

## Mexican quake victims demand new housing

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

MEXICO CITY — A river of torches lit the night as 50,000 people poured into the Zócalo square here to mark the anniversary of the earthquake that devastated this capital city on Sept. 19, 1985.

Most of the demonstrators were working people left homeless by the quake. Thousands of them carried candles, flowers, and wooden crosses in memory of their dead relatives, friends, and neighbors. No one knows exactly how many were killed in the disaster; estimates range from the official 6,000 to 45,000.

The angry demonstrators came to demand that the government build more housing for the homeless and that it expropriate housing lots from landlords to provide additional housing to needy families.

Cuauhtémoc Abarca, leader of the United Commission of Earthquake Victims, which called the march, told the crowd that one year after the quake only 10,000 out of 110,000 families left homeless had been given permanent housing. Some 30,000 families are still in temporary camps throughout the city, living in subhuman conditions.

The marchers chanted, "Justice! Justice!" and "Meet the needs of the homeless." In hundreds of hand-painted signs they demanded "Decent housing" and "Broaden the expropriation." The latter refers to a decree that President Miguel de la Madrid issued on Oct. 11, 1985, in response to continual protests by earthquake victims. Seven thousand lots in the capital



Garment workers at Mexico City earthquake anniversary march

district were taken over to provide housing relief; landlords were paid compensation for the expropriated lots.

But residents of Tepito, a working-class neighborhood that was flattened by the disaster, complained that many landlords were getting exemptions or reversals of the takeover order. One elderly woman told me, "Because my home was damaged but not destroyed, the government hasn't given us any aid. But the house is uninhabitable.

They should take it over and give us credit to rebuild it."

That same day, de la Madrid had complained that, while the government was doing what it could, it faced a shortage of funds. Some of the signs in the demonstration had an answer to that: "Don't pay the foreign debt," "Money for housing, not for the debt."

Mexico has a debt of more than \$100 billion to foreign banks, which have pressured the Mexican government to impose harsh economic austerity measures on workers and farmers. Government-owned plants have been shut down, and subsidies on staple foods and services have been cut. Prices and unemployment have skyrocketed.

The \$3.5-billion cost of the earthquake destruction, which devastated schools, hospitals, water pipes, telephone service, and electrical power, has added to this enormous debt misery.

After the earthquake, dozens of neighborhood organizations mushroomed, as Mexico City's working people struggled to rebuild their communities and their livelihoods. Many of these new groups swelled the ranks of the march, with names like Guerrero Neighbors Union, El Centro Tenants Committee of Struggle, and Emilio

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## Unionists vow to win support for rights fight

BY CATHERINE FRASER

NEWARK, N.J. — "Our goal is to take this campaign to the labor movement and make it a campaign of the labor movement," John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), told a meeting of more than 50 trade unionists here September 20.

Called on short notice by PRDF, the two-day meeting was held in the union hall of the Service Employees International Union Local 617. It brought together members of 11 unions from 29 cities across the country. Over the course of the weekend they discussed the significance for workers and their unions of the August 25 federal court ruling that government spying, disruption, and harassment of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were illegal and unconstitutional.

Those present responded enthusiastically to a proposal to launch a broad and ambitious campaign to win the support of thousands of trade union activists and their unions for the next round of the court battle.

The significance of Judge Thomas Griesa's August 25 ruling was outlined in a report presented to the meeting by Craig Gannon, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. By expanding the constitutionally guaranteed right to privacy, especially in relation to organizations, Judge Griesa's ruling puts new restrictions on the actions of the political police, Gannon explained.

But, he emphasized, the fight isn't over yet. The SWP's lawyers will soon be going back to court to pursue the question of which of the millions of pages of files the FBI has on the SWP and YSA were obtained illegally and what should be done with them.

Griesa's ruling states that the SWP and YSA are entitled to injunctive relief that will bar the FBI from using illegally obtained documents.

This is an important battleground because the breadth or narrowness of this decision will affect how broadly the overall ruling is interpreted.

In the framework of this fight, PRDF is launching a new campaign to publicize the case, win broad sponsorship, and raise money.

At the heart of this perspective is the

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## Farm activists' meeting debates deepening crisis

BY JOHN GAIGE

ST. LOUIS — Some 1,900 delegates and observers from nearly 50 states met here September 11-13 to discuss the devastating attacks against farmers and to consider proposals for fighting back. This was the biggest gathering of farm activists in several years.

The delegates to the United Farmers and Ranchers Congress adopted a package of resolutions that include a call for an end to farm foreclosures and for higher prices to farmers for their produce.

Farm Aid, Inc., directed by country music star Willie Nelson, financed the meeting.

Leading up to the congress, 500 rural regional caucuses elected delegates, the majority of them farmers. They discussed preliminary drafts of resolutions that addressed the farm crisis.

Adverse conditions have plagued working farmers and driven tens of thousands off the land in the last decade.

Prices paid to working farmers have been far below skyrocketing production costs. A national farm debt has piled up to more than \$220 billion. Land and machinery values have plunged 50 percent since 1981, shrinking the collateral farmers have available to borrow on. Meanwhile interest on loans has climbed. The outcome has been bankruptcy and forced farm foreclosures.

Roger Allison, a Missouri farmer delegate and coordinator of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center, told the *Militant*, "In Missouri the agricultural base has just about been destroyed because of government-enforced low farm commodity prices."

Allison said, "More than 50 percent of

FmHA [Farmers Home Administration] loans are delinquent in Missouri, and in all counties in Northern Missouri the farm debt far exceeds the assets for ground, equipment, and buildings."

"According to official estimates," he said, "6,900 farms will go out of business this year. Our contention is that double that many will go out."

Allison noted that 17 counties had been declared by a physicians' task force as "hunger counties" where many farm families live in poverty and need food

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## United antiwar actions set for 12 cities

BY LAURA GARZA

Opponents of the U.S. mercenary war in Nicaragua are mobilizing for regional actions in 12 cities on October 25 and November 1.

Over the last few weeks, in response to a national call for coordinated actions issued by the National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, many organizations and individuals have joined together to form coalitions and plan marches and rallies.

There are now regional actions set on October 25 for Austin, Texas; Atlanta; Chicago; Miami; Minneapolis; New Haven, Connecticut; New York; San Francisco; Seattle; and Washington, D.C.

November 1 actions are scheduled for Boston and Los Angeles.

In Atlanta a coalition is planning a weekend of activities. A march and rally on the 25th will be followed that evening by a fundraising event. On the next day a

conference will hear a report on Nicaragua from American Indian Movement leader Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt).

Wabun-Inini will also be a featured speaker, along with a representative of the African National Congress, at the October 25 rally.

A letter inviting people to a regional planning meeting for the Atlanta march was signed by a representative of the Freeze and Jobs with Peace Campaign; the president of a large American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees local; a Student Coalition Against Racism representative; and the Southeast regional director of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has also added its name to the list of endorsers.

A coalition to bring people from the Bir-

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Militant/Nancy Cole

August 30 Chicano action in Austin, Texas, protests U.S. aid to Nicaraguan 'contras.'

# Auto workers support Alberta meatpackers

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

EDMONTON, Alberta — The cross-Canada tour by 20 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 280P continues to build support for the 1,080 meatpacking workers on strike against Gainers here since June 1.

The September 13-14 Canada Council of the Canadian Automobile Workers (CAW) voted to donate \$2,000 to the striking local. CAW President Bob White called the fight against Gainers the strike of the year and urged the entire labor movement to help defeat Gainers' owner Peter Pocklington's attempt to bust the union.

CAW Local 222 at the large General Motors plant in Oshawa, Ontario, has also contributed \$2,000 and many CAW locals are organizing plant-gate collections.

The Gainers strikers received a heroes' welcome in the eastern Canada island of Newfoundland where 5,500 government workers in the Newfoundland Association of Public Employees (NAPE) have been on strike since September 3.

On September 11 some 75 NAPE strikers marched through a shopping mall in the island's capital city demanding that Gainers' products be removed from supermarket shelves. Gainers strikers also addressed a mass NAPE rally. And many NAPE workers now proudly wear Gainers solidarity buttons alongside their own. This symbolizes the determination they share with the meatpackers: to wage their battles against boss and police attacks on both strikes through to the end.

The solidarity being generated by the cross-country tour, which is being conducted with the aid of Canada's largest labor federation, the Canadian Labor Congress, is important to UFCW Local 280P's capacity to win.

On the other hand, Gainers' management is receiving the full backing of big business, its governments, and media. On

September 15 the union received an anonymous phone call informing it that tainted Gainers' Eversweet ham had been identified as the source of food poisoning of three people in the eastern province of Nova Scotia.

Gainers' managers and officials of the Health and Safety Board of Agriculture Canada worked together to insure that the story did not get cross-country publicity.

UFCW spokesman Ed Seymour says conditions in the plant are atrocious. The union has a tape of someone explaining how they've seen meat on the floor picked up and then processed, but they can't get the media to play it. Gainers workers' efforts to put a stop to deteriorating health and safety conditions is one of the important issues in the strike.

The federal Conservative government's support to Gainers' union-busting activities is nothing new. Since the strike began it has been forcing unwilling federal meat inspectors to cross the picket lines under threat of firing.

The government-funded Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has run commercials advertising Gainers' products, calling it "normal business practice," but has refused the UFCW's ads urging a boycott of Gainers as too controversial. On September 19 Prime Minister Brian Mulroney did his friend Peter Pocklington a public relations favor by attending a televised charity game featuring Pocklington's hockey team the Edmonton Oilers.

Not to be outdone in the granting of favors to a fellow big businessman, Safeway public relations manager Larry McLennan announced September 17 that three Food for Less stores that it owns in Edmonton would begin selling Gainers' bulk bacon without identifying it as such.

Public pressure forced the company to put up a sign noting the presence of Gainers' products.



Many Gainers strikers and supporters have been harassed by the cops. Socialist Voice/Beverly Bernardo

## United antiwar protests set

Continued from front page

mingham, Alabama, area has been formed.

This type of broad support is being shown for actions across the country. The protests are being built in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America, apartheid, and military spending, and for an end to nuclear weapons.

New national endorsers of the action include the National Farm Workers Ministry, National Rainbow Coalition, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and the Presbyterian Peace Fellowship.

War veterans who have been conducting a fast to protest Washington's aid to *contras* plan to lead off the Boston march.

The regional actions have sparked efforts to organize in surrounding areas. In Milwaukee, for example, a coalition was formed to organize buses for the Chicago action.

Tom Turner, Metro Detroit AFL-CIO president, is one of the signers on a letter encouraging support for the Chicago action and inviting people to a meeting on September 27 to lay plans for getting people there. The meeting will be held at the International Association of Machinists headquarters.

The Detroit Nuclear Weapons Freeze has also made its office and phone available for organizing this effort.

In New York, a student at Bard College helped to form the Northern Dutchess County Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice to organize support for the New York City action. Two buses have been reserved and plans are under way to sign up students at an anti-apartheid event on October 11, and to have regular tables up on campus and in area communities.

As word of the regional actions has gotten out, other cities have made plans to participate in the day of national actions.

In Denver, a coalition formed to protest Reagan when he visited the city on September 8 now plans to organize a local event on October 25.

A coalition in Cincinnati also formed recently is planning a rally there on October 25.

The National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice can be reached at 853 Broadway, Suite 418, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 533-0008.

## Indiana protesters turn backs on Rehnquist

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — A protest here against U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa September 12 also turned into a protest against racism and repression at home.

By coincidence the 12th was also the day that now Supreme Court Chief Justice William Rehnquist spoke at a dedication ceremony for the remodeled IU School of Law.

Nearly 150 people attended the rally. Demonstrators marched from the IU anti-apartheid shantytown, which had been the scene of several racist attacks including one by arsonists a month earlier, to the IU auditorium where Rehnquist was scheduled to speak. A number of demonstrators went inside, booing and turning their backs to the speaker when Rehnquist was introduced. Several protesters were manhandled and ejected from the auditorium by police.

## Earthquake victims demand housing

Continued from front page

Carranza United Front of Residents.

But the organization that stood out most was the September 19 National Sewers Union. Dozens of militant garment workers formed a contingent and chanted, "Meet the needs of the sewers."

The union was literally born out of the ruins of the earthquake, which killed more than 600 garment workers in the sweatshops that crumbled. The workers themselves had to organize efforts to rescue their coworkers trapped in the rubble and then to keep the bosses from moving the equipment and shops to other locations or out of the country.

On the day of the march, in an abandoned building where 74 garment workers had lost their lives in the quake, the union organized a heavily-attended photo exhibit. It narrated the story of their struggle on cardboard shirt patterns strung along

a line of coathangers on the wall. A symbolic coffin was draped with a scroll listing the names of "our fallen comrades." The union also led a march to the presidential house to demand better working conditions and an end to victimization of union supporters by the employers.

At the march at the Zócalo, half a dozen seamstresses crowded around me to explain their struggle. They were part of a group of 47 garment workers from six factories — some of which are owned by U.S. companies such as *Playboy* — that, alleging bankruptcy, still refuse to pay compensation to workers left jobless.

Bertha Bustamante, a leader of the sewers, said, "We used to do anything the boss told us. But we learned to defend our rights. Now we're not afraid of the boss or even the cops."

"Today we're different people," she added, flashing a proud grin.

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# Oct. 11 march aids Hormel fight

## Day of solidarity celebrates role of Austin support group

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Austin United Support Group has called for unionists, farmers, students, and other activists to come to Austin, Minnesota, October 11 for a day of solidarity with the meatpackers' struggle against George A. Hormel & Co.

The meatpackers demand restoration of their jobs and a decent contract. The company has refused to recall some 800 workers in an effort to starve out resistance to its antilabor actions.

An initial schedule for the October 11 action, which will celebrate the second anniversary of the founding of the support group, has been announced.

At 1:00 p.m. participants will gather outside the support group office for a parade ending with a rally at 2:30 p.m. at the Austin Community Center. A variety of speakers from unions, farmers' groups, and other supporters of the meatpackers' fight will address the rally.

This will be followed by a concert featuring Larry Long, a labor singer and musician from Minneapolis; John McCutcheon, who plays the hammer dulcimer; and singer Charlie King.

At 8:00 p.m. a dance will conclude the day's activities.

The events provide an opportunity for union activists and others to meet with the Hormel workers, learn more about the current stage of the struggle, exchange experiences, and discuss the next steps in fighting the employers' takeback and union-busting drive.

The meatpackers and their supporters are stepping up other activities as well.

Judge James Mork terminated prosecution September 20 of some 200 unionists and their supporters who faced criminal charges for peaceful picketing at the Hormel plant. The unionists agreed to do between 8 and 40 hours each of community service work, while affirming that this implied no admission of guilt. A few of the accused rejected the community service proposal and are still contesting the charges against them.

Sixteen unionists still face felony charges.

### Vehicle caravan

About 45 vehicles circled the Hormel plant in Austin the next day for more than an hour. The procession of cars and trucks carried signs demanding, "Where are our jobs?" and white crosses bearing the names of Hormel workers who have been denied their jobs for participating in the struggle.

Two carloads of Austin meatpackers and



Militant/Martin Koppel  
**Jan Butts, president of Austin United Support Group, which has played vital role in organizing solidarity and providing desperately needed aid for embattled Hormel workers.**

supporters headed for Rochelle, Illinois, on September 23 to offer support to the picket lines of striking FDL meatpackers. About 1,750 workers at plants in Rochelle and in Dubuque, Iowa, have been on strike since September 11. They are members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Locals 1218 and 150A respectively.

The two locals rejected an FDL offer increasing their wages by \$.50 over two years to only \$8.50 an hour. FDL is closely linked to Hormel by a marketing agreement.

FDL had announced that it would reopen

the plant and accept applications for scab labor on September 23. Local 1218 President Harlan Johnson told the *Militant* that day that "maybe half a dozen union members crossed the picket line and returned to work. The company also brought in some office personnel. The rest of the 550 union workers are solid."

Many of those who came to get applications were persuaded to turn back by the pickets, who were reinforced by carloads of workers from the Dubuque plant.

More than 100 cops were mobilized to confront the pickets. They arrested 17 workers.

The next morning the cops attacked again, even more violently. One union member was dragged away and badly beaten. Four workers were arrested.

Johnson said that company threats of violence have been increasing. "Two days ago, a company driver taking a shipment out of the plant pointed a shotgun at pickets."

### United Support Group

From the car caravan around the Hormel plant to solidarity with the embattled FDL strikers, the Austin United Support Group has been at the center of all the activities of the Austin meatpackers who are fighting Hormel.

The October 11 action will celebrate its vital role, which began even before the Austin meatpackers went on strike against Hormel in August 1985.

Cindi Bellrichard, an initiator and leader of the support group, told the *Militant* that it originated in October 1984 when Hormel unilaterally imposed a 23 percent wage cut on members of UFCW Local P-9.

On October 10, the day before a union meeting to discuss how to respond to the company attacks, "a few of the wives got together," said Bellrichard. "We wanted to do something to express our support for whatever the union decided to do."

When the union met at a local high school the next day, some 25 wives and

other family members stood in a line outside. They carried placards with messages such as "We support our husbands."

Flyers were printed up for another meeting. That meeting adopted the name Austin United Support Group.

Because of an earlier arbitrator's ruling that Local P-9 could not strike until August 1985, the union meeting decided against a walkout. The local submitted the wage cut to arbitration, believing that such a unilateral cut was barred by the 1981 contract. An arbitrator ruled, however, that the cuts were legal. It turned out that the provisions barring wage cuts, which had been included in the summary of the contract Local P-9 voted on, did not appear in the final version Hormel signed with top officials of the UFCW.

When the local went on strike in August 1985, the support group stepped up its activity. It expanded to include spouses, other family members, and other supporters of the Hormel workers.

### Raising funds

Since the beginning of the strike, Bellrichard explained, the support group's activities have centered on helping the meatpackers resist Hormel's efforts to starve them into submission. When UFCW officials placed P-9 in trusteeship in May of this year and called off the strike, the support group continued to aid the 800 workers Hormel refused to call back, as well as their families.

The Austin United Support Group operates a food shelf, collecting donations and distributing the food to meatpackers.

The support group also raises funds for the Adopt-a-Family Fund, Emergency and Hardship Fund, Legal and Defense Fund, and the Hormel Rank and File Fightback Fund.

The support group has reached out to involve other unions, farmers, American Indian organizations, students, and other forces supporting the fight against Hormel's union-busting.

## Meatpackers win help from unionists

### Seattle tour

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — The Labor Day picnic held by the King County Central Labor Council was the first stop in a month-long tour of this area by Merle and Madeline Krueger.

Merle Krueger, who has worked for 43 years at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota, is a supporter of the North American Meat Packers Union. Madeline is active in the Austin United Support Group, which raises vitally needed material aid for the Austin meatpackers.

At the picnic the Kruegers spoke to painters, machinists, restaurant workers, carpenters, letter carriers, longshoremen, and others. A painter who was on strike at the time of the picnic said, "I've followed the Hormel struggle carefully and I feel you have done a great service to the labor movement."

During the tour the Kruegers attended a meeting of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 289, which raised \$200 for the Hormel workers who are being denied their job by the company because of their participation in the 1985-86 strike.

Local 1002 of the International Union of Electronic Workers donated \$100 to the Hormel workers' Emergency Legal Appeal, and adopted a motion calling for the dropping of charges against 16 Hormel workers facing felony charges because of strike activity.

At a meeting of 10,000 Boeing aircraft workers in Seattle September 9, held to hear a report from IAM officials on contract talks, the Kruegers and several union members distributed copies of a leaflet supporting the Hormel workers' struggle. It was signed by Gary Peterson, president of IAM Local 2202, and Lou Truskoff, president of the Seattle chapter of the American

Postal Workers Union. The leaflet appealed for funds, and money was collected in buckets from the Boeing workers.

Merle Krueger attended a statewide conference of the Association of Paper and Pulp Workers Union held in Tacoma where he received a standing ovation. Hundreds of dollars worth of hats, buttons, and T-shirts were sold.

### Steel convention

BY ELLIE GARCIA

LAS VEGAS — "We help you guys." "Our local sends you money." "We don't buy Hormel."

These were some of the responses that Cecil Cain, a supporter of the North American Meat Packers Union (NAMPU) in Austin, Minnesota, got from delegates at the 23d Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) held here August 25-29.

By attending receptions of District 31, District 33, and District 35 held during the convention, Cain met with LTV workers from Gary, Indiana; shipyard workers from Newport News, Virginia; and members

from South Carolina, Kentucky, and elsewhere.

Minnesota Steelworkers were glad to see fighters from Austin at the convention. A number of these locals had submitted resolutions calling for support to the struggle and to the boycott of Hormel products. The convention Resolutions Committee headed off a floor discussion by referring the resolutions to the International Executive Board.

Cain also dropped in at a reception hosted by USWA Vice-president Leon Lynch and the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. He had discussions with several of the Black and Chicano Steelworkers who attended.

Delegates from Local 1938 at the Minntac mine on the Minnesota Iron Range hosted a reception for Cain. The Minntac mine, owned by USX, has locked out 1,400 USWA members.

Cain presented an update on the meatpackers' struggle, which was followed by a lively three-hour discussion.

In two days nearly \$200 in T-shirts, buttons, and pamphlets were sold from the NAMPU table.

## Anti-apartheid victory at Utah school

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Students at the University of Utah won a victory for free speech on August 29 when a federal court judge issued a permanent injunction preventing the university from removing shanties built by anti-apartheid activists.

U.S. District Judge Aldon Anderson ruled that the shanties are a form of symbolic speech and therefore protected by the First Amendment. A lawsuit had been filed by University of Utah Students Against Apartheid and the Coalition to Stop Apartheid when the university ordered the shan-

ties removed, claiming they could not be protected against vandalism.

The shanties were erected in February to protest the university's refusal to divest from companies doing business in South Africa. Students staffing them had gathered 4,000 signatures for divestment.

Mark and Ruth Nelson, members of Students Against Apartheid, told the *Militant* that the ruling should be seen as a precedent for anti-apartheid activists on the 60 campuses across the country where shanties have been set up.

## Socialism on Trial

by James P. Cannon

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# Detroit supporters sell subscriptions on the job

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — One third of the 150 new subscribers here are co-workers of *Militant* supporters in plants organized by the United Auto Workers and United Steel-

against Hormel, *Militant* supporters here expect these discussions to result in many more new subscribers in the next six weeks.

We're trying to back up this effort in the plants with teams at the

can't reach.

We've gotten a good response at the Chrysler Sterling Heights assembly plant where Kate Kaku, Socialist Workers candidate for governor, works. The local, already working under concessions, is negotiating a contract, and interest in the recently published Pathfinder Press pamphlet on the Hormel meatpackers' struggle is high.

Only one team has gotten out to the General Motors Lake Orion plant where socialist candidate for U.S. Congress, Andrew Pulley, works. And the company guard forced us to leave after 10 minutes. But in that time, one worker signed up for a subscription, and another gave a \$4 contribution.

We plan to organize a team that can get to the Credit Union out

there, where we think we can catch workers not only from the Lake Orion plant but from two other auto plants in that area, too.

Meatpackers in two companies here recently went through strike battles and lost ground. They're interested, too, in the Hormel battle. Fifteen workers at one plant have bought the *Militant* or the pamphlet on the Hormel workers' fight in the first three weeks of the subscription drive.

Steelworkers, also hit hard by takebacks, are concentrated in two mills 30 miles south of here. Since we haven't had good results trying to sell as cars drive into these workplaces, we're planning to try a check-cashing day team there, too.

Because of the union-busting drive, we've been meeting work-

ers on strike or locked out.

While campaigning in western Michigan, Kaku met strikers at Bronson Plastics, where the company is using scabs and a union-busting security outfit, Nuckols. After discovering that the socialist candidate supported their fight, the Bronson workers were eager to discuss ideas for turning back union-busting, and one is now reading the *Militant* regularly.

These kind of fightbacks seem to be cropping up more and more. So while we're working to get more teams out to regular plant-gate sales each week, we also want to continue to get out to strikers. We think the more regular we are, the more workers we'll be signing up as new *Militant* subscribers.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

workers unions.

When you work with someone every day, you find the possibilities are almost endless for discussions that can lead to the need to get the *Militant*. Whether it starts with the truth about Nicaragua, South Africa, or developments in the meatpackers' battle

plant gates. We sell each week at a couple of the auto plants — Ford Rouge and Cadillac Clark St. — and sporadically at three others.

At the two regular gates, we have a few people who pick up the paper each week. And we get campaign literature out to workers whom *Militant* supporters inside

# Terrific response spurs higher goals for drive

BY MALIK MIAH

Supporters of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly, *Perspectiva Mundial*, have raised their subscription goals in five more cities: Houston, Dallas, San Diego, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

Since the subscription drive officially opened on September 6, supporters of the two socialist publications in more than a dozen cities have raised their initial goals. This reflects the better-than-expected response the two publications are receiving from working people and students seeking the truth about the struggles of workers and farmers here and around the world.

As we enter the fourth week of the sales campaign, a grand total of 4,115 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions have been sold — a giant step toward reaching our national goal of 10,000 new readers by November 15.

A big chunk of the new subscribers are industrial workers. For example, members of the United Auto Workers in several cities have taken in-plant goals. As of September 20, auto workers in Dallas have sold 15 of their goal of 20; in the Bay Area of California, 7 of 16; in Kansas City, 18 of 30; in Atlanta, 14 of 40; in Detroit, 44 of 105; and in St. Louis, 18 of 50.

The "problem" of having too low goals is being experienced by salespeople in a number of cities. Karen Ray reports from Seattle of surpassing their initial goal of 10 *Perspectiva Mundials* this past weekend. Ten *PM* subscriptions, including four one-year subscriptions, were sold at the founding convention of the Washington State Farm Workers Union attended by some 200 people.

Two *Militant* subscriptions were sold at an Oakland, California, political rights de-

fense rally.

### International campaign

The campaign to win new readers to the *Militant* and *PM* is also international. There are *Militant* subscribers in over 30 countries. These readers are from Asia, Europe, the Americas, and the Pacific. This includes 59 people in Canada, 53 in Britain, 20 in Sweden, and 16 in West Germany. Other readers are in Bolivia, Brazil, Iran, Colombia, Mexico, Japan, Switzerland, Iceland, and Nicaragua.

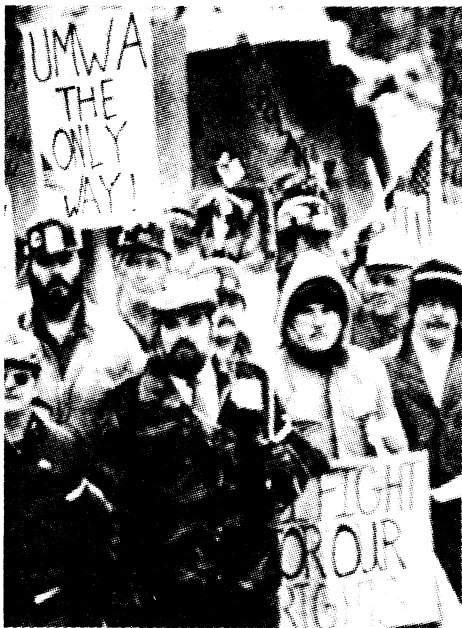
There are three subscribers in the South Asian island nation of Sri Lanka. Supporters there regularly receive a bundle of 10 *Militants*.

In London, Pathfinder Press is the distributor of the two socialist publications in Britain and Ireland, as well as for Continental Europe and Africa. Until the end of November, a special introductory subscription of 15 issues for only £5 is being offered. (Pathfinder Press-London is located at 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.)

In Asia and the Pacific, Pathfinder Press-Australia is distributing the *Militant* and *PM* in Australia, Asia, and Oceania. Some 80 people in Australia have *Militant* subscriptions. A one-year subscription is \$60 (Australian) and can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040 Australia.

Pilot Books in New Zealand is also servicing subscriptions to the *Militant*. Write to Pilot Books, P.O. Box 8730, Auckland, New Zealand, for rates.

*Perspectiva Mundial's* international readership is also growing. There are *PM* readers in 15 countries, with the largest number in Mexico and Nicaragua.



Massey Coal strikers in 1985. *Militant* coalfield sales team found these former strikers receptive to literature about struggle of Hormel meatpackers.

In a recent trip to Mexico City, Martín Koppel, editor of *PM*, and I sold four *PM* subscriptions at the 10th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).

One of the new subscribers took a bunch of subscription blanks and sold four more subscriptions before we left town, giving us a total of eight.

### Team sales

Interest in the fight of Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, continues to draw the attention of serious-minded work-

ing people. Some 40 copies of the recently published Pathfinder Press pamphlet, "The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota," by Fred Halstead were sold during the second week of the West Virginia-Virginia coalfield subscription team.

The team sold 165 single copies and 30 *Militant* subscriptions, as well as most of their literature on the fight for women's rights.

According to team member Mary Martin, 6 subscriptions and 49 single copies of the *Militant* were sold at a protest of some 500 students blocking a Ku Klux Klan march near the Radford University campus in Radford, Virginia, September 20.

Three days later at a campus meeting on "What Socialists Stand For," 15 *Militant* singles and 4 subscriptions were sold. Five students also asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The team sold at three mine portals of the Peabody and Massey Coal companies in Van, West Virginia. They sold 1 *Militant* subscription, 22 single copies, and 2 Hormel pamphlets.

In Mateman, West Virginia, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2248, who have been denied their jobs by the Massey Coal Co. after a bitter strike, bought four copies of the Hormel pamphlet. One miner told the team, "We don't eat any Spam around here," referring to the national boycott of Hormel products.

At the Big Ben Coal Co., UMWA miners bought 30 Hormel pamphlets and 10 *Militants*. Some miners gave \$5. "We are all union here," said one worker. "And we're with the Hormel workers all the way."

After six days on the road the Illinois-Wisconsin team got a similarly warm response. At an Oscar Mayer plant in Beardstown, Illinois, the team sold 100 *Militants* to workers entering and leaving the plant in the early morning. According to team member Mitchel Rosenberg, the team sold a total of 37 *Militant* subscriptions, 245 single copies, and 37 *Young Socialists*.

The Southern California team sold 21 *Militant* and 16 *PM* subscriptions in its first week out, reports Jeff Jones. Fifteen of these subscriptions were to farmworkers in the Imperial and Coachella valleys. Another 22 were to students at the University of Redlands and San Bernardino Valley College.

To join this challenging campaign to win thousands of new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, order a bundle of the socialist publications by filling out the coupon below.

\* \* \*

☐ I would like to order a bundle of \_\_\_\_\_ Militants and \_\_\_\_\_ PMs.

☐ I would like to take a subscription goal of \_\_\_\_\_ Militants and \_\_\_\_\_ PMs.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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City, State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Or phone: (212) 929-3486.

## Fall Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Mundial</i>	
Atlanta	140	10	63	3	44
Baltimore	120	5	32	1	26
Birmingham	150	3	53	0	35
Boston	225	50	74	13	32
Capital District, N.Y.	125	10	40	3	32
Charleston, W. Va.	100	—	38	—	38
Chicago	300	50	77	23	29
Cincinnati	90	10	24	3	27
Cleveland	125	15	60	3	45
Columbus, Ohio	20	—	3	—	15
Dallas	225	75	45	22	22
Denver	135	10	34	3	26
Detroit	230	20	110	6	46
Greensboro, N.C.	140	10	50	4	36
Houston	290	60	96	19	33
Kansas City	150	10	74	7	51
Los Angeles	300	200	89	80	34
Louisville	115	10	26	1	22
Miami	100	15	48	6	47
Milwaukee	100	5	44	20	61
Morgantown, W. Va.	100	—	47	—	47
New Orleans	90	10	26	4	30
Totals					
to be on schedule					
New Paltz, N.Y.	5	—	2	—	40
New York City	500	250	227	120	46
Newark	375	125	140	65	41
Oakland	200	30	55	12	29
Philadelphia	175	50	86	6	41
Phoenix	100	60	30	15	28
Pittsburgh	100	5	32	2	32
Portland, Ore.	105	15	49	1	42
Price, Utah	50	5	11	0	20
Salt Lake City	105	15	31	2	28
San Diego	85	45	30	23	41
San Francisco	170	80	42	24	26
San Jose	200	100	75	34	36
Seattle	140	35	32	2	19
St. Louis	235	5	82	0	34
Tidewater, Va.	60	5	4	0	6
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	32	2	32
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	20	81	2	31
Washington, D.C.	160	40	56	11	34
National teams	—	—	489	168	—
Other	—	—	660	6	—
Totals					
to be on schedule					
8,500 1,500 3,399 716 41					
1,700 300 20					



## Utah candidate donates hay to southern farmers

SALT LAKE CITY — More than 1,000 tons of hay were collected by the Utah Farm Bureau for shipment to drought-stricken farmers in the Southeast. David Hurst, a coal miner, came to a collection center at Spanish Fork, Utah, where he donated three-quarters of a ton of hay from his family's farm in Carbon County.

Hurst is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Utah's 3rd C.D. He issued a statement denouncing the callous disregard for the drought victims shown by the Reagan administration and demanded immediate emergency relief for the farmers.

"The Reagan administration has no trouble finding \$100 million to send to the *contras* trying to overthrow Nicaragua's government," Hurst said. "A government that bails out huge corporations such as Chrysler and failing banks has no right to deny emergency aid to those who keep food on our tables."

## Vietnam vet: U.S. on wrong side in Nicaragua

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Alvin Carrillo, an auto worker and Vietnam War veteran, announced August 28 that he is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Missouri's 5th C.D.

Carrillo was raised in Texas



Jon Hillson, socialist, and George Bachrach, Democrat, at Boston congressional candidate's debate.

where his family members were migrant workers. "You move. I lived in a house with no gas or water, and next door, four families lived together. The conditions of undocumented workers are even worse." Carrillo called for an end to deportation and other harassment of undocumented workers, and for guaranteeing them unemployment compensation, social security, and other rights.

Carrillo was in the U.S. Air Force in Thailand during the U.S. war in Vietnam. "I felt the U.S. was on the wrong side in Vietnam and is on the wrong side in Nicaragua. I support the Nicaraguan revolution that has given the people their human dignity and the right to control their own country. It is South Africa that should be embargoed, not Nicaragua."

Carrillo has worked in the General Motors Fairfax plant in Kansas City since 1970. He expressed

solidarity with the Hormel meatpackers, TWA flight attendants, and local strikers such as the ADM Co. grain-elevator workers. "The real fighters for workers' rights will not be found among the capitalist politicians in Washington, D.C., or at the state capital, but among the meatpackers of Austin, Minnesota; the farmers of Chillicothe, Missouri; in Soweto, South Africa; and in Managua, Nicaragua."

## 'They didn't want a candidate who told the truth'

BOSTON — Working people in the 8th Congressional District here will have a choice in November, despite the refusal of state and local officials to allow Socialist Workers Party candidate Jon Hill-

son on the November general election ballot.

Hillson told supporters here at a rally two weeks ago he'd run as a write-in candidate, "as if my name and that of my party were on the ballot, because our ideas are more important than this formality."

The Hillson campaign turned in 7,980 signatures for ballot status — more than double the 3,423 required by state law.

But local election commissions in the 8th C.D., which includes about a third of Boston and several surrounding cities, claimed that all but 1,393 names were "out of district," "unregistered," or "illegible."

"If you're a Democrat or Republican," Hillson told supporters, "they check your petitions with their eyes closed. But if a candidate is a communist, a radical, or independent candidate of the labor or Black movements, they suddenly have microscopes. And they lie."

"The reason for this blow is wholly political," he said. "The rich who run the elections basically reserve the ballot for the two parties, which are their vote-catching machines. They didn't want to allow a revolutionary trade unionist who has lived and worked in Nicaragua and supports the Cuban revolution to challenge their candidates before the working people." Hillson continued, "They didn't want a candidate on the ballot who told the truth — that progress takes place in the streets, in struggles, in strikes, in mass demonstrations, in action, and not through choosing between the two capitalist parties every two years."

## 'Mountain Eagle' interviews Alabama socialist

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The *Daily Mountain Eagle*, a newspaper in the coal-mining community of Jasper, Alabama, featured an interview September 2 with Andrea Baron. Baron is a textile worker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U.S. Senate seat held by Republican Jeremiah Denton.

According to the Jasper daily, Baron "describes herself as a union activist and touts 'working-class political power.' Her opponents, Republican Denton and Democrat Richard Shelby, don't 'represent working people.'"

"What we'd like to see in this country is a government based on the workers and farmers in this country."

The paper reported Baron's comments on the August 25 court decision declaring FBI actions against the SWP as unconstitutional. "The issues involved here were basically the rights of organizations, not just our organization, that could be subjected to this kind of harassment."

Meanwhile, the Alabama Board of Elections announced that Martin Boyers, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Birmingham area, will appear on the ballot in November. Boyer's supporters had gathered more than 3,000 signatures, twice the number required by state officials, on petitions calling for him to be placed on the ballot.

# Drop in air safety spurs call to rehire controllers

BY FRED FELDMAN

A proposal to lift the blacklist against rehiring air traffic controllers who were fired in August 1981 for going on strike was defeated in the U.S. Senate by a voice vote September 17. It had earlier passed the House of Representatives as part of an appropriations bill for the Department of Transportation.

The Reagan administration fired the 11,400 air controllers and barred them from future employment by the government in order to break their union, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

Support for rehiring the controllers gained impetus after the August 31 midair collision of an airliner and a small private plane killed 67 on board and an estimated 20 more on the ground in the Los Angeles suburb where the planes came down.

The air traffic controller handling the airliner had to divert attention to another plane for several moments just before the collision.

It has not been determined whether this played a part in the accident, but the incident highlighted the overworking of the controllers, the overloading of the system, and the hazard these conditions pose to air travelers.

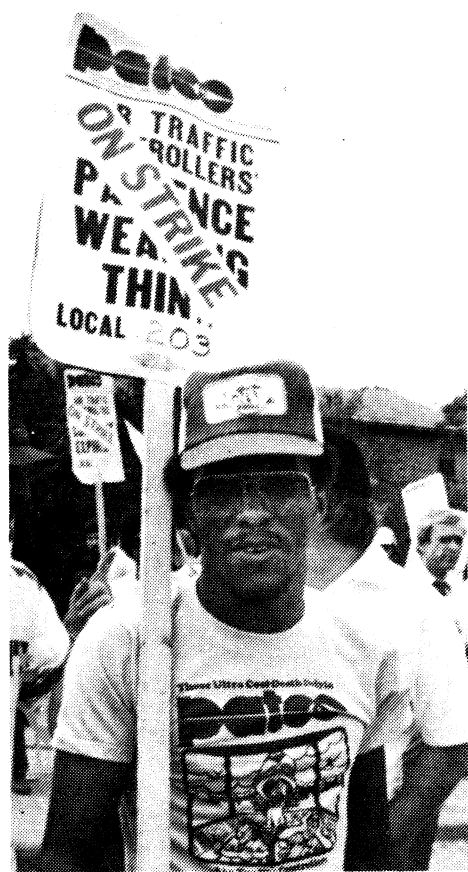
## Rising death toll

In a column in the September 1 *New York Times*, university professor Arthur Shostak cited the estimate that 232 people have died since 1981 because of breakdowns in air traffic control.

The number of operational errors increased from 457 in 1981 to 1,250 in 1985, he pointed out. The number of near midair collisions jumped from 395 in 1981 to 777 in 1985.

The air controllers who went on strike in 1981 were primarily responding to the rejection of their proposals for a shorter workweek, earlier retirement, and other measures aimed at reducing the stress of their jobs and making the airways safer. They insisted that more controllers — not ever-increasing workloads — were needed.

The strikers charged that onerous overwork imposed on them was spurring de-



Militant/Lou Howort

**Demands of air controllers in 1981 strike for shorter hours would have benefited safety. Government broke strike by firing 11,000 air controllers.**

terioration in the air traffic control system. The government's union-busting action in firing them, the air controllers predicted, would mean accelerated deterioration and eventual air disasters.

The Reagan administration claimed in 1981 that hiring replacements for the fired controllers would bring the system back to normal in January 1984.

But events have proved the air controllers were right, not the administration. Even government officials concede, five years later, that it will take another 12 to 18 months to bring air traffic control up to pre-1981 standards.

And airline passengers have paid — some with their lives — for the govern-

ment's union-busting.

The government's estimate gives a false picture. In contrast to the 14,000 qualified "full performance level" controllers who guided aircraft in 1981, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) admits there are only 10,000 controllers who actually handle the soaring volume of traffic. The others, with a lower level of training and experience, are not permitted to guide aircraft but assist other aspects of traffic control.

Edgar Hunt, an air controller for 30 years, told *Airline Executive* magazine that of the 10,000 controllers, only 5,000 are full performance level controllers. Norbert Owens, a top FAA official, places the figure at slightly less than 9,000.

Joe McGrail, an official in the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), told *Airline Executive* that the number of controllers is further inflated by counting trainees at the FAA academy in Oklahoma City. Half the trainees never become full performance level controllers.

The result is dangerous understaffing of control towers. The O'Hare International Airport in Chicago, the world's busiest, is authorized to have 94 fully qualified controllers. It has 52.

## Overwork

The number of experienced controllers is continuing to decline, noted Shostak, "as overworked controllers eagerly seek retirement."

*Air controllers had to put in 900,000 hours of overtime in 1985.* FAA officials claim they are trying to get the figure down to 700,000 in 1986.

According to the *Airline Executive* article, the GAO found that "both controllers and supervisors feel that the ongoing overtime is negatively affecting the controllers' ability to do their jobs."

Hunt noted, "People are already displaying symptoms of physical burnout. They are saying such things as 'I don't know how much longer I can do this'.... The potential exists for a serious disruption of the system, which is already happening at certain high traffic locations."

Hunt is interim president of the American Air Traffic Controller Council. A unit

of the American Federation of Government Employees, the ATCC is one of the groups seeking to unionize air traffic controllers since PATCO was busted.

Hunt told *Airline Executive* magazine, "the system is less safe than it was during the PATCO days."

"The level of safety has diminished," conceded an official of the GAO.

"Management is two-faced," an air controller told the *Washington Post*. "A disaster is waiting to happen."

The government is responding to these problems the same way it responded to PATCO — with intimidation and threats. One example was the highly publicized witch-hunt against 34 air traffic control workers suspected of using illegal drugs. Some were eventually fired. All were denied legal representation, and tests showing no use of illegal drugs were dismissed in some cases. "Everyone assumes we're guilty," said Dennis Cottle, one of the 34.

This harassment and invasion of the privacy of air controllers was an effort to divert attention from the measures needed to establish safety in the air lanes. The first of these is the unconditional reinstatement of the fired air controllers.

## French-language Marxist journal just off press

The second issue of *Nouvelle Internationale* has just been published. *Nouvelle Internationale* is a journal of Marxist theory and politics. It is the French-language counterpart of *New Internationalist*, five issues of which have appeared up to now.

*Nouvelle Internationale* is an internationalist journal that takes up the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization being discussed by communist parties today.

The second issue includes an article by Jack Barnes, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa"; "The Alliance of Workers and Farmers in Canada," by Michel Dugré; and "Agrarian Reform in Cuba," a speech by Fidel Castro.

The journal can be ordered for \$5.00 from *Nouvelle Internationale*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Longshore official hails rights victory

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"The legal victory of the Socialist Workers Party against illegal government activities is a victory for all who believe that the United States Constitution means what it says," declared Albert Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. "The rights of all who dare to think for themselves or who exercise their prerogatives to dissent are safer today."

Lannon's comments came in a message sent to a September 20 meeting in Oakland, California, held to celebrate the recent victory in the SWP's suit against the FBI. It was one of more than two dozen such meetings and rallies that have been held or are scheduled around the country.

Another message to the Oakland meeting (and to a similar one held in San Francisco that same night) came from Kendra Alexander, chairperson of the Communist Party of California.

"On behalf of the Communist Party, California District," she wrote, "we want to congratulate the Socialist Workers Party on the landmark victory in your harassment suit against the FBI. Your victory is a victory for all democratic forces in the struggle against government repression."

In her presentation to the Oakland meeting, Jessica Mitford, a well-known writer and a former member of the Communist Party, referred to this message as an expression of solidarity in the struggle for basic freedoms. "Unity now is very, very important," she stressed.

Mitford is a longtime sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The other speakers and many members of the audience also became sponsors of the fund, which is raising money and support for the SWP lawsuit.

## Continuing FBI harassment

FBI harassment of political activists is not just a thing of the past, speakers at several of the meetings on the suit pointed out. Those opposed to Washington's intervention in Central America have been particular targets.

In a message to a Detroit press conference on the victory in the suit, Amy Good, a member of the Central America Solidarity Committee, said, "Detroiters who have been active in Central America human rights work have experienced, over the past 18 months, countless instances of harassment, including visits by FBI agents, mail disruption, phone service interference and blatant telephone surveillance, death threats, office break-ins, home break-ins, etc."

One of the featured speakers at a meeting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was Joseph Ellwanger, pastor of Cross Lutheran Church, which provides sanctuary to Cen-

tral American refugees.

Ellwanger described the intimidation that the sanctuary movement has faced from the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, including break-ins, the investigation of personal bank accounts, and the placement of informers in Bible study groups.

"All these tactics, according to this decision, are illegal," Ellwanger stated. "I am grateful for the Griesa decision and want to work together with other groups to raise the profile of this decision."

Similar points were made at a Newark, New Jersey, meeting by John Dillon, an activist in a local committee in solidarity with the meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota. Many of the Austin workers, he said, were followed and filmed on picket lines and suffered other kinds of harassment.

## Drive launched to get union sponsors

### Continued from front page

proposal to take the campaign into the labor movement. "We think that it is possible to qualitatively increase the number of unionists who are sponsors of PRDF and are part of this fight," Studer, a member of the International Association of Machinists, explained. "We want to draw in union activists and union officers at the local level as well as national union leaders."

He pointed out that there have been big changes in the United States since the case was first launched in 1973, and even since it came to trial in 1981. "The year of the trial also saw the smashing of PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union, by the Reagan administration. Since then the offensive against the labor movement as a whole has deepened.

"This case and the protection it has won for political activists and organizations is therefore increasingly useful to the labor movement," he pointed out.

"In this new situation we will find that there are hundreds of unionists around the country who are ready, willing, and able to take part in the fight to defend democratic rights. PRDF is confident that they will adopt this campaign as their own and will themselves sign up hundreds more supporters," he concluded.

Over the next few weeks PRDF will be working with local unionists to select a number of labor spokespeople who will be able to help build the fund's campaign in their areas.

"These spokespeople will be able to call together meetings like this at a local level

"According to this ruling, this is illegal," Dillon declared.

## Press reports

The case has also continued to receive important press coverage. Articles on it have recently appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *New York Law Journal*, *National Law Journal*, *Buffalo News*, and *St. Petersburg Times*.

The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* featured an interview with SWP National Committee member Barry Sheppard, one of the plaintiffs in the suit.

Sheppard noted that the SWP had rejected FBI offers of millions of dollars to settle out of court. "They wanted us to drop the constitutional questions," Sheppard was quoted in the *Post-Gazette* interview. "If we had done that, then they would never have been confronted with the fact

that they committed civil rights violations."

A signed column by the *Daily Californian's* editor-in-chief, Howard Levine, appeared in the September 5 issue of that paper. He called the suit "one of the most important constitutional rights cases in two decades."

"Incredibly," Levine wrote, "this marks the first time that a federal court has explicitly said the FBI's longtime practice of spying on and disrupting people who are exercising their First Amendment rights was illegal because it violated both the First and Fourth Amendments."

Levine stressed that the court decision applies not only to the SWP, but should be of interest to all those active in the sanctuary movement, the anti-apartheid struggle, and the campaign against nuclear weapons.

in order to actively involve as many trade unionists as possible in the campaign," Studer explained. They will also be available to speak to union meetings, journalists, and others on behalf of PRDF.

To help build the campaign PRDF is preparing a number of written materials. Judge Griesa's 210-page court ruling has already been published in booklet form and is being sold for \$10. Thirty copies were bought by the trade unionists participating in the September 20 meeting. Sponsors' cards have also been printed. Although they are only available in English at present, it is planned to also print a Spanish-language version.

A fund-raising letter from PRDF, which outlines the key points in Judge Griesa's decision and their significance in the fight to defend democratic rights, is also being sent out.

PRDF's plan of action met with overwhelming support from the unionists at the meeting. As one of them put it, "This is a victory for all of us. Let's make the most of it."

## Discussions in workplaces

Many of those present had already been involved in discussions with their coworkers about the significance of the case. A member of the International Union of Electronic Workers in Boston described how a number of workers at his plant had cut out the newspaper article on the SWP's court victory and brought it into work. "They thought it was neat," he commented. "They hadn't realized that it was possible to take on the FBI and win."

One coal miner from Pittsburgh said that there had been a lot of discussion at her mine about the case. "The people I work with immediately drew a parallel between what the FBI did to the SWP and all the cases of secret police cops being used to harass miners," she said.

Another worker pointed to the spy apparatus that the post office has planted among postal workers. "This court ruling provides an opening to fight this," he pointed out. "It links up with the whole question of the rights of organizations and the right to privacy as it relates to unions."

Judge Griesa ruled that the government's claim that it was acting "in defense of national security" was not sufficient justification for spying on or harassing a group such as the SWP. A member of the International Association of Machinists at the meeting explained that this ruling represented a victory for all workers in plants that had contracts with the Defense Department.

Workers in these industries are constantly being snooped on by Defense Investigative Service spies. "The idea that taking a job in this industry means you have to give up some rights doesn't sit well with my coworkers," he commented.

## Opposition to drug testing

Speaker after speaker described the discussions going on in their workplaces as private companies follow the lead of the Reagan administration in introducing and extending mandatory drug-testing programs. "The drug issue has opened up the



Militant/Holbrook Mahn  
**John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund.**

broadest discussion on civil liberties I've ever experienced," one unionist said. "Workers understand this question better than anybody. They realize that it's aimed at the unions."

"We should take the information about this suit and PRDF campaign to every union that is taking on the fight against mandatory drug testing," a Los Angeles unionist told the meeting. In her own area, she explained, that meant going to the city bus drivers and air traffic controllers, among others.

The discussion on PRDF's plan of action over the next weeks made it clear that the unionists at the meeting believed that it was possible to completely transform the character of the support that has existed for the fund up to now.

In their judgment it was possible to sign up thousands of trade unionists as PRDF sponsors and that many of these would also be eager to become active in the campaign — organizing public meetings, arranging for PRDF speakers at their union local meetings, preparing articles on the case for their union journals, and helping with the fund-raising efforts.

In explaining why she believed it was possible to be so confident about what could be achieved, one unionist from the Bay Area who has been active in the campaign to build solidarity with the striking Hormel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, told the meeting what she and fellow activists had learned from that experience.

"We were confident that the fight being waged by Austin meatpackers' was something that our coworkers would understand, learn from, and use," she said, "and we found out that we were more than right. We need to have the same confidence in our work around the suit."

In summing up the discussion, one unionist from New York pointed out that PRDF would be approaching the labor movement with a victory, an advance in the fight against government interference. "All too often we find ourselves under attack," he said, "so winning support for a step forward in defense of our rights should be easy."

## 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.



# Many years of FBI electronic intrusion into socialists' lives

## Excerpts from federal court decision

The following is from the August 25 ruling by U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa in the lawsuit against the FBI by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. These excerpts are taken from the section on electronic surveillance. The subtitles are the *Militant's*.

The FBI's use of electronic surveillance in its investigation of the SWP involved both wiretaps on telephone lines and microphones ("bugs") installed in rooms. The first wiretap occurred in June 1943, when the FBI tapped the telephone in [SWP leader] Farrell Dobbs' hotel room in Milwaukee. The first bug was planted in the same month at the SWP's Detroit office. The FBI's electronic surveillance operations against the SWP and YSA continued until 1963.

During the years 1943-1963, when these operations were taking place, the FBI had wiretaps in place for a total of about 20,000 wiretap-days, and bugs in place for about 12,000 bug-days. Almost all of this occurred between 1943 and the early 1950's. There was no wiretapping at all after 1954. There were isolated instances of bugging between 1954 and 1963.

In 1960, 1961 and 1963 meetings of the SWP National Committee were bugged. These occurred at the SWP's headquarters at 116 University Place, New York City. In 1963 the SWP National Convention was bugged. This took place at the Empire Hotel, New York City. Both the ballroom and a conference room were bugged. In 1962 the office of an SWP leader, James P. Cannon, was bugged for about 40 days. This office was located in his residence in Los Angeles.

The installation of bugs generally required a surreptitious entry into private premises. Both the wiretaps and the bugs involved the overhearing and recording of private conversations on political, organizational and personal matters.

The FBI policy concerning the use of electronic surveillance changed over the years, as did Fourth Amendment law affecting the legality of certain practices. Associate Deputy Attorney General Robert Keuch testified at the trial about the history of the FBI's policy concerning the use of electronic surveillance in national security investigations. The following discussion is based largely on his testimony.

### Evolution of wiretapping

When the FBI was created in about 1920 the policies of both the FBI and the Department of Justice prohibited any use of wiretapping. Ten years later the Bureau of Prohibition, an agency of the Treasury De-

partment which had been using wiretaps, was merged into the FBI. The Bureau of Prohibition continued to use wiretaps after the merger. The policies of the FBI and the Department were then changed by the Attorney General to allow wiretapping by the FBI upon approval of the Director of the FBI and an Assistant Attorney General.

In the 1930's two events took place bearing upon this policy. First, Congress passed the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which provides that "no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any wire or radio communication and divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance, purport, effect or meaning of such intercepted communication to any person. . . ." The Department interpreted the statute as requiring both interception and disclosure before there was a violation of the statute.

Moreover, the Department took the view that the statute would be violated only by a disclosure to some person outside of the executive branch. Therefore, under the Department's view, interception and disclosure within the executive branch did not violate the statute.

The second event was the Supreme Court's decision in *Nardone v. United States* (1937), which held that under the Communications Act evidence or information obtained by use of a wiretap was not admissible in a criminal trial. The Supreme Court extended the scope of this ruling in the second *Nardone v. United States* (1939), which held that evidence procured through the use of knowledge gained by intercepting communications in violation of the Communications Act was inadmissible.

In early 1940 Attorney General Jackson reinstated the former policy that the FBI would not engage in wiretapping. That policy was short-lived. On May 21, 1940, President Roosevelt sent the Attorney General a memorandum stating that in the President's view the Supreme Court did not intend to have its decision apply to grave matters involving the defense of the nation.

The President noted that certain foreign nations were engaged in sabotage and "fifth column" operations, and that preventive steps by the United States were essential. The President directed the Attorney General, in such cases as he should approve, to secure information by listening devices directed to the conversations of persons suspected of subversive activities against the Government of the United States, including suspected spies.

In 1946 President Truman affirmed the policy of having the FBI use wiretaps in "cases vitally affecting domestic security."

### Microphone surveillance

A similar policy developed regarding the FBI's use of microphone surveillance — i.e., this technique could be used to protect against persons or entities thought to be subversive of the national security.

In 1954 the Supreme Court decided *Irvine v. California*, where a defendant in a state criminal case claimed that evidence obtained by installing a microphone bug in his home was improperly admitted into evidence. The entire Court agreed that the surreptitious installation of the microphone in a home and the overhearing of conversations there constituted a violation of the Fourth or Fifth Amendment. However, five of the justices relied on *Wolf v. Colorado*, to hold that the state court was not constitutionally required to exclude the evidence.

On May 28, 1954, Attorney General Brownell sent a memorandum to the Director of the FBI, discussing the significance of the *Irvine* decision with respect to national security investigations by the FBI.

The Attorney General expressed the view that the *Irvine* case, dealing with the investigation of gambling, did not require the FBI to abandon use of microphone surveillance for the protection of the national

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr.

JUNE  
DATE: July 12, 1963

FROM : Mr.

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

This memorandum is submitted to recommend approval of a microphone surveillance (misur) to provide coverage of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Convention, July 18-21, 1963, at the Empire Hotel in New York City.

The SWP is a communist action organization which has been designated pursuant to EO 10450. The SWP is holding its National Convention at the Empire Hotel in New York City, July 18-21, 1963. This Convention is of particular importance since there should be considerable debate concerning a change in leadership in the organization. The National Chairman of the SWP, James P. Cannon, has announced his retirement and has suggested that other old-time leaders of the SWP also retire so that younger members may take over the leadership. The change in leadership in the SWP is bound to produce many conflicts at the National Convention which, of course, are of particular importance in our investigations.

The Bureau will have some coverage of the Convention through attendance of live informants. Full coverage of the National Convention however, can be assured through misur coverage in the ballrooms of the Empire Hotel where the Convention is to be held. New York has conducted a survey and determined that a misur can be installed in the ballrooms with full security; however, a trespass will be involved. This misur can be monitored in a room in the same hotel at a cost of \$6 per day. SAC, New York, requests authority to install a misur in the ballrooms at the Empire Hotel and requests that the New York Office be advised by telephone today.

NY 100-111111 - done by ca 11 nyc

A 1963 FBI memo recommending bugs be placed to tape the proceedings of a Socialist Workers Party convention.

security. The Attorney General went on to state that "not infrequently the question of trespass arises in connection with the installation of a microphone," and "whether a trespass is actually involved and the second question of the effect of such a trespass" must be resolved in each case "in the light of the practical necessities." The Attorney General concluded: "I recognize that for the FBI to fulfill its important intelligence function, considerations of internal security and the national safety are paramount and, therefore, may compel the unrestricted use of this technique in the national interest."

As of this time the policy of the Government allowing telephone wiretaps for purposes of national security remained in place.

As already described, wiretaps against the SWP ceased in 1954, although isolated instances of bugging continued until 1963. The parties presented evidence about legal developments occurring subsequent to 1963, presumably in reference to plaintiffs' claim for declaratory and injunctive relief.

### Johnson authorized wiretaps

In a memorandum of June 30, 1965, President Johnson reaffirmed the authorization of wiretaps "in connection with investigations related to national security."

The next major development was *Katz v. United States*, (1967), where the Supreme Court held that there is no requirement of physical penetration into premises in order for microphone surveillance to be unlawful, overruling *Goldman v. United States*, (1942). In *Katz*, a microphone was installed on the top of a telephone booth. The Court held that this installation, without a warrant, was a Fourth Amendment violation. *Katz* was a criminal case, not dealing with a national security investigation. However, the decision contained significant comments on the latter subject. Footnote 23 to the majority opinion stated: "Whether safeguards other than prior authorization by a magistrate would satisfy the Fourth Amendment in a situation involving the national security is a question not presented by this case."

At the time of the *Katz* decision, Congress was considering legislation intended to deal with electronic surveillance, among other things. In 1968 Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. Title III of the statute contained provisions relaxing the ban on wiretapping contained in the Communications Act of 1934, and providing regulations regarding the use of both wiretapping and microphone surveillance in criminal investigations, on the condition that such surveillance be approved by prior court order. Section 3 of the Act discussed the power of the President to use electronic surveillance in national security investigations.

"Nothing contained in this chapter or in section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934 shall limit the constitutional power of the President to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the Nation

against actual or potential attack or other hostile acts of a foreign power, to obtain foreign intelligence information deemed essential to the security of the United States, or to protect national security information against foreign intelligence activities. Nor shall anything contained in this chapter be deemed to limit the constitutional power of the President to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the United States against the overthrow of the Government by force or other unlawful means, or against any other clear and present danger to the structure or existence of the Government."

The meaning of this language was considered four years later in the landmark decision, *United States v. United States District Court* (1972). The Court defined the issue:

"The issue before us is an important one for the people of our country and their Government. It involves the delicate question of the President's power, acting through the Attorney General, to authorize electronic surveillance in internal security matters without prior judicial approval. Successive Presidents for more than one-quarter of a century have authorized such surveillance in varying degrees, without guidance from the Congress or a definitive decision of this Court."

The particular activity involved in the case was wiretapping but the Court's discussion was clearly broad enough to cover microphone surveillance as well. As the Court explained, the precise issue related to the use of electronic surveillance against domestic organizations, defined as groups or organizations (whether formally or informally constituted) composed of citizens of the United States and having no significant connections with a foreign power, its agents or agencies.

The Court held that [the 1968 Crime Act] is not a provision enabling the Federal Government to engage in electronic surveillance in national security cases, but is simply an expression of neutrality on the part of Congress with respect to this issue.

The Court went on to hold that electronic surveillance against domestic organizations in national security matters could not be carried out without a warrant. It was obvious from the opinion that the Court considered that Congress could provide a system for the issuance of such warrants. The Court did not address the issue of the use of electronic surveillance with respect to the activities of foreign powers within or without this country.

In 1978 Congress passed the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which provided for a court composed of federal judges to rule on applications for warrants in foreign national security investigations. No legislation was passed then, or has been passed since, regarding electronic surveillance in domestic national security investigations. The Department of Justice and the FBI now believe that they have no authority to conduct electronic surveillance in domestic national security cases, and they do not do so.

**DECISION:**  
Government Spying and Disruption is  
Unconstitutional and Illegal

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# The struggle for 'people's education' in South Africa

Students, parents unite



Omar Badsha

Students marching to funeral of slain member of Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in KwaMashu, near Durban. COSAS has been banned by the apartheid regime.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

(Second of two parts)

As the South African student movement has evolved over the past few years, its fight against the apartheid regime's discriminatory education system has become increasingly coordinated with the struggles of other sectors of the oppressed Black majority.

"Since 1976, the people have recognized that apartheid education cannot be separated from apartheid in general," noted Zwelakhe Sisulu, a prominent anti-apartheid figure, at a national education conference earlier this year. "Where the youth had previously waged the struggle alone, whole communities now became involved."

This has been reflected in the formation of numerous local parents' committees, as well as in greater political activism by teachers unions and associations.

In Cape Town, for example, more than 1,000 parents, teachers, and students from the African townships in the area met in September 1985, pledging support for the students' demands for "equal, free, and dynamic education."

A month later the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) was launched at a meeting of 2,000 people, mostly parents. It has played a key role nationally in helping coordinate the efforts of parents and students.

The 54,000-member African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) held a conference in January. Founded some 65 years ago, it is one of the oldest teachers groups in the country. In a significant shift, the conference called on ATASA members to stop being "apolitical" and to support the struggle for "people's education and the liberation of the oppressed."

"We dare not stand aside in the mistaken belief that the disturbances are not educational matters and therefore of no concern to us," declared ATASA President Randall Peteni. "We must also concern ourselves with the political struggle of the masses."

Two months later, ATASA declared that it was withdrawing from direct involvement in all committees of the Department of Education and Training (DET), which

oversees some 7,000 African schools, until there is "genuine power-sharing in this country."

In July, the 26,000-member Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa — the main organization of Coloured teachers — likewise withdrew from all official education bodies and urged other teachers groups to do the same.

## Education summit

As students and other sectors of the Black population have drawn closer together, they have engaged in numerous discussions. This has brought greater national organization and direction to the education struggle. It has also encouraged student activists to seek new ways to fight for their demands, to move beyond their previous tendency of relying almost exclusively on class boycotts as their main weapon of struggle.

In late December 1985 representatives of 161 student, parent, educational, political, and youth organizations from around the country met at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

Initiated by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, the conference was preceded by discussions between an SPCC delegation and representatives of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) in Harare, Zimbabwe. SPCC member Vusi Khanyile reported that the ANC had vowed to support the conference's decisions.

At the conference, delegates expressed concern that an indefinite prolongation of the class boycotts could become counterproductive for Black students' immediate education. And with the schools closed, it would also be more difficult for students to meet and organize. Weighing such considerations, the more than 1,000 participants appealed to students to return to their schools and to continue the education struggle by other means.

They also demanded that Pretoria unban the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), lift its repressive state of emergency, and release all detained students.

## 'We must aim for national action'

When the schools reopened for the new term in January, thousands of students heeded the conference call and streamed back to their classrooms.

At the same time, the SPCC and the many groups working with it sought to use the momentum of the December conference to draw in even broader forces. "Our position is that the schooling of our children is a community problem and should be resolved by the community as a whole," SPCC spokesperson Molefe Tsele stated. "We must aim for concerted national action, rather than sporadic local efforts."

Out of this came the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which organized another national conference, held in Durban in late March. It drew 1,500 delegates, from a broader range of groups than attended the Johannesburg gathering.

The participants reaffirmed the earlier appeal to students to return to school. They blasted the apartheid regime for refusing to unban COSAS or meet any of the other demands of the previous conference. They likewise demanded a withdrawal of all foreign investments from South Africa and

condemned Washington as "an accomplice of apartheid."

Noting that 1986 was the 10th anniversary of the Soweto student rebellions, the NECC delegates called for a national general strike on June 16, as well as one on May Day. (Several million Black workers and students subsequently participated in both those strike actions.)

## 'People's education'

The Durban NECC conference also stressed the need to develop "people's education" — winning greater control over the schools in order to use them as anti-apartheid organizing centers and to begin changing the content of education itself.

This echoed the broader campaign in the Black townships to replace Pretoria's local administrative structures with popularly elected street committees and civic associations.

Molefe Tsele, a conference convener, appealed to students to occupy schools that had been shut down by the authorities. "We must use our presence of students at schools for building and regrouping of student organizations and implement an alternate educational program," Tsele said.

Following the conference, activists organized mass meetings to report on and discuss its decisions. Although some students favored a continuation of the boycotts, most decided to return to their classrooms. In Port Elizabeth, for example, nearly 60,000 students packed into a local stadium to endorse the NECC's back-to-school call, as well as the struggle for "people's education."

In some areas, such as Cape Town, alternative "people's education" classes had already been launched in 1985. But in the wake of the Durban conference they spread much further. The elected Students Representative Councils (SRCs) have played a central role in drawing up courses of study, working in conjunction with some teachers. Lessons are taught by students and teachers alike.

According to a report in the April 18-24 Johannesburg *Weekly Mail*, such classes are held in some schools every Wednesday and Friday afternoon. Topics include history, culture, religion, and social studies.

## Workers' history

In the Johannesburg area, the Transvaal Students Congress (Trasco) organized classes on workers' history and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. "We hope that by doing this we will be sharpening the students' understanding that workers are the vanguard of the struggle," explained Jabu Khumalo, a Trasco leader.

Khumalo continued: "We are striving for an education system that is free, dynamic and democratic; hence our demand that the doors of learning and culture be open to all."

Apartheid education, he went on, "doesn't say anything about the people's history. The history taught in schools doesn't say why the African National Congress and other political organizations were banned, why some people are in exile or why Nelson Mandela and others are detained."

"It is a kind of history that serves the interests of the ruling class in this country and to get rid of this type of thing we are presently striving for the introduction of People's Education."

Another reflection of "people's education" has been the renaming of schools. In many townships students have named their schools after Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Solomon Mahlangu, and other leaders or martyrs of the ANC.

## Schools or 'concentration camps'?

Pretoria's response to the struggle in the schools has been the same as to other popular struggles: detentions, school closings, physical attacks, and new repressive laws.

Student activists have been common police targets. In a few cases, entire student bodies have been detained. Politically active teachers have found themselves fired and blacklisted.

To break student strikes, police and troops have in some cases actually herded students into schools and forced them to sit in class at gunpoint. Black right-wing vigilante groups have been organized in some townships, with police backing, to beat and kill student activists.

With the growth of "people's education," Pretoria's main goal has been to prevent the classrooms from being used to promote anti-apartheid struggle.

In mid-July, the Department of Education and Training unveiled its "Great Security Plan": the introduction of special IDs for all students and the posting of security guards and police at all schools. "They're trying to turn our schools into concentration camps," one student responded.

DET officials argued that such measures were necessary to stamp out "violence," "intimidation," and "hooliganism" in the schools. But the real target was "people's education," as one top DET official made clear when he declared that the SRCs "are not the ones who should decide school programs, which textbooks to use, and which teachers to appoint."

## ID cards burned

The DET's crackdown was met by widespread protests. Teachers and principals condemned the new regulations and many refused to comply with them. Students in Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa, Lamontville, and the townships of the East Rand and Eastern Cape launched new class boycotts or held demonstrations to burn the new ID cards. In many schools the authorities found it impossible to impose the IDs, and quietly dropped them.

The DET arbitrarily shut several dozen schools, locking out some 300,000 students for the rest of the year. This provoked new struggles by students, parents, and teachers to reopen the schools. The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest labor federation, also demanded that the schools be reopened.

The entire leadership of the Transvaal Students Congress was either detained or forced underground. But new student leaders stepped in to take their place.

A report in the August 8-14 *Weekly Mail* commented that "the refusal of students in Soweto to heed the DET's regulations indicates that far from having thrown the students in disarray, the regulations have seen the emergence of a new layer of student leadership, especially in Soweto."

Despite the stringent new measures, the report went on, "people's education" classes were continuing in some Soweto schools, "right under the noses of the Security Forces."

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# A visit to Manila's 'strike zone' reveals workers' militancy

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — In the six months since the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos, strike action by Filipino workers has mushroomed, running at almost twice the rate of the same period in 1985.

I had an opportunity to learn firsthand the issues behind the strike upsurge when I visited picket lines in the Malabon "strike area" in July. Malabon — a major concentration of sweatshops owned by U.S., Taiwanese, and Filipino-Chinese businessmen, and a center of the current strike wave — is part of the northern industrial belt of Metro Manila. (Metro Manila is the name given to a contiguous urban area of more than 7 million people consisting of Manila and its surrounding satellite cities.)

Isagani Lucido, a 25-year-old garment worker whom everyone called Gani, accompanied me. Since the beginning of 1985, Gani has been a full-time organizer for the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation in Metro Manila.

Arriving in the "strike zone," we first stopped off at a plastic-covered shelter in front of the gate of a high-walled building. Above the shelter was a plaque that read: "Carlque Plastic Incorporated."

The two dozen pickets beneath the shelter invited us in to hear about their struggle. Their story was similar to that of struggles all over the Philippines today.

## Background to strike

Prior to the strike, 12 men and 60 women had worked in the factory, making toothbrushes and combs. But on April 16, less than two weeks after they had formed the union, the owner, Geronima Que, fired their union representative. This triggered the strike.

Que, they explained, preferred to close the factory rather than recognize the union.

So they were picketing the plant around the clock to stop him from removing the machinery and opening up business elsewhere in Manila. This meant that 20 to 50 of them had to sleep under the shelter each night.

I inquired whether they had attempted to establish a union during the Marcos years. Twice, the pickets explained. But Que had links with the dictator, so he easily got help from the Ministry of Labor and the police to break their efforts.

They were supposed to be paid 53 pesos (\$2.61) for an eight-hour day. But Que had forced most of them onto a piecework system whereby they could only earn 40 pesos (\$1.98) while working a 12-hour day. The officially-estimated poverty line is 114 pesos (\$5.62) per day.

Some of the workers were wearing T-shirts sporting political slogans. I asked them what they thought of Corazon Aquino's government and the efforts of the pro-Marcos loyalists to destabilize it, such as through the July 6-7 takeover of the Manila Hotel. The consensus was that workers should support Aquino against loyalist efforts to destroy her government.

## July 4 demonstration

Some of the pickets said they had participated in a July 4 demonstration outside the U.S. embassy organized by the KMU and other anti-imperialist organizations. The action called for the removal of U.S. military bases from the Philippines. The demonstrators were teargassed and clubbed by the military.

"It was like Marcos was still in the country," explained one participant. He added that Juan Enrile, minister of defense in both the Marcos and Aquino cabinets, was primarily responsible for the attack and for the protection of the loyalists.



Militant photos by Russell Johnson  
Filipino plastics workers on strike for union recognition. When working, their wage is only one-third that of official poverty level.

There were at least three other strikes in the immediate neighborhood of their factory, we were told. One of the workers offered to take us down the road to visit the strikers at Manila Plastics.

Manila Plastics turned out to be a considerably bigger factory, employing 425 workers, 225 of them women. Outside one of the three gates where 24-hour pickets were being maintained I spoke with 22-year-old Raquel Hernandez, assistant secretary of the Manila Plastics Workers Union, and union President Samson Zaragosa, also in his early 20s.

Basic pay at Manila Plastics was 37 pesos per day. Under these conditions, a group of workers decided to try to organize a union in the plant and contacted the KMU. "Workers knew them as the only real union and sought them out," Samson explained. They signed up 286 workers, and the Manila Plastics Workers Union, affiliated to the KMU, was born.

But when the union representatives ap-

proached the owner, he told them he couldn't recognize them because they were already represented by the Association of Trade Unions (ATU) and had been since 1961.

## Right to choose union

The ATU is affiliated to the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, an organization whose leaders were linked to the Marcos regime and who were notorious for signing "sweetheart deals" with employers over the heads of the workers. "The workers did not even know the ATU existed here," Samson added.

When the union representatives persisted, they were fired, forcing the workers out on strike May 26 to fight for their right to be represented by the union of their choice.

I asked how they assessed the change with the ouster of Marcos. The principal change is the democratic space, was the general response. "Workers produce the wealth, but we have no wealth," said one worker. The new government is "very nice," replied another, "but we don't know the future."

"How could working people defend their democratic gains against the threat posed by the military?" I asked. "By organizing and mobilizing the people to demand that all elements of the dictatorship be dismantled," came the reply. "So far, the personnel of the government has changed. But the basic issues of the Philippines remain the same."

## KMU at center stage

The young union fighters and leaders I met during my visit to Malabon were typical of many of the KMU organizers I met in the Philippines. While some of the KMU leaders are veterans of labor and democratic struggles as far back as the 1960s, many more are in their early and mid-20s.

Some of these leaders had been part of the revolutionary student movement and had been attracted to the KMU as a way to devote themselves to the workers' and peasants' struggles. Many more of these youthful organizers, however, are workers. They were recruited out of the militant labor battles that have characterized the spectacular growth of the KMU from a militant minority of 35,000 within the organized working class in 1980 to the major union federation of more than half a million members and national pole of attraction for working-class fighters it is today.

Until a few years ago, most young fighters like these would have headed into the hills to join the peasant guerrilla movement, the New People's Army, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. Today, many youths are veterans of the difficult and dangerous task of labor organizing in the factories and plantations under the Marcos tyranny.

Hundreds paid for this experience with their lives. Hundreds more were jailed and tortured. Their sacrifices helped place the KMU in the position it is in today — pushed forward to center stage as the Filipino working class seeks to give organized expression to its ongoing battle for democracy and against all forms of exploitation.

# 'Smoking Mt.' symbolizes squatters' plight

MANILA, Philippines — On our way to Malabon we stopped at the port city of Navotas to visit "Smoking Mountain," a vast mound of garbage located on the waterfront of neighboring Tondo city. "Smoking Mountain," which is both home and livelihood for 5,000 people, has become a symbol of the conditions of life foreign economic and political domination has imposed upon millions of Filipino toilers.

Tondo is the largest squatting area in Asia, I was told. Landless peasants coming to Metro Manila in search of work or workers evicted from their lodgings because they can't afford to pay the rent "squat" in ramshackle shanties alongside creeks, railway tracks, or other vacant areas of land. According to the government, there are at least 5 million such squatters throughout the Philippines, 2.2 million in Metro Man-

ila alone — almost one-third of the capital's population.

"Smoking Mountain" itself was a small fishing village that became a garbage dump after World War II, a community activist explained to me. Facing declining catches and expanding population, the villagers took to scavenging the dump for scrap metals, plastic, bottles, cardboard, and other materials that could be recycled and sold for a few cents.

As the economic crisis deepened during the Marcos era, however, and joblessness, high rents, and landlord evictions increased, thousands of families began to squat on and scavenge the dump.

In 1982 Marcos drove them out and flattened their shanties. Within a year, 80 percent of the squatters had returned and begun to organize themselves into the "Organization of Squatters" to defend them-

selves from ongoing military repression. This organization belongs to the National Congress of Urban Poor, an affiliate of the mass-action opposition coalition Bayan, which is led politically by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

The dump gained its nickname from its tendency to catch fire and smolder for weeks and even months on end. On one side of the track rose the garbage mountain. On the other stretched the shanties, themselves pieced together from scavenged materials and each with bundles of cardboard and baskets of cans stacked outside.

Children especially suffer in these miserable conditions. Lung diseases, diarrhea, and malnutrition are common. Ninety percent of the children cannot attend school, our shantytown guide explained, because the whole family must be involved in the competitive struggle to be the first to pick over the newest truckload of festering garbage.

The Aquino government has appointed Mar Canonigo, a leader of the Socialist Democratic Party of the Philippines and former shantytown organizer, to head a Presidential Commission on Urban Poor and has promised to use part of Marcos' ill-gotten gains to rehouse some of the millions of squatters. But, as a government of the landlords and capitalists, it is unwilling and unable to make serious steps toward solving the basic problems of landlessness, unemployment, and starvation wages that constantly reproduce new "Smoking Mountains."

This was symbolized by a recent visit to the "Mountain" by Cecelia Laurel, wife of Aquino's vice-president. Laurel expressed considerable concern over the plight of the squatters, the shantytown activists explained to me. But her only tangible contribution was to leave an image of Santo Niño (the boy Christ) for the squatters to pray to.

— R.J.



Scavengers of "Smoking Mountain."

# Unionists picket Eastern Airlines

## Airline workers face layoffs, union-busting threats

BY STU SINGER

MIAMI — About 1,000 machinists' union members demonstrated outside the Eastern Airlines hangars during their lunch break September 19 to protest attacks against their union. Five hundred Eastern union members have been laid off, and firings and disciplinary action has escalated. The company is making open threats to break the union.

The picket line stretched four blocks along busy NW 36 Street. Drivers of pass-

ing cars and trucks waved and honked horns in support. International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 702 at Eastern is one of the largest unions in Miami, and the labor battles at Eastern are front-page news almost daily.

The IAM members carried signs attacking Frank Lorenzo, who just won final government approval for taking over Eastern. Lorenzo destroyed the IAM and other unions at Continental Airlines in 1983 with

government help. He was inspired by Reagan's breaking the air traffic controllers' union, PATCO, two years earlier.

If he gets final government approval, Lorenzo and his Texas Air holding company will soon control Continental, Eastern, New York Air, Frontier, and People Express. This has been described as the largest airline operation in the world after the Soviet government-owned Aeroflot.

A number of the signs carried in the demonstration compared Eastern to the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. Hormel worker Rod Huinker was part of the demonstration and some participants wore boycott Hormel T-shirts they had gotten at a Local 702 meeting a few days earlier at which Huinker had spoken.

The same morning as the demonstration, Huinker and IAM members supporting the Hormel fight collected funds outside Eastern. Including money contributed at the union meeting, over \$700 was raised.

At the picket line a special leaflet was distributed titled "Why Eastern workers should support the Hormel fight."

Other picket signs denounced the rip-off by top Eastern officials at the same time these executives accuse union members of being overpaid. For example, Frank Lorenzo was paid \$20 million cash to get him to buy the company, and Eastern President Joseph Leonard recently got a \$50,000 a year pay raise, up to \$225,000 a year.

Other signs in the demonstration denounced the company plan to defer \$60 million in payments to the IAM pension fund because of a "cash shortage." Eastern workers assume the money is needed to buy People Express and have no intention of jeopardizing their pensions to expand Lorenzo's empire.



Militant/Stu Singer  
Diana Pitts, one of 500 Eastern Airlines workers laid off in September. More union-busting attacks are threatened.

One Eastern worker, Diana Pitts, who was to be laid off two days later, pushed her infant daughter in a stroller in the demonstration. The baby carried a sign, "Don't lay off my momma." Pitts is one of the 500 workers, almost all aircraft servicers, who are being laid off. The only company plan for making up their work is speed-up for those still working and job combinations that violate the contract.

Stu Singer is an aircraft servicer at Eastern in Miami and a member of IAM Local 702.

## Nicaraguan government moves volunteers from war zones

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Foreign volunteers working in this country in zones of intense military conflict have been relocated to safer areas by the Nicaraguan government. The decision followed stepped-up terror attacks on the volunteers by mercenaries armed and financed by Washington.

Although some non-Nicaraguan volunteers have been attacked by the counterrevolutionaries in previous years — in 1983, both a French and a West German doctor were murdered — the number of victims this year has risen substantially. In February, a Swiss agronomist was killed by a landmine; in May, a Spanish nurse was slain when another mine exploded; in June, a Belgian civil engineer was gunned down; and in late July, three volunteers — a French radio technician, a West German water technician, and a Swiss construction engineer — were murdered when mercenaries opened fire on their car.

Most of the attacks have occurred in northern Nicaragua on the Pacific side of the country. Nicaraguan civilians have also been killed in these assaults.

The clear objective of the mercenaries in targeting the volunteers is to terrorize the many thousands of people who travel to Nicaragua to help on health projects, construction, education, and other programs Nicaragua desperately needs.

In Region 5, in south-central Nicaragua, eight West German volunteers building housing for peasants were kidnapped by mercenaries in May. They were held for 24 days along with Nicaraguan peasants, until an international protest campaign succeeded in winning their release.

The decision to move the foreign volunteers was first announced at an August meeting of 700 European and Latin American volunteers held in Estelí in northern Nicaragua. Carlos Manuel Morales, presidential delegate for the region, explained to the group that Nicaragua is determined to maintain the international cooperation programs that have aided the revolution and involved thousands of volunteers from other countries. "We are going to make sure the cooperation continues," he said. "And in order to do this, we are taking the necessary steps so that the terrorists don't murder one more internationalist."

Volunteers working on projects in Jalapa, El Jicaró, Quilalí, and San Juan del Río Coco — all to the north of Estelí — were relocated to projects in the Somoto, Estelí, and Ocotal areas. Morales also said the government is taking steps to organize all international work projects into a single, centralized program.

Similar relocation has taken place of foreign volunteers in Region 5. The majority of workers there are from West Germany and Spain.

## Fund drive to aid publishing program

BY HELEN MEYERS

Pathfinder Press is urging support to the Fall Publications Fund, with a goal of raising \$100,000 to enable Pathfinder to continue its publication and promotional efforts. This special appeal will run until November 15.

Since the fund was launched on Sep-

tember 20, a total of \$4,300 has been received. But much more is needed to reach the \$100,000 target.

Pathfinder Press is the largest publisher and distributor in the United States of the speeches and writings of Cuban leader Fidel Castro; Malcolm X; the leaders of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua; Maurice Bishop, the Grenadian revolutionary leader who was killed in 1983; and other working-class and revolutionary fighters.

Two important books published this year by Pathfinder are *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, the text of an interview with Castro by U.S. Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally and Professor Jeffrey M. Elliot, and *The Struggle Is My Life*, by Nelson Mandela.

The book of writings by the imprisoned South African anti-apartheid leader was published as part of the worldwide campaign to win the release of all political prisoners held by the apartheid regime.

The Publications Fund will aid in Pathfinder's expansion of Spanish-language books and pamphlets. Recently published titles include: *Habla Nelson Mandela (Nelson Mandela Speaks)* and *Sudáfrica: la revolución en camino (The Coming Revolution in South Africa)*. Hot off the press is the pamphlet "La huelga de los obreros de la carne contra la Hormel en Austin, Minnesota 1985-86" ("The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota").

The increasingly large section of the U.S. working class whose first language is Spanish makes this publishing project an important priority.

Pathfinder's Spanish-language publications have struck a responsive chord among Puerto Rican proindependence fighters. One of the patriots being unjustly held in a New York City jail wrote Pathfinder, commenting on *Habla Nelson Mandela*. He said, in part, "It is an honor for those of us who struggle for social justice in Puerto Rico to get to know the speeches and ideas

of such a great revolutionary leader as Nelson Mandela."

Another special publishing project for Pathfinder is the publication of a series of books on the history of the Communist International during the years in which it was led by Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin. This series brings together for the first time in English the rich lessons of an important period in revolutionary history.

The third volume in the series will be completed this year. This new volume will contain the proceedings and reports from the Founding Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1919. It also includes evaluations of the congress by Russian revolutionary leaders N. Bukharin, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and G. Zinoviev.

The Publications Fund will also help Pathfinder reprint titles that have been unavailable for some time. These include *Speeches for Socialism*, by James P. Cannon, documenting 60 years of activity in the labor and socialist movements in the United States, and *Empiricism and Its Evolution: A Marxist View*, by George Novack, an introduction to the Marxist method in treating the history of ideas.

The \$100,000 fundraising campaign will help enable the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* to continue getting out the truth and bringing working people the kind of coverage they can't get anywhere else. It will also help finance *New Internationalist*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory.

We urge all readers of the *Militant* throughout the country to help us raise the \$100,000 we need. Send us your contribution now, or let us know what you can pledge to pay by the November 15 target date.

Contributions and pledges should be mailed to Fall Publications Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Checks should be made out to the Publications Fund.

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Fidel hits aid to Apartheid

"My view is that the United States and the major European industrialized countries are responsible for the survival of apartheid," said Cuban President Fidel Castro during an interview he gave to Congressman Mervyn Dymally and Jeffrey M. Elliot, a North Carolina professor.

"As long as South Africa," added the Cuban leader, "continues to receive technological, economic, and military assistance, it will remain unaltered, adamant, and continue its blackmailing position."

The interview, published in English by Pathfinder Press, includes a wide range of issues.

The latest issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes extensive excerpts from this interview on the demand for sanctions against South Africa and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

*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.



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# Indian socialists map out perspectives

## Congress discusses international struggles, Indian politics

BY MALIK MIAH

FAZALPUR, Gujarat, India — Over the independence weekend of August 15-17, revolutionary socialists, including trade union and peasant activists from the states of Gujarat, West Bengal, Maharashtra, and Kerala, met in this small village to discuss perspectives.

This was the second congress of the Inquilabi Communist Sangathan (Revolutionary Communist Organization — ICS), formed in 1984 after a merger of the Communist League of India and the Bolshevik Leninist Group.

The ICS is the Indian section of the Fourth International, a world Marxist organization.

The group is active in the fight for trade union and peasant rights, the rights of women, pavement and slum dwellers, and the rights of the *dalit* ("poor and downtrodden") and other oppressed minorities.

Several major resolutions establishing the political, programmatic, and organizational foundations of the ICS were adopted.

The world resolution and reports stressed the ICS's internationalism. In addition to expressing support for the struggle of the oppressed majority in South Africa against apartheid rule and the fight of the Nicaraguan people against U.S. government-organized terror, the conference solidized with the ongoing democratic struggles in neighboring Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Sonia Khan told the congress that the fall of the military dictatorship in Pakistan would inspire and encourage other democratic struggles in South Asia, including in India.

Gopal from Kerala gave a special report on the situation in Sri Lanka. He explained the history of the Tamil minority's fight for self-determination and why their struggle should be supported.

Much of the discussion at the congress centered on current Indian politics and perspectives to build a revolutionary working-class party in India.

The resolution and reports on politics in India today focused on an assessment of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government since he took office in October 1984 after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

The resolution, "Rajiv Era — An Historical Perspective," emphasized that Rajiv Gandhi's policies are a deepening of the pro-big-business, anti-working-class course followed by previous governments.

The working class has suffered major setbacks over the last decade, the report noted, thus weakening trade union organization. Strikes by traditionally strong unions in rail (1974) and textile (1982-83) were defeated.

The only section of the nearly 800 million people (80 percent rural) who are ben-

efiting from the regime's policies are the upper and middle classes.

What is most striking about cities like Bombay, where hundreds of thousands of working people live on pavements, are the thousands of middle class people driving motorbikes and cars, and owning video cassette recorders.

The gap between rich and poor has brought instability and growing conflicts. There are constant tensions within the only national party, the ruling Congress Party, as well as between it and the regional parties.

Furthermore, the government and reactionary chauvinist groups — mainly Hindu based — are fanning the flames of communalism. This deflects the anger of the oppressed and exploited masses and undermines united political action in defense of their own interests.

Communalism — the pitting of one community against another, generally fueled by religion, caste, regionalism, or language — is rampant in several states. It is most notable in the Punjab between Hindus and Sikhs, and in Gujarat between Hindus and Muslims as well as between high and middle caste Hindus against low caste Hindus.

More than 80 percent of Indians practice or follow the Hindu religion. There are 16 major languages.

While the Indian ruling class is multi-regional, the ethnic, religious, and regional divisions continually threaten to tear the country apart, as occurred in 1947 with the separation out of the Muslim areas in the north and east, which then became Pakistan. The ICS makes as a central stand its opposition to all communalism and for a truly secular Indian government.

The ICS allocates sizable resources to publishing materials and newspapers in the regional languages. Currently it publishes newspapers in five languages.

At the conference translation was provided in four languages for the 30-40 delegates and guests.

India's diversity affects the trade union and peasant movements too. There are few national unions and almost all unions are tied to a political party. The ICS is building its own union. Where possible ICS members are active in other independent unions.

The group is active in the small women's rights movement as well, and is in the leadership of a cultural group in Gujarat that is widely known for its street performances against communal violence.

\* \* \*

The Inquilabi Communist Sangathan's political resolution is available in English for purchase. Send \$3.50 to Antar Rashtriya Prakashan, Govindrao Dev's Wada, Pratap Road, Raopura, Baroda 390 001, Gujarat State, India.



Textile workers' strike, 1982. Indian working class has suffered major setbacks.

## — WORLD NEWS BRIEFS —

### Troops used against strikers in Ecuador

Demonstrating workers clashed with police in Ecuador on September 17 during a 24-hour general strike called by the United Workers Front (FUT) union federation. A day earlier, the government of President León Febres Cordero had declared the strike illegal and called out troops to "keep order."

According to official reports, nine people were injured and 35 arrested during the clashes. FUT spokespeople, however, said the real figures were much higher.

The strikers were demanding a 100 percent increase in the minimum wage, which today stands at 10,000 sucres (approximately \$68) a month. "Twenty thousand sucres a month is the minimum salary a family of five requires to subsist in relatively decent conditions," FUT President Edgar Ponce explained at the beginning of the strike.

Ecuador has been badly affected by the fall in world oil prices. Inflation is currently running at 20 percent, and the foreign debt stands at \$7.5 billion. Eleven percent of the work force is unemployed, and it has been estimated that a further 34 percent are underemployed.

and after the talks. The Salvadoran government refused to meet this condition.

### Nuclear-free policy upheld in Belau

On September 17 an appeals court in the Republic of Belau (also known as Palau) ruled that a plebiscite held in February to ratify a "Compact of Free Association" with the United States had failed to gain the votes necessary to overturn the antinuclear provisions in the country's constitution.

Belau is one of the four countries that make up the northwest Pacific islands known as Micronesia. Technically a United Nations Trust Territory, Belau, like the other nations in Micronesia, has been a U.S. colony since World War II. In 1979 Belau gained self-government. But Washington will only agree to its status of Trust Territory being rescinded by the United Nations if the people of Belau ratify the compact.

Under the proposed agreement, the U.S. government would have veto power over all domestic and foreign policy decisions of the Belau government that it deemed contrary to U.S. security interests, and any part of Belau's territory could be taken over by Washington for military purposes.

The provisions of the compact also require Belau to cede one-third of its territory for a jungle warfare training area to replace the U.S. Army's recently closed guerrilla training school in Panama. An airfield and amphibious base will be built, and Belau is also a possible site for

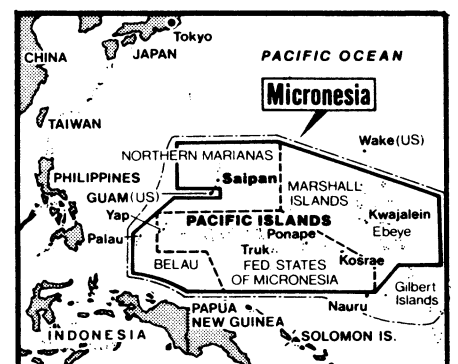
### Army presence scuttles Salvadoran peace talks

Representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) announced September 14 that they would not participate in peace talks with the Salvadoran government scheduled to begin September 19.

This decision was made, they said, because the Salvadoran army recently sent its Arce Battalion to occupy the eastern Salvadoran town of Sesori, the proposed site for the talks, and the surrounding hills. The whole area was declared a military zone.

The Arce Battalion is U.S.-trained and commanded by Col. Mauricio Staben, who is identified with the right-wing current most opposed to compromising with the guerrilla fighters.

To protect the lives of their guerrilla leaders and civilian supporters during the talks, the FMLN-FDR demanded that Sesori be cleared of soldiers and that a truce be declared for 24 hours before



a Trident submarine base.

These plans run counter to the antinuclear clauses in Belau's constitution. The February plebiscite is the third time the compact has been voted on, and each time it has failed to get the percentage of votes required to amend the constitution.

## Castro book launched in Australia

BY DAVE DEUTSCHMANN

SYDNEY, Australia — July 26 marks the anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks by a small band of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro and is one of the most important dates in Cuba's revolutionary calendar. It was celebrated in Australia this year by a series of meetings to launch the English-language edition of the book *Fidel and Religion*.

Sponsored by the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society and the book's publishers, Pathfinder Press (Australia), the book launchings were held in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Brisbane, Blue Mountains-Sydney, and Newcastle. The largest meeting — in Melbourne — attracted 110 people.

Speakers included Luis Gómez, the Cuban consul to Australia; John Brotherton, president of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society; and Dave Deutschmann from Pathfinder Press. Several of the meetings also heard speakers from the Australian Council of Churches and from five Labor Party parliamentarians.

Among those attending the launchings were the Australian representatives of the

African National Congress and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Brazilian priest Frei Betto, whose interview with Castro is the basis for *Fidel and Religion*, sent written greetings to the meetings, as did a number of Cuban organizations including the international department of the Ministry of Culture and the Cuban Writers and Artists Union.

Speaking of *Fidel and Religion*, Rene Rodríguez Cruz, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship With the Peoples, wrote: "We are sure that it will arouse great interest, not only among friends of Cuba but among all honest people interested in learning about our experiences and our relations with the church. It is our sincere hope that in the future such ventures might be numerous and contribute to the strengthening of relations between our peoples."

Since its launching, *Fidel and Religion* has been prominently featured in the newspapers of the Communist Party of Australia and the Socialist Party of Australia, and it was the cover story in *Outlook*, a Christian monthly magazine.

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Socialist Workers Campaign Headquarters Grand Opening and Rally.** Speakers: Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Dave Ferguson, SWP candidate for governor; Martin Boyers, SWP candidate for Congress, 6th C.D. Sat., Sept. 27. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Featuring gubernatorial candidate Matilde Zimmermann. Fri., Oct. 3. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Ireland Today — Eyewitness Report and Video.** Speaker: Tom Mullins, supporter of a free Ireland. Video film: *Strip Searching: Secularity or Subjugation?* Sun., Sept. 28, 6 p.m. 137 NE 54 St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**Nicaragua: What Difference Can a Revolution Make?** Speaker: Willie Ney, coordinator, Indiana-Rio San Juan Sister State Project. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

**Video: Winnie Mandela Speaks on the Struggle in South Africa.** Showing of recent documentary on Winnie Mandela. Discussion to follow. Sat., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Labor's Struggle Against Concessions and the Challenges Facing the Unions Today.** Panel of trade unionists. Bill Sagle, assistant editor, United Steelworkers of America Local 7886, East Alco plant; Milt Kaminski, USWA Local 1245, Eastern Stainless Steel; Joe Kleidon, Socialist Workers Party and member USWA Local 2609, Bethlehem Steel. Sat., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Jon Hillson for Congress, Ellen Berman for governor. Sat., Sept. 27, 7 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave. 2nd floor. Allston. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Government's "War on Drugs" — An Attack on Workers' Rights.** Speakers: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor; others. Sat., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

## 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.

## Victory rallies:

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

## CALIFORNIA

### San Jose

Speakers: Harry Adams, president of International Association of Machinists Local 565; Jody Sleeper, South Bay Sanctuary Covenant; representative of the No on 64 — Stop LaRouche Campaign; Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of Socialist Workers Party; Sandra Nelson, SWP candidate for Congress, 10th C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 4. Reception, 6:30; program, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 4. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St., Arlington subway stop. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

Speakers: Gina Aranki, Palestine Aid Soci-

Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### St. Louis

**England Get Out of Ireland!** Presentation by representatives of the Committee for a Free Ireland. Slideshow and eyewitness account of British occupation troops in Northern Ireland. Sun., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Nicaragua Report Back.** Speakers: Michele Costa, teacher at NICA school in Esteli, Nicaragua; Kathy Nease, Young Socialist Alliance just returned from cultural tour of Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**La Operación.** Film on forced sterilization in Puerto Rico. Presentation and discussion to follow film. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

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

**Reception and Book Signing of Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History, with Professor Jeffrey M. Elliot.** Elliot is a political science professor at North Carolina Central University and a free-lance journalist who conducted, with Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally, the interview with Castro on which the book is based. Sun., Oct. 5, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

ety; Amy Good, harassed by FBI upon return from Nicaragua; Chokwe Lumumba, attorney facing contempt charges in Brink's case; Andrew Pulley, plaintiff in SWP and YSA lawsuit; Faith Robinson, president, Detroit National Organization for Women; Richard Soble, attorney in Michigan Red Squad lawsuit; Neil Webster, vice-president United Auto Workers Local 1700. Sun., Sept. 28, 4 p.m. Central United Methodist Church, 23 E Adams. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 27. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

Panel discussion, including representatives of Coalition for a Free Ireland, National Abor-

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**The Sanctuary Movement: Why the U.S. Government Is Attacking Today's Underground Railroad.** Speakers: Cindy Brennen, Interreligious Task Force; Christine Schenk, chairperson, Sanctuary Committee, Community of Saint Malachi; Ed Velez, Young Socialist Alliance and member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 715. Fri., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

### Toledo

**"I'll Fight For My Freedom."** Hear Connie Eason, longtime activist in support of abortion rights and former director of Toledo Center for Choice, and her daughter, Sarabeth, on controversy over right to free speech at school. Sat., Sept. 27, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Pittsburgh

**El Salvador: An Update.** Slideshow presentations by Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1197, attended 1985 conference of the FENASTRAS trade union federation in El Salvador; Fletcher McNeill, visited El Salvador in 1985. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**The Housing Crisis in Washington, D.C.: the Socialist Answer.** Speakers: Dave Paparello, campaign manager of the D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**Demonstrate against U.S. Policy in Central America, Solidarity March and Sanctuary Pilgrimage.** National march supporting sanctuary for Central American refugees. Sun., Sept. 28, 12 p.m. Luther Place Memorial Church, 1226 Vermont Ave. NW. Ausp:

tion Rights Action League, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 5, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## TEXAS

### Houston

Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas; Ada Edwards, leader of Free South Africa Movement. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speakers: Abe Bloom, peace activist and plaintiff in *Julius Hobson v. Wilson* (case against D.C. cops); Michael Gaffney, National Lawyers Guild; Rhonda Dahlman, activist lawyer and member of Student Coalition Against Apartheid; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Sanctuary Celebration Committee. For more information call (202) 328-0591 or (202) 332-0292.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**Grand Opening Pathfinder Bookstore.** Sat., Sept. 27. Open house from 2 to 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**Wabun-Inini (Vernon Bellecourt) Speaks on Libya.** With slideshow presentation. Fri., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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**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.

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**See, they care** — The Oregon Court of Appeals reversed the state Employment Appeals Board and ruled that a grocery clerk was improperly denied unemployment



**Harry Ring**

benefits after being fired for eating two cookies from a broken package that was about to be thrown

out.

**No reward for being enterprising?** — A New Jersey tow truck operator and his employee were given a year for pouring oil on a highway ramp and then offering assistance to those who crashed.

**Ask the expert** — Responding to that recent one-day roller coaster stock market drop, a *Wall Street Journal* edit explained: "Some market pros believe this kind of a drop is merely the market catching up with what it already knew. We doubt it. Our hunch is that something changed between

Wednesday and Thursday, and that eventually we'll learn what it was."

**Taking care of business** — The Farmers Home Administration may be sending out foreclosure notices and using private collection agencies to lean on those who can't meet payments, but they're not hard-hearted. For instance, in Maricopa County, Arizona, they approved a \$3.8-million loan to a business exec who wasn't even a farmer, plus \$581,000 for a chap in the slammer for bank fraud.

**For Immediate Occupancy** —

A New York luxury condo developer is also offering what he says is the world's most expensive doll house. It's 10½ rooms, elegantly furnished, \$100,000. We trust buyers will be able to distinguish it from the other condos he's offering.

**P.S.** — Which reminds us of the old wheeze about New York apartments being so tiny the leases are written in shorthand.

**The good old days** — On a visit to Williamsburg, Virginia, a West Virginia sheriff was intrigued by an 18th century jail there. "They

would put ten guys or more in a pretty small room with no cots, no toilet facilities, straw on the floor and chains on the wall if they got out of hand," he reported. "And today's prisoners think they have it bad."

**Capitalism solves housing problem** — We were skeptical when we read the *New York Times* headline, "Apartment Glut Brings Concessions to Renters." But there it was, black on white. For instance, Eagle Court, a former garage converted into 128 rental units, where one-bedroom apartments were recently reduced from \$1,725 a month to \$1,550.

## Farm activists meeting debates worsening crisis

Continued from front page stamps.

More than 200 people participated in the workshop on prices. The proposed resolution they discussed stated, "Farm prices are made in Washington, primarily by the actions of Congress and the President, through his Secretary of Agriculture. For all major commodities and milk, our prices are set by the Commodity Credit Corporation price support loan levels dictated by the 1985 Farm Bill."

The 1985 Farm Bill has lowered farm prices by lowering the federal loan rates for farm commodities and in other ways. The aim is to try to expand exports by making U.S.-produced farm products more competitive on the world market.

The resolution on prices called for raising the federal price support loan rate to parity prices — that is, to a price whereby farmers can meet their costs of production and have enough to live on too.

Nearly the entire workshop agreed that if this were done, the current program of deficiency payment subsidies should be abolished. (Deficiency payments are direct payments to farmers, for the difference between market prices that are below a government-set target price.)

A workshop on land ownership and control discussed ways "to keep existing pro-

ducers on their land and operating." Proposals to accomplish this included debt restructuring, a new National Homestead Act, and restrictions on "foreign, absentee, and non-farm corporate ownership."

Helping Black farmers to stay on the land was discussed too. Black farmers are losing 350,000 acres a year. A section of the resolution called for reserving 20 percent of reclaimed land for Black farmers.

Building support for a federal farm bill that would be favorable to farmers was seen by the majority of the participants as the main goal of the congress.

Senator Thomas Harkin of Iowa and Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri plan to introduce a version of the "Save the Family Farm Act" in mid-September. A similar bill was defeated last year.

At a news conference, Harkin said the proposed legislation would establish federal loan rates at 70 percent of parity with an "escalator clause" that allows the parity level to go up. He claimed this bill would save "60 to 80 billion dollars."

The bill also calls for cutting production by issuing marketing certificates to farmers that set production goals. Nationwide referenda would be held among producers of each commodity to approve this.

Both Harkin and Gephardt, as well as Jesse Jackson and Texas agriculture commissioner James Hightower, were featured speakers at the plenary sessions.

Although there was no resolution on direct action, a workshop was held on this theme. The barricade earlier this year of FmHA offices in Chillicothe, Missouri, that successfully forced the removal of a hated loan officer was pointed to as an example of how to fight back.

A special meeting organized by dairy farmers was also held. A highpoint of the discussion there included learning about the dairy strike sweeping through upstate New York and New England. Dairy farmers from throughout the country pledged their support. Some agreed to take similar action themselves.

Karen, a young dairy farmer from Vermont, told the *Militant* that going into the meeting, she thought, "There would be no way I could dump milk." After the meeting, she said, "If we get united, I'll go for it 100 percent!" Karen added, "We have the power," if we just use it.

Allison told the *Militant* that farmers in Missouri would be "doing as much as they

can" to support the dairy farmers. He said farmers in Missouri would take some of the milk taken out of production to make it available to low-income and hungry people in cities such as Kansas City.

A large delegation of farmers from the South and Southeast came to the congress, the majority of them Black.

Near the close of the meeting, Anne Kanten, assistant commissioner of agriculture in Minnesota and chairperson of the plenary sessions, asked all the delegates who had helped send hay to the drought-stricken southern farmers to stand. Nearly three-quarters of the delegates rose. And when she asked who received this aid, nearly one quarter of the delegates, mostly Black, stood up.

Three Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers came to the conference to express solidarity with the farmers' struggle and to gather support for their fight against Hormel. All three also farm.

They spoke before the Iowa state caucus, handed out literature to all the delegates, and sold \$134 worth of T-shirts, hats, and buttons.

Some farmer delegates told them they were not going to sell hogs to Hormel, in solidarity with the meatpackers. A Minnesota farm couple held a reception for the Austin meatpackers.

Don, a retiree from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin who farms 80 acres of corn and beans, said, "We got a very good response. Farm-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn  
**Jo Bates, a New York dairy farmer, attended St. Louis farm conference. She spoke at New York Militant Labor Forum Sept. 19.**

ers were very receptive" in discussing where the struggle of the meatpackers is today and how the struggle is proceeding on the land.

The meatpackers invited farmers to join them in Austin on October 11 to express their solidarity and discuss the next stage of the struggle.

### Lee Martindale, 1954-86

Lee Martindale, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for more than a decade, died on September 22 of cancer. She was 31 years old.

As a student at the London School of Economics in the mid-1970s, Martindale became active in the women's rights movement there. She also joined the International Marxist Group, the SWP's sister party in Britain.

Upon returning to the United States, Martindale joined the SWP as an at-large member in New Haven, Connecticut. She later became a member of several different SWP branches and served as organizer of the branch in Indianapolis, where she was also an active member of the United Auto Workers union.

In 1982, Martindale became business manager for both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Until her illness, she also served on *Perspectiva Mundial*'s editorial board.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

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

October 1, 1976

**BOSTON** — White students, provoking fistfights and brawls with Blacks inside South Boston High School, have shattered the tense calm in the schools that marked the opening of the third year of court-ordered desegregation.

The racist passions of the white students were fanned September 12 by a South Boston rally of nearly 1,000 to rev up resistance to desegregation.

The next day confrontations broke out in South Boston High all day long. Five Black and five white students were suspended.

Rest rooms and the cafeteria were the scenes of white provocations of Black students on September 14. Nine Blacks and eight whites were suspended.

As the melee spread through the building, a Puerto Rican student was attacked by a gang of whites. A Black teacher was pummeled by white students and suffered facial lacerations as he tried to stop a fight.

Word of the situation went out over antibusing phone hotlines and within minutes upwards of 50 ROAR-organized parents marched to the school. They demanded their children be released for "security reasons."

A beefed-up squad of state troopers patrolled school corridors on September 15, along with an additional 40 school aides. Fights were still reported, however.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

October 2, 1961 Price 10¢

The U.S. State Department once again is mounting its campaign to keep China, which has one-third more people than the entire Western Hemisphere, from being represented in the United Nations.

This time, after 10 years of blocking even a debate on China's admission, the State Department has been forced by the pressure of the newly independent Asian and African nations to yield. It must now permit the question to be put on the General Assembly's agenda. But the U.S. delegation plans to continue its obstruction by trying to get the question sidetracked from the floor to a committee for "further study." By this stratagem, [U.S. ambassador to the UN] Adlai Stevenson hopes to keep the UN from voting on the issue for yet another year.

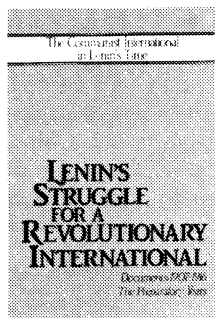
When the UN was set up by the victors of World War II it was stipulated that China would be one of the five most powerful members of the body, with a permanent seat — and a veto — in the Security Council.

But in 1949 the Chinese people awoke with a roar that shook Asia. They kicked out the warlords, the foreign capitalists, and the corrupt despot Chiang Kai-shek. Since then Washington has cynically maintained that diplomatically the Chinese government doesn't exist and that China's UN seat belongs to the overthrown Chiang regime, which rules only one-seventieth of the Chinese people.

### Communist International in Lenin's Time

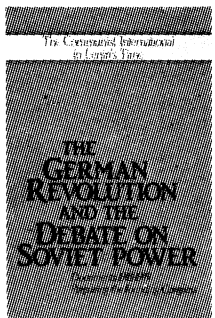
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# Aquino gets smiles . . . and pressure

Corazon Aquino's nine-day visit to the United States, which ended September 25, saw no letup in Washington's efforts to interfere in the Philippines.

The Philippine president came to office in February when a popular upsurge toppled the corrupt and bloody dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. The U.S. government, which had firmly backed Marcos' regime since it took over in 1966, withdrew its support only when his fall seemed certain.

From President Reagan on down, U.S. officials and Republican and Democratic politicians took the occasion of Aquino's tour to pose as patrons of Philippine democracy. Aquino was loudly applauded in Congress and got a promise from Reagan "to do all that we can" to help her government.

But not a single step was taken to relieve the deepening poverty of the Philippine workers and peasants.

Nothing was done to lift the burden of the Philippines' \$26 billion debt to U.S. and foreign banks. "Half our export earnings," Aquino told Congress, "\$2 billion out of \$4 billion, went to pay just the interest on a debt whose benefit the Filipino people never received."

President Reagan released a paltry \$100 million in aid already earmarked for the Philippines, and the House of Representatives voted another \$200 million by a narrow margin of 203-197.

To get even that far in Congress, Aquino had to submit to being grilled at a private meeting about her stand on U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Aquino has stated that the bases can remain at least until the current agreement expires in 1991, and that their future status will be negotiated.

On the day that Aquino addressed the U.S. Congress, the commission drafting a new constitution for the Philippines rejected proposals to forbid U.S. military bases.

Sen. Robert Dole, Republican majority leader of the Senate, found these concessions insufficient. The bases "are going to be needed long past 1991," he said.

Dole warned that passage of the aid bill in the U.S. Senate may be held up because of the Philippine commission's proposal that any treaty extending the bases be ratified by the country's senate. Dole wants guarantees

that the Philippine people will have no voice in the matter.

The White House also wants the Philippine government to roll back the democratic rights that the Philippine people won and have been fighting to extend since Marcos' ouster. They fear the workers and peasants are using this breathing space to struggle for gains that will be costly to U.S. big business.

Days before Aquino arrived here, the White House signaled its view that her administration must crack down harder on the New People's Army (NPA) and its supporters. The NPA won substantial popular support for its struggle against the Marcos tyranny and U.S. domination. Aquino says she is seeking to negotiate a cease-fire with the rebels.

According to the *Washington Post*, when they met on September 17, Aquino got a lecture from Reagan on the need to be "careful" in dealing with the "communists."

Some in U.S. ruling circles fear that Reagan and Dole's crude pressure and the open use of U.S. aid to extort concessions from the Philippine government will backfire.

In a September 16 article in the *Washington Post* Republican Sen. Richard Lugar, who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called for stronger support to Aquino. He voiced confidence in Aquino's "determination to take strong military action at the right time" against the "communist insurgency."

That the Philippines is a sovereign nation, with a right to decide its own fate without interference from Washington, is an idea that never turns up in U.S. officials' debate about events in that country.

The U.S. rulers are agreed that the Filipino people must continue to be bled dry by Wall Street bankers and other loan sharks, and that their territory must continue to be occupied by U.S. naval and air force bases.

But independence and freedom from U.S. domination is at the heart of what the workers, peasants, students, and others who toppled Marcos are fighting for.

Washington should cancel the Philippine debt, dismantle its bases, and withdraw its forces from the Philippines.

# Separation of church and state

Female school bus drivers fighting for job equality in Orange County, New York, have run up against the claims of a religious group that its rights outweigh those of the drivers.

The United Talmudic Academy in the Hasidic community of Kiryas Joel believes that male and female students should be separated and will not permit male students to ride public school buses driven by women. They have no objection, however, to male bus drivers transporting female students.

The women drivers, who are employed by a public school district, are demanding that they should be assigned routes without discrimination according to sex.

State law requires a public school district to furnish transportation to all students in the district who attend private schools more than a half-mile from their homes.

For a number of years, the Monroe-Woodbury School District had been providing buses with male drivers to Kiryas Joel schools. Then, more than a year ago, Local 836 of the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) filed a grievance on behalf of women drivers who wanted to be assigned on the same routes as male drivers. The schedule of the Kiryas Joel routes allow drivers to work longer hours and earn more money.

The union won the case, but before the district could assign women as drivers, a lawyer for the Hasidic community obtained a temporary restraining order in Orange County Court preventing the move during the 1985-86 school year.

Subsequently, 32 women who drive buses in the school district filed a human rights suit against district officials, the school board, Kiryas Joel, and the Talmudic academy for money damages. The suit was filed in federal court, where the case is still pending.

Shortly before the current school year began, the Orange County Court lifted the restraining order, and a federal judge refused the Hasidic community's request to reimpose it.

For the first three days of school this year, three women drivers were assigned to drive Kiryas Joel boys to school. The 600 male students affected walked to school rather than board the buses and compromise their religious views.

Public school officials responded by abolishing the routes and temporarily assigning the women to other tasks. They were given an alternative: face layoffs or be dropped to the bottom of the seniority list.

This would mean only 16 hours of work weekly instead of 22, thus representing a substantial pay cut. Moreover, they would lose all medical and dental benefits.

Brenda Mercurio, vice-president of CSEA Local 836, charged, "This is in order to pacify the Hasidic community and punish the women."

The Hasidic group's attorney, George Shebitz, contends that the issue before the federal court is "the appropriate balance between the rights of women drivers and the rights of a religious community."

This is a false presentation of the issue. It assumes that the rights of the Hasidic community in Kiryas Joel will be violated or restricted by the women drivers.

The Bill of Rights guarantees the right to practice one's religion without government interference. No government restrictions have been placed on the Hasidic community's right to worship as it pleases. Moreover, it has not been prohibited from organizing its own school system that separates girls and boys in keeping with its religious views.

Free exercise of religion, however, does not permit any group the right to harm other citizens or deny them their constitutional rights.

The Hasidic community in Kiryas Joel receives, at no cost to them, a service provided by the public school system, which is financed by all taxpayers in the area.

This, in itself, is an abridgement of the constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state. Government-financed public education is a conquest won in struggle and all citizens under the law are guaranteed equal access to it.

The Hasidic community has freely chosen not to avail itself of this opportunity. That is its right. But once it makes that decision, it should also follow that it will raise the funds for its schools, including providing transportation for students. It doesn't have the right to receive aid from public funds or to dictate policies to the government.

In the case in Orange County, not only does a religious grouping enjoy the privilege of receiving publicly funded school transportation, it demands the right to dictate to the public school board that it abide by the Hasidic community's religious practices.

This goes far beyond the constitutional right to free exercise of religion. It, in fact, means denying a section of the population its equal rights. It brings harm to women bus drivers, who are innocent of any violation of the Hasidic community's freedom to practice its religion. There's no question here of an "appropriate balance."

One woman bus driver noted that many people have misinterpreted the union's stance. "It's taken that we're anti-Semitic, and that's not the issue at all. The issue here is the lives of the three women," she said.

Charges of anti-Semitism and religious discrimination are red herrings that divert attention from the real issues: separation of church and state and the fight of women for job equality.

The fight of Local 836 deserves the full support of all defenders of the Bill of Rights and fighters for social justice.

# Is the demand for a labor party a pipedream?

BY DOUG JENNESS

It helps to have some imagination in politics.

Not the kind that fantasizes about hopeless utopias or conjures up get-rich-quick schemes. Rather, the sort that looks ahead to possible courses of political development on the basis of past and present experiences.

Take, for example, the question of how working people are going to organize themselves politically.

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Many *Militant* readers have, at one time or another, heard a Socialist Workers Party candidate speak. And they know that one thing the candidate will usually get to, if given enough time, is an appeal that under no conditions should workers support Democrats or Republicans and that the trade unions should take the lead in establishing a labor party.

Most workers are favorable to the idea of a labor party, but it sounds abstract. And with some reason — there's nothing that remotely resembles even an embryonic labor party in the United States today.

So what is this proposal based on?

Last week we explained in this column that the grinding attacks of the employers are going to spur workers to recognize that no solution to their difficulties can be found simply on the plant or industrywide level. Only by developing a broader outlook, one that leads them to act in the interests of the working class as a whole, can a road forward be mapped out.

This process will lead beyond the important, but relatively narrow, economic struggles conducted by unions to the field of political action. To fight for measures that will advance all workers — increasing government-financed jobless benefits and social security, establishing a national plan to provide free medical care for everyone, setting up a massive public works program to provide jobs, guaranteeing a living income for working farmers, winning equality for Blacks and women, opposing U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and many other such questions — requires demands for government action.

The development of a broader social understanding leads workers to greater political awareness and the search for effective political instruments. As this process unfolds, working people will increasingly see that they have a common enemy.

It is not only *their* employer who is the problem (this view can lead to the erroneous conclusion that helping to bail out or protect their employer will solve workers' difficulties). There is an entire *class* of employers, bankers, and landlords that is the problem.

Despite competition and differences between these various exploiters, they all profit from the unpaid labor of workers and farmers. And they are all hostile to the just demands of those who produce the country's wealth.

Moreover, the handful of ruling families collectively dominate the country politically through their control over the government at all levels, including all of its repressive agencies — the cops, the military, and the courts. The rulers' principal political parties, the Democrats and Republicans, jointly govern the country.

As working people begin to see themselves as a *class* going into battle against the exploiting *class* and its government, the workers' movement will increasingly become a political movement. Ultimately, this movement will face the challenge of organizing a struggle to replace the political rule of the exploiters.

All of this poses the need for political organization. Trade unions, at best, are organizations of particular sections of the working class and can't substitute for a political party that aspires to organize and lead into struggle both union and nonunion workers, working farmers, and some middle-class layers.

The struggle, however, to turn unions into effective fighting instruments will become intertwined with making them organizing centers for the formation of a labor party. As working-class fighters begin to organize around this perspective, they will see that support to the employers' political parties is a diversion from this task.

This perspective is not a pipedream; it's based on a sober evaluation of where the working class has been, what it faces today, and the tumultuous struggles and shake-ups that are coming. But it does take some imagination.



# Lockheed, Pentagon rob \$500 million from workers

BY KEVIN DWIRE

Do two-tier concession contracts save jobs? Should union members be ready to make concessions every time a corporation pleads poverty? Do workers and corporations share a common interest in making sure that the

## UNION TALK

company makes a big profit?

The answer to these questions is no. Concession contracts in auto and steel have not saved any jobs. These agreements have only served the interests of the employers who have fattened their pockets with the money stolen from workers' wages. We have as much in common as thieves and their victims.

Workers at the giant Lockheed-Georgia plant in Marietta, Georgia, have just received a reminder of this basic fact. The workers, members of International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) Local 709, produce the C-130 and C-5B transport planes that Lockheed sells to the U.S. Air Force.

In the contract negotiated three years ago, the company demanded and got a major concession in the form of a two-tier wage structure. This setup pays new hires substantially less than those with more seniority, even for doing the same work. Lockheed said then that they needed concessions to get the C5-B contract for 50 planes

from the Pentagon.

On August 28 workers found out the truth about their concessions. The air force charged that Lockheed had pocketed an extra \$500 million because of the two-tier rip-off. According to the air force, Lockheed's 1983 agreement with the IAM included "wage structure proposals . . . far different than the direct labor rates included in Lockheed's proposal for the C-5B."

The air force, however, doesn't think the workers should get the money that by rights is ours. To the contrary, they think that workers at Lockheed are paid too much. They issued a memo to the company advising it to make "efforts . . . to bring hourly wages . . . in closer alignment with the local market." They moan that factory workers, even with the drastic two-tier wage, make 11 percent more than the average worker in Atlanta and the Southeast.

That sounded good to Lockheed, which issued a statement saying, "Our customer makes suggestions, and we listen to what our customer says."

What is clear through all of this is that the company and the federal government are working together to drive down the wages and living standards of the workers in the upcoming contract between Lockheed and the IAM. The current contract expires October 1. Lockheed and the air force think that IAM members should be paid no more than unorganized workers throughout the Southeast. They want to roll back the gains won through years of

struggle.

The union leadership has protested the government interference into the negotiations for the new contract. But all that has been proposed for union members to do is write to members of Congress urging them to put pressure on the Pentagon to back off.

Unionists in the plant want to see an end to the two-tier wage and other concessions, and are looking for ways to fight back. The discussion on the wage structure has gone on since the new wave of hiring began, when newer workers learned they were earning as little as half what others were making. Many see the two-tier as splitting the union membership, creating members with conflicting interests. One contract with one wage is a way to end this divisiveness.

Moreover, the unorganized in the so-called right-to-work South need to be organized into unions that will fight to raise their wages up to our level, not lower our wages to theirs. And, the \$500 million extra profit, which even the air force admits Lockheed took, belongs to the workers, not to the company or government.

As the discussions proceed, many workers are interested in the example that meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, are setting — showing how we can use our unions effectively in the fight against the bosses and their government.

Kevin Dwire is a member of IAM Local 709 at Lockheed.

## LETTERS

### Exploitation of women

On the book published by Pathfinder Press titled *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, it really taught me some lessons. It shed some light on some longstanding truths about the exploitation of women, and Black women in particular.

It helped me as a Black man understand some things about what this system does to women. I thank all concerned for making this book available.

Ben Stewart  
Miami, Florida

### Chicano delegation

I was pleased at your recent article on the Latin American New Song Festival held in Managua in celebration of the seventh anniversary of the popular Sandinista revolution.

However, you failed to acknowledge the unprecedented participation of a Los Angeles-based Chicano music group, Umbral. The group was invited as part of the 37-member Chicano delegation to Nicaragua, whose major objective was a cultural exchange of Chicano musicians, poets, and artists. (We painted a mural.)

Our presence among our Latino sisters and brothers in struggle established our existence and long-overdue solidarity on an international level, with the hope of overcoming our invisible image due to U.S. media censorship. We hope important media like the *Militant* do not perpetuate this "Brown-out." Sadly, Chicanos are more acknowledged abroad than in the United States, even in progressive media. We look forward to your support and future collaboration.

A second Chicano delegation will visit Nicaragua December 12-22. We welcome *Militant* readers to participate.

Richard Verches  
Coordinator, Chicano delegation to Nicaragua  
Los Angeles, California

### IRA not terrorist

I read with interest the letter by Andrew Mohan (*Militant*, September 26), who charges that Irish freedom fighters are terrorists and that poor England, loyal to her subjects in Northern Ireland, has suffered long from these ingrate terrorists.

Small wonder that Mohan has the picture reversed. Because of Britain's close ties to the United States, she has been very successful in foisting on the American people this very line of propaganda.

The reality is that the IRA cannot be called terrorist because it never targets civilians (rather, it goes to great lengths to protect them), except where civilians are known to be aiding and abetting the Crown forces.

The British Army, on the other hand, targets civilians routinely — especially at peaceful protests and demonstrations. Dozens have been murdered with plastic and lead bullets. So it is the British who are the terrorists.

But whenever British policy is scrutinized, the British knee-jerk response is to release propaganda ad nauseum against IRA "terrorists." This is nothing but a smoke screen to divert attention from their own genocidal shoot-to-kill terror policies. Since all Northern Ireland news is censored in London, the British version is all that reaches the capitalist press here. Thus Mohan's misunderstanding is generated.

The program of the St. Louis Committee For a Free Ireland is to educate Americans about the nature of British imperialism and to cut through the smoke screen of distortion and disinformation.

The committee is grateful to the *Militant* for its work in furthering this end.

Jana Reid Meehan  
St. Louis Committee for a Free Ireland

### 'We're tougher'

For nine weeks, 170 members of International Molders and Allied Workers Union Local 120 have been locked out of Bronson Plastics.

Bronson is a highly profitable auto parts supplier for Chrysler, AMC, and VW. It makes gas tanks. The company locked out the workers after they rejected the proposed contract but agreed to work without a contract until an agreement could be reached.

Bronson proposed a 12-hour workday seven days a week and elimination of overtime pay, which is crucial for these low-paid workers. This in exchange for a 25-cent-an-hour wage increase.

Management hired the notorious union-busting outfit, Nuckols Corporation. They put up a barbed wire fence around the plant, installed video cameras, and harassed union members even before the contract vote.

Strike activist Carol Clark said, "The company wants to make us suffer, to bow to their demands. But they are finding out that we're tougher than they thought."

Picket lines are maintained 24

hours a day, but the police have been escorting sealed buses of scabs through the line. Only four union members have crossed the picket line.

Strikers are organizing to go to nearby cities to appeal for union solidarity and financial assistance.

Messages of support, contributions, and requests for speakers can be sent to International Molders and Allied Workers Union Local 120, 73 S. Monroe, Coldwater, Mich. 49036. Telephone (517) 279-8101.

M.F.  
Bronson, Michigan

### New subscribers

Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$6 for renewal to the *Militant* paper. Will try to get some new subscribers in support of this paper.

J.C.  
Brooklyn, New York

### 'Low intensity warfare'

Jim Harney, a Vietnam War resister recently back from the liberated zones in El Salvador, spoke at a meeting September 17 in Detroit sponsored by the Committee Against Military Intervention in El Salvador.

"The hidden war," he explained, "is the most massive air war ever in the Western hemisphere. One-third of the country, the liberated zones, are being hit by 1.6 million tons of bombs a year, or 800 pounds of TNT per guerrilla fighter. The so-called low intensity warfare is in reality total war against the civilian population, which means the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and anybody who thinks."

M.F.  
Detroit, Michigan

### Sagon Penn victory

Sagon Penn won a big victory in San Diego September 5 when the California Supreme Court halted his retrial and agreed to study defense charges of prosecution misconduct. A day earlier, the state court of appeals had scheduled the retrial despite defense objections.

Penn, a 24-year-old Black man, was acquitted in June of seven charges, including the murder of one cop and the attempted murder of another.

Penn was stopped and beaten by two cops the night of March 31, 1984. Fighting back, he wrested one of the cop's guns from him and fired. Though at least 39 wit-



nesses saw the beating, Penn spent 15 months in jail awaiting trial.

Defense attorney Milton Silverman contended that Penn would have been acquitted on all charges had it not been for the prosecution's "outrageous governmental conduct." This included jury tampering and suppression of evidence.

The evidence is a police academy transcript that quotes one of the two cops when he was in training as stating it is acceptable to use racial slurs in confrontations with minorities. The San Diego police department found the evidence in April 1985, but it was "forgotten about" until after the jury started deliberations. After the police finally turned over the transcript, the D.A.'s office held onto it for another 12 days while the jury decided Penn's fate.

Alan Grady  
San Diego, California

### Men from nowhere

In the September 12 issue of the *Militant* Doug Jenness explained that the column "Learning About Socialism" tries to "offer glimpses" of labor history. As an example, he referred to a piece by Norton Sandler in the August 29 issue called "How industrial unions were built: 'men from nowhere.'"

At the time, I thought the Sandler piece was strange and when Jenness called attention to it two weeks later, it aroused my curiosity. Who were these "men from nowhere?" Were they important figures in labor history?

Sandler's piece about them leads off with a reference to the myth that either John L. Lewis or President Franklin Roosevelt, or both, built the CIO unions. He goes on to mention the 1933 strike

of meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, and the 1934 strikes of Teamsters in Minneapolis and longshoremen in San Francisco. He winds up with a peculiar assertion: "The creation of the CIO unions in auto, steel, electrical, and many other industries were the products of struggles by men and women from nowhere." He offers no hint as to who these men and women really were.

It would be helpful if the *Militant* would give its readers a glimpse of these men and women and tell us about their origins and political identities.

James Gorman  
New York, New York

### LaRouchites defeated

Two Lyndon LaRouche supporters were soundly defeated in the New Hampshire primary election.

Because of its small population, New Hampshire has only two representatives in Congress. In the 1st C.D., Kenneth Bush, the LaRouche disciple, received only 3 percent of the vote. In the 2nd C.D., LaRouche disciple Steven Grycel, a former John Birch Society leader, did a great deal better. Grycel polled 32 percent against the Democratic candidate, Laurence Craig-Green, a little-known poet and antinuclear activist, who polled 68 percent.

Charles Campbell  
West Brattleboro, Vermont

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.

## Pretoria's allies resist sanctions

### Mild U.S., West European measures cheer S. African rulers

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The news of the latest West European and U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa brought an unusually elated response from that country's ruling circles.

At the Johannesburg stock exchange, gold and coal stocks jumped sharply. *Business Day*, one of South Africa's leading business newspapers, proclaimed that "the fear of imminent disaster has now receded."

At a time of mounting international pressures, the apartheid rulers of South Africa have found some relief in the relative mildness of the newest sanctions adopted by the European Economic Community (EEC) and the U.S. Congress. Even the limited U.S. congressional bill faces a veto by President Ronald Reagan.

On September 12 the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a sanctions bill that had previously been passed by the Senate.

The bill aims to ban, with some broad exceptions, new U.S. investments in South Africa, as well as imports of South African steel, iron, uranium, coal, and textiles. It would also bar South African landing rights in the United States.

But in approving the Senate bill, the House backtracked from the call for complete U.S. divestment that it had made in June. Some congresspeople maintained that they did so in order to present a joint Senate-House bill to the White House before the current session of Congress ends in early October.

#### Holding the line

For some of those who championed the Senate bill, the key motivation was not to put pressure on Pretoria, but to hold the line against yet stiffer sanctions. Accord-

### South African miners protest accident, call October 1 protest

South African miners are "very angry" over the disastrous September 16 mining accident that claimed 177 lives, declared Cyril Ramaphosa, head of the country's largest mining union.

Ramaphosa called on the mining companies to shut down all the country's mines on October 1, so that miners could mourn their slain coworkers. If the bosses refused to do so, he said, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) would declare a national work stoppage.

The accident at the Kinross gold mine, 60 miles east of Johannesburg, was the worst recorded gold mining accident in South Africa's history.

It began when a fire ignited flammable tunnel sealant, sending toxic fumes through the underground shafts. Most of the miners were asphyxiated. All but five of them were Black.

After visiting the site, Ramaphosa charged the company that owns the mine with negligence, saying the accident could have been avoided if basic safety procedures had been followed. He said the NUM had an ongoing dispute with the company over recognition of union safety stewards.

Although the worst mining accident, the disaster at Kinross is not unique. Last year 528 workers died in the mines, and 592 the year before. More than 8,200 have been killed in mining accidents over the past decade.

For working in such dangerous conditions, Black miners in South Africa only receive an average of \$150 a month.

Following four months of wage talks with the Chamber of Mines, the main mine owners' body, the NUM has rejected its wage offer and announced it will hold a strike vote.

ing to Richard Lugar, the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the bill would supersede state and local sanctions measures, many of which are much stronger.

In addition, Senator Jeremiah Denton managed to attach an amendment to the Senate bill that called for further "investigations" of the aims of the African National Congress (ANC), which is leading the freedom struggle in South Africa. (Several years ago Denton chaired a Senate hearing that sought to smear the ANC as a "terrorist" organization.)

Despite the weaknesses of the new congressional sanctions bill, it is still too much for the White House. Administration officials have stated that Reagan will likely veto it.

To undercut any efforts in Congress to override the veto, the White House is planning to announce its own package of "anti-apartheid" measures, including a few of the provisions in the congressional bill.

#### Kohl, Thatcher 'recoil' from sanctions

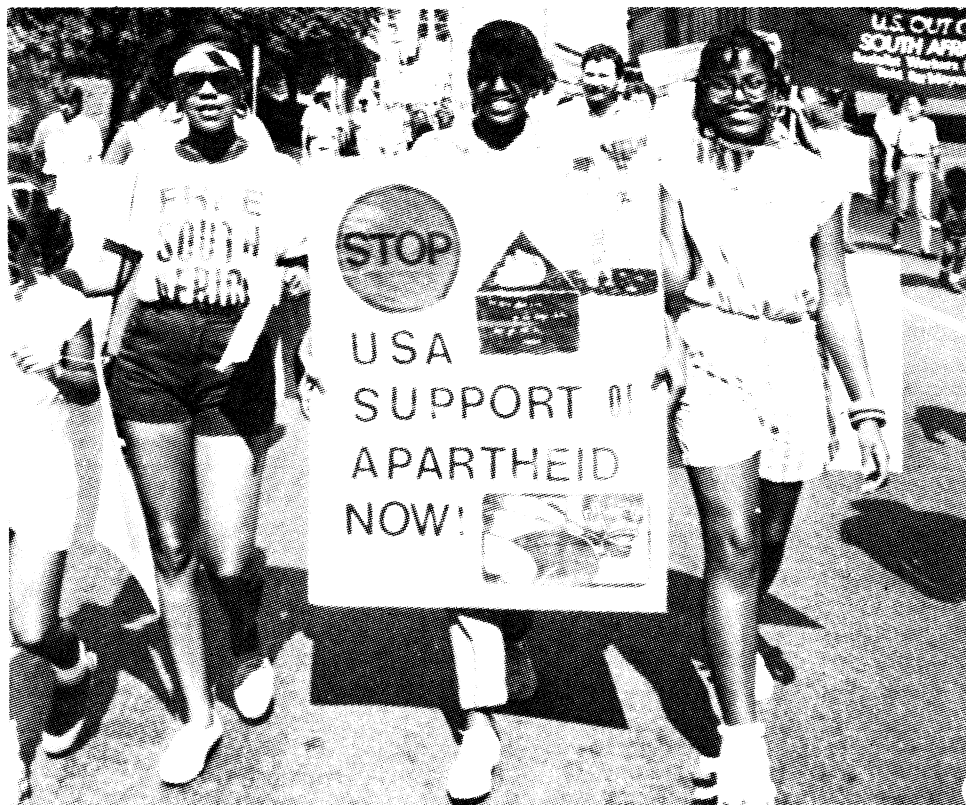
A few days after the House vote, foreign ministers of the 12 European Economic Community member states also adopted a sanctions package. It was considerably weaker than one outlined by the EEC a year earlier.

It included a ban on imports of South African iron, steel, and gold coins, as well as a prohibition on new investments there. But it did not include a ban on the importation of South African coal, as had been previously projected.

Coal is South Africa's second most important export commodity, after gold. Two-thirds of it goes to EEC countries, bringing the South African mining companies \$1.27 billion in earnings last year alone.

The West German government, openly backed by the government of Portugal, led the opposition within the EEC to adoption of the coal import ban.

The British government of Margaret Thatcher also reiterated its opposition to such measures. Following a meeting with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Thatcher proclaimed that she and Kohl "recoil from many of the suggestions which



October 1985 anti-apartheid march in Houston. Demands for divestment are growing.

have come before us with regard to sanctions."

Thatcher also employed the common imperialist justification for rejecting sanctions, claiming that such moves would "cause poverty, unemployment and starvation among many Black South Africans."

But South African Blacks — who already suffer from poverty, unemployment, and starvation — did not share Thatcher's view. The 2-million-member United Democratic Front, which has been leading many of the recent anti-apartheid protests, derided the EEC's "lukewarm" measures and blasted the West German and Portuguese governments for opposing stronger sanctions.

An ANC representative said that the EEC's limited sanctions left the governments of Western Europe covered in shame.

Although the apartheid authorities in

Pretoria have won some momentary relief from stringent international sanctions, they are under no illusion that their allies in Washington and Western Europe can resist them indefinitely. Volkskas, one of the major South African banks, recently concluded that sanctions appear to be "inevitable."

But the longer the major imperialist powers succeed in resisting the imposition of stiff economic sanctions, the more time the apartheid regime will have to prepare for them. Already, Pretoria's Department of Trade and Industry has set up a special secretariat to develop ways to circumvent trade and investment embargoes.

One of the focuses of the October 10 South Africa solidarity actions that have been called for many cities and campuses across the United States will be to demand an immediate end to all U.S. ties with the apartheid regime.

## Congress OKs arms to Angolan terrorists

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The House of Representatives has given its stamp of approval to the Reagan administration's provision of covert arms aid to the South African-backed terrorists fighting against Angola. In a 229-to-186 vote September 17, a bipartisan majority rejected a proposal that would have blocked such aid unless it was openly approved by Congress.

"It's a tough world," declared Rep. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.). "Some things must be done in secret to be successful."

While this vote seeks to keep the wraps on the precise scope and nature of the U.S. intervention in Angola, the fact that Washington is directly backing the Angolan counterrevolutionaries has been openly acknowledged.

When Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the terrorist group, visited Washington this past January, he was accorded the diplomatic formalities usually reserved for foreign heads of state, including well-publicized meetings with Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, and other top officials.

In July Reagan again claimed that Savimbi's mercenary army, known as the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), was a "Black liberation movement."

In fact, UNITA serves as an arm of the

South African military. For the past 10 years it has operated out of South African bases in neighboring Namibia or locations in southern Angola that are under effective South African military occupation.

With Pretoria's direct backing, it has murdered and displaced thousands of Angolan villagers, destroyed many schools and health clinics, and disrupted economic life. Combined South African and UNITA attacks have cost Angola more than \$10 billion in damages.

According to the White House itself, the amount of covert CIA assistance that is currently being channeled to UNITA amounts to some \$15 million worth of military equipment.

Though the kinds of arms and the way they are being sent is supposed to be secret, some details of this operation have recently been exposed.

According to a report in the July 30 *Namibian*, a proindependence newspaper published in that South African colony, U.S. Stinger antiaircraft missiles were first delivered to UNITA camps in mid-May.

Savimbi himself, in an August interview with the *Washington Post*, stated, "The president [Reagan] has promised us support and we got that support, and it was delivered as quickly as was possible. We

asked him to give us something effective against the air and against the armor and we got what we asked for."

Post correspondent Patrick Tyler, who got the interview in southern Angola, revealed that these arms were accompanied by U.S. instructors. "The CIA training of Mr. Savimbi's forces on Stingers and Light Antitank Weapons, or LAWs," Tyler reported, "is said by sources to be taking place at a secure UNITA encampment where reporters are not allowed."

Although some sources indicate that the arms have been shipped to UNITA through Zaire, which is governed by the proimperialist regime of Mobutu Sese Seko, others point to South Africa itself.

In a dispatch from London, the July 18 *South African Weekly Mail* reported that a U.S. diplomat told a closed session of the British Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee that the U.S. arms were reaching UNITA through South Africa. The diplomat was identified as Robert Frasure, who handles African affairs at the U.S. embassy in London and who has made numerous trips to southern Africa.

The *Mail* also reported that CIA Director William Casey "visited South Africa secretly around mid-March to make the necessary arrangements" for the arms shipments.