Department of Agriculture for the buy-out.

Big surplus?

One of the myths used by the government and the big corporations is that there is a big surplus of milk. Farmers say that in a world where there is widespread hunger and malnourishment, it's wrong to talk about a surplus of food, including milk. A farm leader in Herkimer County exclaimed that thousands of people in Third World countries "die nightly of starvation! Is there a surplus or a misdistribution?"

Milk strikes and other forms of direct action are not new in New York. There were milk strikes in 1937 and 1950, and in 1967 the National Farmers Organization launched a strike that was halted by a court injunction. The price farmers got for their milk rose after each of these actions.

The government and the media are working together to derail the current action and keep working people and other farmers ignorant of what is taking place. New York State Agriculture Commissioner Joseph Gerace and State Sen. Nancy Hoffman are pushing a regional marketing scheme to undercut the strike.

A great obstacle facing farmers remains their physical isolation from each other and from wage workers. The bankers and corporate owners have made use of this during the strike.

One striking farmer called this "the mushroom method: they put you in the dark and feed you horseshit."

With prices farmers get for their products, their workday has become a grinding speedup, not unlike what factory workers experience.

Between 1968 and 1982, 600,000 dairy farmers nationally were driven out of farming. At the start of 1986 there were only 250,000 dairy farms. It's in this context that the current milk strike is occurring.

A number of the leaders of the withholding action are delegates to the United Farmer and Rancher Congress in St. Louis, September 11-13. They are taking their case to other farmers and urge support for their strike.

October 10 anti-apartheid actions set for many campuses and cities

BY ERNEST HARSCH

National anti-apartheid protest actions are being planned in cities and at college campuses throughout the United States for October 10.

Backed by student committees, trade unions, community organizations, churches, political parties, and other groups, these actions will demand that the U.S. government cut its ties with the apartheid regime of South Africa through divestment and the imposition of trade and other sanctions.

October 10 coincides with the International Day in Solidarity with Southern African Political Prisoners. So the protests will likewise promote campaigns for the release of South African and Namibian political prisoners, with participants encouraged to wear black armbands in solidarity with those jailed by the apartheid authorities.

The call for the nationwide actions came out of two conferences held in late June.

One, in New York City, involved some 150 student activists from 50 campuses. The other, in San Francisco, brought 350 delegates from California, Arizona, Oregon, and Washington, including many trade unionists.

The protests are backed by the American Committee on Africa, the Call to Conscience network (encompassing many local anti-apartheid organizations), the U.S. Student Association, Mobilization for Survival, and other groups.

Many of the campus actions will feature the construction of shanties, as well as sit-ins and other forms of protest. Other demonstrations will target the offices of U.S. corporations with investments in South Africa.

The D.C. Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism is organizing a march in Washington, D.C., which will include protests near the embassies of other governments that collaborate with the apartheid regime.

In Los Angeles, an anti-apartheid march set for October 11 is being organized by the local Free South Africa Movement and a broad list of sponsors. It has also been endorsed by a coalition building a November 1 demonstration to demand "U.S. out of Central America." Activists plan to organize a large Central America contingent in the anti-apartheid action, under the banner, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Among other locations, protest demonstrations are also being built in Miami, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Atlanta, and Philadelphia.

According to the American Committee on Africa, plans are also under way in Europe for actions to protest U.S. aid to the South African-backed counterrevolutionary bands operating in Angola.

For further information on the local actions, contact: American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, Room 402, New York, N.Y. 10038, (212) 962-1210.