

Nicaraguans start trial of captured CIA man

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus went on trial here October 20 for war crimes against the Nicaraguan people.

That morning, a land mine planted by U.S.-backed mercenaries blew up a truck carrying dozens of civilians in northern Nicaragua. Five people were killed instantly and 34 wounded, many of them seriously.

Hasenfus has admitted to participating in 10 CIA flights into Nicaragua to supply weapons to these mercenaries. His plane was shot down October 5 by Sandinista soldiers.

More than 100 reporters from around the world crowded the courtroom for the first day of the trial. Dozens of Nicaraguans — including workers and students — also attended. Hundreds more lined the sidewalk outside and peered through the open windows.

Consul General Donald Tyson of the U.S. embassy came to the trial. He consulted with Hasenfus's lawyer before the proceedings began and took extensive notes throughout. Asked by reporters for his opinion of the trial, Tyson repeatedly

Next week the *Militant* will carry an exclusive interview from our Managua Bureau with the three Sandinista soldiers who shot down the CIA plane October 5 and captured Eugene Hasenfus. José Fernando Canales, 19; Byron Montiel Salas, 17; and Raúl Antonio Acevedo Lara, 20, tell the *Militant* why they are defending Nicaragua from U.S. aggression and what the Sandinista revolution has meant for them.

said "no comment." Hasenfus's wife and brother also attended.

Presenting the charges, Nicaraguan Attorney General Rodrigo Reyes said that he would show that Hasenfus's actions are part of "the official policy of the government of the United States against the Republic of Nicaragua."

Reyes detailed the death and destruction



Lt. Col. Roberto Calderón, at Managua news conference, showing ID cards of U.S. personnel on downed plane.

caused by U.S. aid to the mercenaries and said that Hasenfus was one of the "tools" of this criminal aggression, through the "supplying of provisions and military equipment indispensable to continuing the war."

Reyes also described Hasenfus's close relations with Max Gómez and Ramón Medina, the CIA agents in El Salvador in charge of the supply operation. Medina has been identified by Nicaraguan intelligence authorities as actually being Luis Posada Carriles, one of the right-wing Cuban terrorists responsible for the 1976 bombing of a Cuban passenger plane in which 73 people died. Posada mysteriously escaped from a Venezuelan prison last year.

Reyes formally charged Hasenfus with three violations of Nicaraguan law:

1. Crimes against public security and public order for "actions aimed at subjecting the nation to foreign control" and for activities in support of "those who take up arms to attack the national government."
2. Terrorism, which under Nicaraguan law includes those who supply terrorists.
3. Criminal association for conspiring with others to commit illegal acts.

Reyes asked the court to impose the maximum sentence for each of these crimes. This could amount to 30 years imprisonment, the maximum penalty allowed in Nicaragua.

The court appointed a translator for Hasenfus and granted his request for a private meeting with his wife and Enrique Sotelo, the lawyer he has chosen.

Earlier, the U.S. embassy had an-

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Immigration bill: blow to democratic rights

July 1 will be "Freedom Day," proclaimed a *New York Times* editorial hailing the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The bill was passed by the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives in the closing days of the congressional session. President Ronald Reagan has indicated he will sign it into law.

Under consideration in one or another form since 1972, the bill has been known at times as the Rodino bill or the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, after the legislators from both

EDITORIAL

the Democratic and Republican parties who sponsored it.

On July 1, 1987, six months after the bill goes into effect, "hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens ... will wait patiently to accept America's offer of amnesty," the *Times* claimed.

"At about the same hour," the *Times* applauded, "Border Patrol teams will roll up to factories and farms where other illegals are thought to work. They won't stop with apprehending the workers. For the first time, they'll have hard words for the boss — hard words that will, after a warning period, be followed by stiff penalties."

What the *Times* calls "freedom" will be more like slavery for millions of un-

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Action key in fight against U.S.-backed war in Nicaragua

BY LAURA GARZA

When a 19-year-old soldier in Nicaragua shot down a plane loaded with supplies for mercenaries attacking his country, he blew a hole in the cover of deceit used to try to hide the fact that a war is being waged against Nicaragua.

This has given a boost to opponents of the war at a time when we are discussing how best to broaden opposition to it.

Using a mercenary army known as the *contras*, the U.S. government is waging a war against the people of Nicaragua. This war has left thousands dead, more wounded, and hundreds of thousands displaced. It has caused extensive damage to the economy. Even the *New York Times* acknowledged that the war has been an "American creation" from the start.

The downing of the plane has shown that the real source of supplies, "advisers," and money is Washington. It has revealed why the U.S. government paid millions to build air bases in Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. And it has exposed the real role of the so-called advisers and other U.S. personnel stationed in El Salvador.

The U.S. rulers have gone to great pains to keep these facts hidden. They know that public knowledge of this "new Vietnam" would fuel greater and more active opposition to it. Bringing these facts to light is one of the main things opponents of this war must do.

As more of the truth about it comes out, we are seeing a growing response to the war. The first national conference of activists organizing sanctuary for political refugees from Central America drew 1,000 people from across the country in September. Discussion of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua was a major theme at

that meeting. A march held the same weekend in Washington, D.C., to protest U.S. policy in Central America drew 3,000.

Chicanos opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America and the war in Nicaragua organized a Chicano Moratorium in Austin, Texas, drawing close to 400 on August 30. The organizers of the march formed Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America (CAMILA) and are now trying to form CAMILA chapters throughout Texas. They have played an active role in building the October 25 action for Peace, Jobs and Justice in Austin to win more Chicanos to protest U.S. intervention.

From September 1 to October 16 four Vietnam war veterans conducted a Fast for Life to protest the U.S.-backed war in Nicaragua. The considerable response they received from people around the country is a sign that a growing number of people are becoming more outraged by Washington's dirty war.

Twenty volunteers helped to answer the thousands of calls and letters that poured into Washington, D.C., and more than 500 activities were organized in solidarity with the vets.

An especially important effort to involve people in antiwar protests this fall has been the nationally coordinated actions in 18 cities organized by the National Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice. The call for these protests — the first such call in a year and a half — helped spark the formation of local committees and coalitions uniting various groups and individuals.

Along with protesting U.S. intervention in Central America, the actions have been

Continued on Page 13

Subscription sales target week set

BY MALIK MIAH

Thousands of workers, farmers, students, and others are demonstrating October 25 and November 1 and 2 to protest the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua.

Supporters of the *Militant* and our sister monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* are among the demonstrators — as participants and as distributors of the two publications.

We are currently on a national subscription campaign to win 10,000 new readers as of November 15. As of October 23, a total of 6,715 people have become new subscribers. (See scoreboard on page 4.)

For only \$3.00, you can receive 12 issues of the *Militant* and for \$2.00, five months of *PM*. For an additional 50 cents, you'll get a copy of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead.

Why do you need a subscription?

Because it's the only way to get honest, factual reporting — what you rarely get, if at all, from the big-business

media.

Our three-person bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, provides weekly on-the-scene reports on the U.S.-organized *contra* war and how working people in that country are responding to it.

We have firsthand reports from other countries, too, and from important struggles of workers and farmers in North America.

The *Militant* and *PM* are published in the interests of working people. We tell their side of the story.

No hype. Just the truth.

If you want to subscribe, fill out the coupon on page 2 and mail it today.

We are having a special sales target week prior to the November 4 elections. Supporters are urged to go all out that week to sell subscriptions, with the aim of taking a giant step toward reaching our goal of 10,000 new subscribers.

If you can join a sales team or help in other ways, including making a financial contribution, please contact one of our distribution centers listed on page 12 or contact the *Militant* and *PM* business office at (212) 929-3486.

Iowa meat-packers resist union-busting

BY BILL LONG

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa — The two-and-a-half-week-old strike by 315 members of National Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers (NBPW) Local 50 against Swift Independent Packing Co. has turned into a bitter battle to stop the company's drive for concessions and its union-busting attacks.

State, county, and local cops have been mobilized to escort scabs into the plant. NBPW members and other unionists in the area mass picketed October 16 and 17 to stop "replacement workers" from being brought into the plant.

Riot-equipped cops set off tear gas and arrested almost 30 strikers and their supporters for "picket-line violence." A police spokesperson told the press that the cops "have to protect those people going through" the picket line.

NBPW members are urging other unionists and farmers to support their struggle. "Cox and Swift want to bust the union," said Jim Aalfs, Local 50 president. Cox, a

multimillionaire from Texas, recently bought a number of Swift plants.

"This is the first contract to come up since he bought Swift and he wants to get rid of the union," Aalfs continued. "We need a lot of support now because if they are successful here it will set a trend in the industry. If we don't stop it here they will go right down the line."

Wage cuts

In 1982 Swift imposed a 39 percent wage cut on the union and set up a two-tier wage structure with a base rate of \$5.60 an hour for new hires. This time around Swift demanded another 19 percent cut in wages that would set the base rate at \$8 an hour, less for new hires. The company sought also to institute a flexible workweek, cut pensions and medical benefits, and eliminate new hires from the pension plan.

When the union rejected the offer and went out on strike, Swift began hiring scabs.

"While agreeing [at the second bargain-

ing session] to include new hires in the pension program, the company said it considered the scabs to be permanent replacement workers and union members would be called back to work on a seniority basis," explained chief shop steward Ross Boyer.

As word of the cop attack on the picket line spread, unionists and community supporters turned out to help the fighting local. "We have had great support from the unions, the community, and now the farmers are calling us," said Aalfs. "The company didn't count on all that support."

New scab-herding operation

By 6 a.m. October 20, the ranks of NBPW members on the picket line were swelled by a large number of other unionists. Auto workers and bricklayers joined the picket line, as did meat-packers from Austin, Minnesota, and Cherokee and Ottumwa, Iowa.

Local cops again armed with tear gas and in riot gear lined 9th Street heading up to the plant. A few minutes before 7 a.m., more than a dozen state police cars drove in. The troopers then marched in two columns behind the strikers.

The cops arrested two strikers, one for jaywalking, while they escorted the 250 scabs into the plant. The strikers and their supporters chanted, "Scabs, scabs," as their cars drove in through the police cordon.

Ron Chilster, from United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431 in Ottumwa, explained that he and four other workers at the Hormel plant there heard about the strike and came to Mar-

shalltown because the strike "is just like every struggle. It's time for a change. We have to support those that take a stand like this."

"It's important that meat-packers' unions across the nation stand behind the Brotherhood struggle," T.J. Lauritsen told me. "The fact is that wages are down and production is way up, and no matter what union you belong to this is a struggle against a major meat-packer." Lauritsen and another UFCW member at the Wilson Foods plant in Cherokee drove five hours to show their support. The NBPW is calling a rally for Sunday, October 26 at the Riverside Park in Marshalltown.

NBPW members receive no strike benefits, Ed Willey, an NBPW member, pointed out.

"If a lot of other unions weren't out there, we wouldn't be as far as we are right now. We need everyone's support," he said.

After the morning picket line, NBPW shop steward Boyer headed for Austin, Minnesota, where he addressed 100 meat-packers and their supporters at the regular meeting of the Austin United Support Group.

Eight hundred fifty Austin meat-packers who had participated in UFCW Local P-9's strike are fighting to get reinstated to their jobs at the Hormel plant there.

"Support Group and P-9 members gave me a great reception," Boyer said. A collection was taken up at the meeting and two P-9 members along with two members of the Support Group decided to go to Marshalltown the next day.

Packinghouse workers need 'spirit, ideas of new union'

Below are the remarks made by Fred Halstead at the October 11 rally in Austin, Minnesota, organized by the Austin United Support Group.

Halstead is the author of the pamphlet, *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*.

The Support Group organizes solidarity outreach efforts for meat-packers at the Austin Hormel plant. The rally was part of a full day's activities celebrating the second anniversary of the founding of the organization. Over 400 people attended the events.

I want to say two things. One, the support activity. A lot of people in California are a long way away and the only thing they know is what they see on TV about the new trustee-dictators' contract imposed on the people here. And a lot of them think it's all over. But all you have to do is tell them that the strikers have not been hired back and then they know right away that it's not over.

We're going to have Skinny [Weis] come out next week and start telling your story and I'm absolutely sure that you're going to get as much money and support as you got before when members of your support group and your local spoke there. But we do ask that Skinny leaves your weather here. [John "Skinny" Weis, a leader of the meat-packers' struggle against Hormel, is now on a speaking tour in the Los Angeles area.]

The other thing I want to say is that there is obviously a crisis in the whole meat-packing industry. Things are beginning to

break out all over. I'm sure the top leaders of the UFCW are running scared. They've got FDL now, on strike, they've got Swift down the road here. They've got Rochelle and Edmonton. That's really — among other things — where your future lies.

These people need the spirit and the ideas of the North American Meat Packers Union. They want union democracy and union solidarity. And as I say, that's your future. You're not going to go away. The drive of the bosses to keep taking is not going to go away. And the fightback is going to begin, continue, and get bigger because the American working class just isn't going to lie down and work for minimum wages and then have that lowered. And that's what we face.

That's what your struggle represents — and that's why you get this kind of solidarity when the story is told. It's because there are millions of people out there who know what they're facing. And who have gone through or are going through or will very soon go through what you've been going through.

But you are fighting and that's the key thing. You continue to fight.

Somebody asked me, "Why don't you write another pamphlet bringing things up to date?" Actually, as of the moment, the only thing that has to be brought up to date is the new contract. I would like to write a new one a little later that tells of the success of P-9 and the North American Meat Packers Union in carrying their fight and their experience to the rest of the meat-packing industry in North America and to the rest of the American working class, which you are doing. Keep it up.

Strike ends at Rochelle FDL plant

BY NORTON SANDLER

The six-week-long strike at FDL meat-packing plant in Rochelle, Illinois, ended October 17 after workers there accepted a new three-year contract.

The strike against FDL, which began on September 11, is continuing at FDL's Dubuque, Iowa, plant.

In a telephone interview, Mark McCaffrey, chief steward of Local 1218 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) in Rochelle, explained that wages will rise from their current level of \$8 an hour to \$9.25 in 1989.

He said that the out-of-pocket money the workers have to pay every week for medical coverage has been reduced from 50 percent of the cost of the coverage to 35 percent — a savings of approximately \$7.22 a week.

Eighty-three percent of the workers who voted were in favor of accepting the new contract.

FDL products are marketed by Geo. A. Hormel & Company.

Since the early 1980s, FDL workers, like most meat-packers, have come under

sharp attack and had massive takebacks imposed on them.

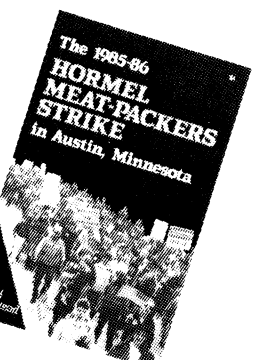

Wages at the Rochelle and Dubuque plants were \$10.69 an hour in 1982 before the company, known then as Dubuque Packing, shut down and reopened as FDL. Most workers in the Rochelle plant have been hired since that time.

A leaflet distributed by Local 1218 members explained that the strike was over "economic justice, dignity, fair treatment, and a safe place of employment."

FDL management staged several confrontations with Local 1218 members as the company moved to bring scabs into the plant. More than two dozen strikers were arrested by local cops who were mobilized to help the company escort the scabs. Several workers were injured by club-wielding cops.

McCaffrey said that 82 scabs were in the plant at the time the contract was settled. The company is now maintaining that the scabs are "permanent replacements," so 82 of the 550 members of Local 1218 were not allowed to return to work on October 21. FDL says that the 82 UFCW members will be called back by seniority if needed.

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GOOD OFFER
November 15

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

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

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

The Militant

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Mine union officials call special convention

Discussion needed to assess setback dealt by A.T. Massey Co.

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The first special convention in the 97-year history of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) will be held in Atlanta October 27 and 28.

It takes place against a backdrop of increasing employer attacks against the union. Delegates will be asked to approve a number of proposals presented by the union's International Executive Board (IEB) that have far-reaching implications.

Through hard-fought strikes in 1977-1978 and again in 1981, UMWA members were able to beat back attacks on our union. The contract signed in 1984 without a national strike was not a concessions contract.

So far, the employers have not been able to wrest takebacks from miners that they have succeeded in imposing on virtually every other union.

But the coal operators are pressing the fight. They are trying to weaken the union safety committees in the mines and are pushing for other changes in work rules.

Thousands of union miners are currently unemployed, and nonunion mines have opened in the heart of the Appalachian coal fields.

The call circulated to UMWA locals by the union officials focuses on the ownership of the coal companies.

"The coal operators no longer make decisions for coal companies. Our employers are no longer dependent on coal as their sole source of profits. Overwhelmingly, we now work for multinational corporations, utilities, or other very large corporations, which possess far greater economic power than did the coal operators of twenty years ago," the call states.

There are four basic proposals that union President Richard Trumka and the IEB will

make to the special convention.

The Trumka leadership will ask delegates to the special convention to approve postponing the next regular constitutional convention until 1990. It was originally scheduled for 1987.

The UMWA officialdom will ask the convention to adopt "job opportunity and economic security" as bargaining priorities in 1987-1988. It is also proposing that the union constitution be amended to specifically authorize the IEB to approve any affiliation or merger with an existing labor organization.

Finally, the delegates in Atlanta will be asked to remove the \$70-million cap on the selective strike fund so there will be no limit on the amount of money that can be collected for selective strikes.

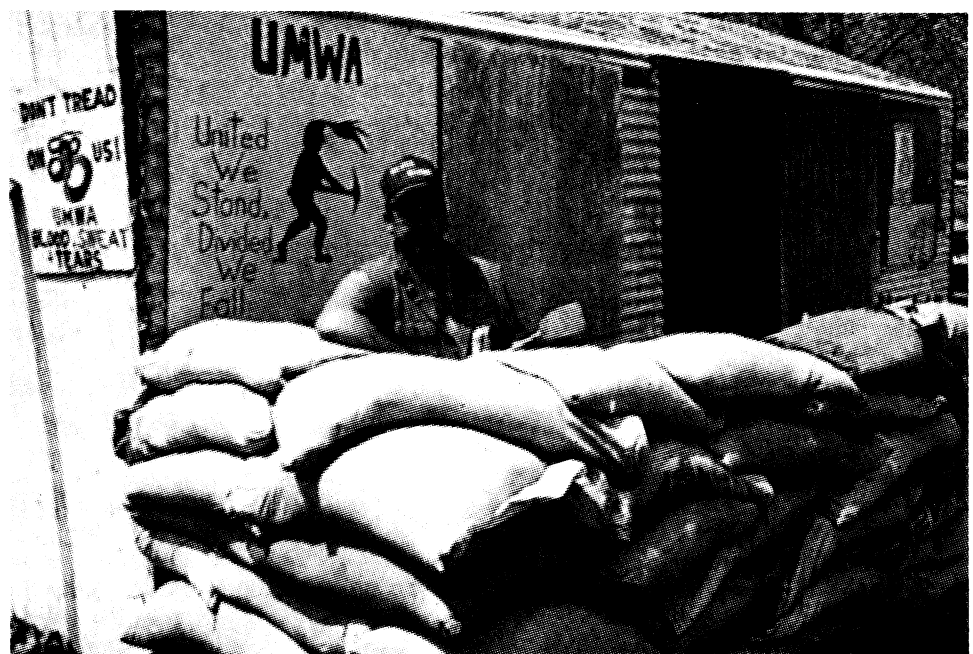
A.T. Massey strike

Before getting into a discussion on the amount of money that should be kept in the selective strike fund, a discussion is needed in which the membership can evaluate the experiences of the selective strike strategy that the union has employed since 1983.

Foremost in that discussion would be evaluating the nearly 14-month strike at A.T. Massey mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky that ended last December.

The strike began when Massey refused to sign the 1984 Bituminous Coal Operators Association contract, claiming all its affiliates were separate employers.

After the NLRB ruled in December 1985 that Massey was indeed a single employer, Trumka called an end to the strike. Massey, however, did not let all the union miners return, and several hundred are still without jobs. Those who are back in the mines are working alongside the very scabs Massey hired to take their jobs.



Striker in picket shelter near mine in Kentucky owned by A.T. Massey Company. Fourteen-month strike ended in December 1985 without a contract and with work force divided.

Massey still refuses to sign the 1984 contract.

On numerous occasions the settlement of the strike against A.T. Massey has been portrayed as a victory by top officials of the UMWA. But a sober assessment of the outcome of the strike yields a much different picture.

The NLRB decision that Massey is one employer was a propaganda victory for the union, a victory that could have been used to expand solidarity efforts throughout the country.

Instead, the union miners were sent back to work divided and without a contract. In effect, the strike was demobilized.

The settlement breaches the "no-con-

tract, no-work" tradition of the miners dating back at least to the 1930s.

A strike where the full power of the UMWA membership could be tapped and where the potential existed to draw in allies throughout the labor movement has been transformed into a court battle.

Massey setback not inevitable

The Massey setback was not inevitable. UMWA members and their families on the scene were more than willing to take on this union-busting outfit.

Nor were opportunities to mobilize solidarity with the strike taken advantage of. Inside the UMWA, solidarity efforts were limited. A call for the mobilization of miners across the country to come to the Tug River Valley, where the Massey mine is located, was never issued.

The other 35 selective strikes currently under way, including the more than one-year-old strike at Canterbury mines in Pennsylvania, should also be evaluated by the full union membership.

A future article will examine the IEB's proposals on authorizing mergers and for "job opportunities and economic security."

John Hawkins works as an underground coal miner at Jim Walter Resources No. 5 mine in Brookwood, Alabama, and is a member of the United Mine Workers of America, District 20.

2,000 rally for striking Canterbury miners

BY CLARE FRAENZL

AVENMORE, Pa. — An estimated 2,000 coal miners and steel and rubber workers gathered in this small town in western Pennsylvania to support members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) who have been on strike for 14 months. They are striking the Canterbury Coal company.

Participants in the October 4 action also included students from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, representatives from the Massey coal strike, and supporters from the surrounding communities.

The day's events began with a human chain stretching from the coal company's office into Avenmore. This was followed by a rally chaired by Rich Trinclisti, UMWA International selective strike coordinator and president of one of the two striking UMWA locals. Cecil Roberts,

UMWA International vice-president, was the featured speaker.

Canterbury Coal is owned by the ninth-largest corporation in Canada. In 1984 Canterbury refused to sign the bituminous coal agreement with the UMWA, demanding massive concessions instead. After a year of fruitless negotiations, the miners launched a selective strike Aug. 9, 1985. They are among 1,400 UMWA members now involved in 35 selective strikes throughout the country.

On July 1, 1986, nearly a year after the strike began, Canterbury Coal stepped up its union-busting attack by moving a trainload of scab coal out of the mine yard. The UMWA mobilized its members and their families to protest the provocation. State police wielding cattle prods and clubs attacked the protesters, sending several miners and a five-year-old boy to the hospital.

Several days later, strike coordinator Larry Pasquale's trailer was firebombed. Local police say they can find no suspects and have dropped the investigation.

An emergency meeting was called August 6 to discuss how to respond. It was initiated by Wives United for the UMW, miners' wives organized to build strike support. At this meeting the idea for the October 4 action was born.

Workers who responded to the miners' call for solidarity discussed how to defeat the bosses' offensive, which is forcing concessions upon union after union.

Denise Patterson, wife of a striking rubber worker from McCreary Tire Co., captured the experiences of many of the participants when she described the "American dream" — to find a steady job, get married, buy a house, and have children. "What right do the few owners of these corporations have to take away this dream, to destroy our lives?" she asked.

Roberts and Charles Rice, a Catholic priest, pointed to the massive struggle of the 1930s as the way to fight back.

Dennis Mealy, a meat-packer from Austin, Minnesota, was a big hit at the day's events. Canterbury miners helped him set up a booth, where he sold more than \$300

worth of T-shirts. Supporters of the Hormel meat-packers leafleted the crowd, explaining the current stage of the struggle.

At an informal celebration after the day's events, Mealy discussed the lessons of the meat-packers' struggle.

Miners from the Canterbury mines agreed that the day's events were a success and vowed that this was just the beginning of the fight to win their struggle for a no-concessions contract.

TWA chairman Icahn to buy USX, promises union-busting, airlines style

BY FRED FELDMAN

Carl Icahn, currently chairman of Trans World Airlines (TWA), now says he is trying to buy USX. He reportedly controls 11.4 percent of USX stock.

In addition to offering up to \$7.19 billion for USX stock, Icahn is portraying himself as a more reasonable boss for steelworkers than the current owners. They locked out 21,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America July 31, demanding massive new takebacks from union members.

The company has refused to negotiate with the union.

Icahn says he would do things a little differently. He dangled the possibility of a "profit-sharing" arrangement with the union in which the company would take back wages, benefits, and job rights in exchange for stock certificates or promises of "profit-sharing" checks sometime in the future.

"If we buy the company," he told interviewers, "we would consider trying to work something out with the steel union, which would make the company very viable, just as we worked something out with the pilots and machinists at TWA."

The October 8 *New York Times* praised Icahn for "forging an alliance with the pilot and machinist unions" at TWA.

The "alliance" consisted of takeback

contracts that cut pilots' wages and benefits by 23 percent and those of members of the International Association of Machinists by 17 percent.

Icahn demanded a 22 percent wage cut from the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. Cuts in benefits and work rules, together with the wage cut, amounted to a 45 percent slash in the attendants' pay.

Icahn justified demanding bigger takebacks from the mostly female flight attendants by saying, "These girls aren't breadwinners." This argument has long been used by the employers to force women workers to accept lower pay.

The flight attendants went on strike after the company rejected the union's offer to accept a 15 percent wage cut. Having forced a strike, Icahn followed a union-busting plan that had been developed by his predecessors at TWA. He hired thousands of replacements at low wages. After 10 weeks, the IFFA was forced to end its strike in May without agreeing to a contract. More than 4,000 flight attendants are still fighting for reinstatement to their jobs.

According to the October 10 *Wall Street Journal*, Icahn will seek to "slash wages of unionized workers" and "close unprofitable facilities" if he gains control of USX. If this program sounds familiar, this is because it is the same one the present owners are carrying out.



Militant/Barry Sheppard

"What right do owners of these corporations have to destroy our lives?" said Denise Patterson, wife of a striking rubber worker.

Good discussions with New Jersey meat-packers

BY LEROY WATSON

NEWARK, N.J. — Over the last month salespeople here have regularly sold at the Linden Meat Packing plant. The plant has about 200 workers and is organized by

sales team sold 15 *Militants* and 1 *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language monthly. One subscription to *PM* was also sold.

The discussions we've had with workers have been on many top-

sponse of the workers to them. A couple of workers told us the main issue is health and safety. The management is demanding significant changes in working conditions — such as speedup and how the meatcutting knives are sharpened.

Several workers said they were planning to vote yes on the strike authorization vote, and are determined to hold the line on concessions.

Others were not so sure. We had a good discussion with a Black worker who wouldn't buy a paper. He agreed with other workers that the bad conditions in the plant and the poor wages needed

to be changed, but wasn't sure how to change them. Some years ago the company had engaged in a lockout against the workers and then imposed concessions on them.

"All for one and one for all is nice," he told us. "But not if you're the one and the all don't back you up."

Everyone we talked to was interested in learning more about the fightbacks of other workers, especially in the meat-packing industry. We sold three copies of the pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead. Workers wanted to learn the les-

sons of that battle.

The Linden meat-packers also expressed interest in other issues, such as the struggle of Blacks in South Africa. As part of our sales effort, we distributed leaflets on the October 25 antiwar action in New York City and the November 8 anti-apartheid protest in Jersey City.

We also passed out socialist campaign literature.

Although our team is new and we've only been selling at Linden for a month, we're confident that we will sell more subscriptions and have regular readers in this plant.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

the United Food and Commercial Workers union. We sell once a week early in the morning as workers enter the plant.

In the first three weeks, our

ics, and are quite good.

Because the local contract expires this month, much of the discussion begins on the company's takeback demands and the re-

YSA sales teams win new members and subscribers

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Ten young people have joined the Young Socialist Alliance, and more than 30 more are discussing with other members of the YSA doing the same.

This is a result of the YSA's participation on regional sales teams selling subscriptions to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The teams are part of a national sales effort to win 10,000 new readers to the two working-class publications by November 15.

Ten teams, covering a combined total of more than 7,000 miles, have traveled to different regions of the country in the past month and a half, meeting thousands of workers, farmers, and students.

In addition to selling subscriptions, the four- and sometimes five-person teams set up literature tables on campuses, in working-class communities, and in front of plant gates and sell books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press.

The teams' accomplishments include:

- Selling 643 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 181 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, for a grand total of 824.
- Selling 3,112 single *Militants* and 413 copies of *PM*.
- Pathfinder literature sales totaling more than \$1,300.

- Selling some 280 copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*, by Fred Halstead.

Nearly 300 people have attended meetings set up by the teams and sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance at college campuses across the country. The meetings have been built around opposition to the U.S. government's mercenary war against Nicaragua, the fight to break all U.S. ties to the apartheid regime of South Africa, and an explanation of what socialists stand for.

More than 40 supporters of the campaign to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and *PM* have participated on the teams. Virginia, a new member of the YSA herself, was on the Arizona-Utah team, which met three people who joined the YSA at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

"We worked really hard," she said, "but we saw that more people wanted to know the truth. I really value being on the team and meeting all those people. One thing we learned was that we should talk to *everybody* — people will listen. And we can see the fruits of our labor."

The sales teams have received a warm welcome from the drought-stricken farm areas of the deep South to the lumber mills

of the Northwest.

At a migrant labor camp in Georgia, the team met a group of Mexican and Central American workers who were having lunch. They turned off the TV and listened to a brief presentation about the *Militant* and *PM* in Spanish. One of the workers helped translate for the rest. They said they were pleasantly surprised to meet socialists in the United States. They got together enough money to buy 12 copies of *PM* and \$11 worth of pamphlets, including works by Karl Marx, Malcolm X, and Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge.

The teams have gotten a good response at plant gates across the country, with particular interest in the struggle against the giant Hormel meat-packing company. A team in the coalfields of southern West Virginia sold 20 pamphlets on the 1985-86 Hormel meat-packers' strike at one mine.

At Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, James Winfield, a national leader of the YSA, spoke on the fight against apartheid at a meeting sponsored by the student government. Forty students attended, and the discussion turned to how they could organize an anti-apartheid movement at Tuskegee, where the administration had clamped down on such activity.

A YSA meeting at the University of Ohio in Athens drew 40 people. Four students asked to join the YSA on the spot. They recently held a panel discussion on campus to build support for the fall antiwar demonstrations, and they're organizing cars to go to the October 25 action in Washington, D.C.

The YSA members in Athens are launching a class series on the book *Socialism on Trial*. They receive a bundle of *Militants* and are setting up YSA tables.

Mark Wilson, a 22-year-old art student, is one of two new YSA members at Indiana

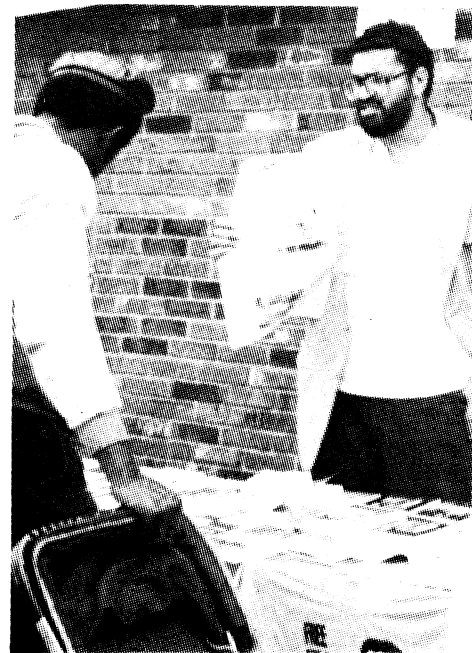
University of Pennsylvania.

Mark wrote a letter in the campus paper, inviting anyone interested to contact him about setting up a YSA chapter.

There are other people at Indiana U. who are interested, as well as at three other campuses visited by the western Pennsylvania team. "I never thought about joining an organization," said Mark, "but I realized it was just the kind of thing I was looking for politically."

Over the next four weeks, more teams will be hitting the road in Iowa, the Southeast, and California.

If you want to join a sales team, contact the Young Socialist Alliance chapter nearest you. See the directory on page 12.



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Militant circulation director Malik Miah
staffs sales table in New York City.

Excellent sales in Texas panhandle

BY MARTY PETTIT

PLAINVIEW, Tex. — At the Excel plant here, a beef cut-and-kill operation employing about 1,000 people, workers coming in for the 6:45 a.m. shift on October 15 were surprised to see a team of *Militant* salespeople. We were selling the paper and a pamphlet on the 1985-86 strike by meat-packers against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota.

In the dim light of the street lamps, the workers, overwhelmingly Chicanos and Mexicans, began buying our literature.

Many of the workers had not heard of the Austin meat-packers' struggle. We explained in a few words what their fellow workers there had been up against and why they had struck against concessions and horrendous safety conditions.

"That's what I would like to do here — strike 'em," was one woman meat-packer's response. The workers, who make \$8 an hour, had taken concessions once and the company is threatening them with another takeback contract in January.

We came back the next morning, and again for the second shift. By the time we finished, we had sold 100 *Militants*, 82 pamphlets on the strike against Hormel (74 English and 8 Spanish editions), and 9 *Perspectiva Mundials*. We also sold 3 subscriptions.

While selling we got into a long discussion with a young Black meatcutter. He offered to put the team up at his apartment.

He is also a student at nearby Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas, where he heard Francisco Campbell, a representative of the Nicaraguan government, speak earlier in the year. He liked the idea of a socialist youth organization that is involved in the fight against apartheid, against concession contracts, and for defending Nicaragua.

Apparently many students at Texas Tech

also agreed. In two days at the campus, we sold 19 subscriptions, more than \$79 in literature, and 38 copies of the *Militant*.

The Excel plant-gate sale wrapped up a successful three-week trip through Louisiana and Texas by our team. A total of 83 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, 99 Hormel pamphlets, and \$328 worth of literature was sold.

Fall Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	
New Paltz, N.Y.	5	—	5	—	100
Milwaukee	100	30	85	27	86
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	—	101	—	78
Portland, Ore.	135	15	109	6	77
San Francisco	170	80	126	66	77
Capital District, N.Y.	125	10	90	12	76
New Orleans	90	10	71	4	75
New York	500	250	345	214	75
San Jose, Calif.	200	100	152	74	75
Detroit	260	30	188	25	73
Newark, N.J.	375	125	230	136	73
Atlanta	140	10	104	4	72
Cleveland	125	15	90	10	71
Louisville, Ky.	115	10	83	6	71
San Diego	100	60	69	45	71
Los Angeles	300	200	209	139	70
Miami	125	40	92	20	68
Chicago	300	50	171	62	67
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	66	4	67
Charleston, W. Va.	100	—	64	2	66
Houston	290	60	200	31	66
Greensboro, N.C.	140	10	91	6	65
Philadelphia	175	50	132	11	64
Washington, D.C.	160	40	98	29	64
Kansas City	160	15	102	9	63
Seattle	200	35	126	22	63
Birmingham, Ala.	150	3	94	1	62
Pittsburgh	100	5	61	3	61
Phoenix	100	75	61	43	59
Cincinnati	90	10	54	4	58
Salt Lake City	105	15	67	3	58
Boston	235	65	140	31	57
Oakland, Calif.	200	30	98	28	55
Baltimore	140	5	73	3	52
Des Moines, Iowa	200	—	103	—	52
St. Louis	235	5	119	1	50
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	20	118	7	46
Columbus, Ohio	18	2	8	1	45
Dallas	225	75	92	39	44
Tidewater, Va.	60	5	28	0	43
Price, Utah	50	5	21	1	40
Denver	135	10	41	4	31
Omaha, Neb.	125	—	27	—	22
Austin, Minn.	125	—	17	—	14
Indiana, Pa.	5	—	0	—	0
National teams	—	—	528	187	—
Other	—	—	409	37	—
Totals	8,500	1,500	5,358	1,357	67
to be on schedule			5,100	900	60

'A publisher with a political heart'

Makes Cuban views widely accessible

The following article is taken from the September 26 issue of *Bohemia*, a weekly magazine published in Havana, Cuba. The translation is by the *Militant*.

BY MANUEL GONZÁLEZ B.

"For us, publishing what Fidel says is very important," says the Australian David Deutschmann, a man who helps Cuba become known in much of the world through the books he publishes in English, including *Fidel and Religion*.

David Deutschmann is a member of the executive committee of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society and director of Pathfinder Press publishers. He just left Havana after a visit of several days, with a head full of ideas and a sense of satisfaction with what he has accomplished.

Only a few weeks after it was issued, the Second Declaration of Havana was published in English by Pathfinder, which has offices in New York and Australia.

"This was the beginning of a tradition that was maintained," Deutschmann affirms, "and that is even stronger today."

And to prove what he says, the young editor places on the table copies of *Cuba for Beginners*, by Mexican cartoonist RIUS, *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, *Che Guevara Speaks* and various volumes of speeches by Fidel, grouped according to theme.

But the book that currently occupies the attention of this friend of Cuba, and has for the past six months, is *Fidel and Religion*. He traveled to Cuba in April to look into publishing rights.

"In two months," Deutschmann says with evident satisfaction, "we were able to edit and print it; we accomplished our goal of having the book ready in time for the 23rd anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks."

First English edition

This is the first English edition of Fidel's conversations with the Brazilian Frei Betto. And it's already been distributed, with important promotional meetings, in eight cities in Australia, in the Philippines, and in three cities in New Zealand. Prominent political and religious figures attended the promotions, Deutschmann tells us,

such as various members of parliament from the Labor Party; Greg Thompson from the Australian Council of Churches; and John Brotherton, president of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society.

The book has aroused interest among Christians. *Outlook*, the most important religious magazine in Australia, devoted its August issue to *Fidel and Religion*.

Deutschmann announces that the book will soon be distributed in Sri Lanka and India, that there will be a popular edition in the Philippines, and that plans are under way to distribute it in Japan and other countries.

Whenever Deutschmann talks about his plans he mentions the Cuban Institute of Friendship With the Peoples (ICAP), whose president, René Rodríguez, wrote the preface for the Pathfinder edition, as well as the friendship societies in other countries.

Pressures?

There are certain pressures, the Australian editor points out, which in some cases are normal, but we have to confront them. In any case, we're going to continue working to distribute and promote this type of literature.

Distributed at Nonaligned conference

The Pathfinder edition has a selection of photographs of Fidel, some of them previously unpublished. Several copies of the book were distributed in Harare, at the eighth summit conference of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

What is Pathfinder trying to accomplish?

Our policy, Deutschmann explains, is to disseminate Fidel Castro's ideas, in his own words — not interpretations of his ideas. We apply the same approach to other well-known figures, such as Nelson Mandela and Maurice Bishop.

Do they do it to make money?

David Deutschmann states, "This is a business, but a business with a political heart. We don't publish the books to make money, we don't distribute them to make money. Our aim is to make Fidel accessible to people — his point of view on world problems, such as the question of the foreign debt in the Third World and the question of peace."



Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia display at recent Havana book fair. Director of Australia-based press told *Bohemia* of Pathfinder's long history of publishing books on Cuba.

New Zealanders get to know Cuban leader through 'Fidel and Religion'

The following article appeared in the October 10 issue of *Socialist Action*, published biweekly in Auckland, New Zealand.

BY ELAINE EDWARDS

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Reviews have begun to appear in a number of publications of the book *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto*.

This book has recently been published in English by Pathfinder Press (Sydney). It consists of a series of discussions between Cuban President Fidel Castro and Brazilian liberation theologian Frei Betto.

Wellington's morning newspaper, *The Dominion*, carried a review by prominent theologian Lloyd Geering in its September 27 issue.

Geering comments in the review: "Most of us know the name of Fidel Castro only through headlines and snippets of news and we unconsciously adopt the typical American prejudice against him. But what sort of human being would we find him to be, if we were to meet him on an informal personal level?"

"To those who really want to know ... there is probably no better starting point

than this book. . . ."

Geering concludes that Castro "comes across as a very open and caring person, who retains an open mind," and that "it is little wonder this book has been so widely read in Latin America."

A review in the October 5 issue of the Catholic weekly *Zealandia* outlined some of the religious issues dealt with in the book.

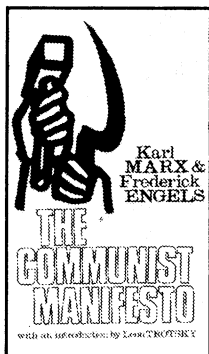
It describes the book as "a historical event" because "for the first time, a communist head of state speaks sympathetically and widely on the subject of religion," and this is "published by the government."

It concludes that "this book marks a major breakthrough for Christians and Marxists throughout the world."

The September 13-19 NZ *Listener* carried an announcement that the book is now available in New Zealand, ending with the comment that those "with an interest in history at first hand will find here an account of the formation of the July 26 Movement, the guerrilla struggle in the Sierra Maestra, and the overthrow of Batista."

The book is available in New Zealand from Pilot Books.

PATHFINDER BOOKS



The Communist Manifesto

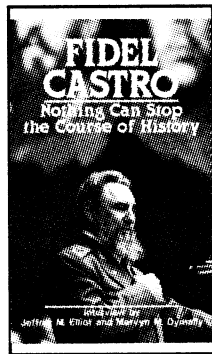
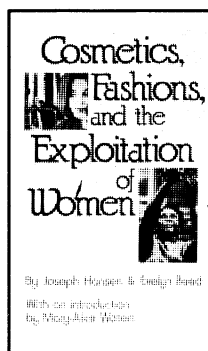
By Marx and Engels
This is Marx and Engels program for the first international association of workers. Written in popular language, its description of the workers' struggle against oppression and exploitation remains timely today. 45 pp., \$.95

Socialism On Trial

By James P. Cannon
A clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism. Testimony from the 1941 "thought control" trial of 28 SWP leaders and Teamster militants. 184 pp., \$4.95

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

By Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed
with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters
How the cosmetics industry plays on women's insecurities to rake in profits; how the standards of beauty are set in capitalist society; how women's growing involvement in the labor force has changed their self-image. Based on a lively 1954 debate, these articles raise important questions for today's fighters for women's rights. 144 pp., \$4.95



Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

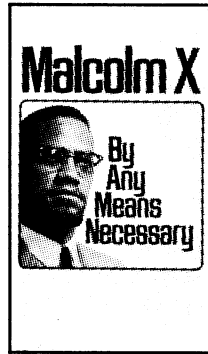
Interview by Jeffrey M. Elliot and Mervyn M. Dymally
Topics include U.S.-Cuban relations, revolution in Latin America, Cuban troops in Africa, the 1988 Olympics, the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and more. 276 pp., \$7.95

Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution

Speeches by Sandinista leaders
Daniel Ortega, Sergio Ramírez, Tomás Borge, Victor Tirado, and others describe the U.S. war against Nicaragua, women's rights, and problems of the Atlantic Coast. 412 pp., \$8.95

Teamster Rebellion, 192 pp., \$6.95 Teamster Power, 255 pp., \$7.95 Teamster Politics, 256 pp., \$7.95 Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pp., \$7.95

By Farrell Dobbs
These four volumes recount the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes and related labor struggles. They tell the story of how Minneapolis Teamsters took over their union and used it to extend union power in the Midwest. The final volume describes how the top bureaucracy and the Roosevelt administration conspired to destroy this example of militant unionism. All four volumes - \$25.00



By Any Means Necessary

By Malcolm X
These speeches and interviews from Malcolm X's last year discuss the need for independent Black political organization, the roots of Black nationalism, and the fight against the Klan and racist violence. 184 pp., \$5.95

Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life

By Nelson Mandela
Major speeches and writings by the imprisoned leader of the South African freedom struggle spanning more than 40 years of his activity in the African National Congress. 278 pp., \$6.95

*Please include \$.75 for postage.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Available at your local Pathfinder Bookstore (see directory on page 12), or by mail*

Missouri candidates debate Nicaragua

Update on the Americas, a monthly newsletter published by the St. Louis Latin American Solidarity Committee, has published statements on Central America by candidates for U.S. Senator from Missouri.

The statements of the Republican and Democratic candidates were examples of the tactical debates among the rulers over how to oppose the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Republican, Christopher Bond, repeated the U.S. government's slanders against Nicaragua. "The Jews have been driven out. . . . The church has been oppressed. Labor unions do not exist. There is a systematic war of annihilation against the Miskito Indians."

Bond called for "military and humanitarian assistance to the *contras*," claiming that this would not include "providing American fighting personnel." He said he might, in the future, support sending U.S. troops to fight the Nicaraguan revolution in order "to defend our borders."

Democrat Harriet Woods echoed Bond in accusing the Sandinista government of following "policies that are repressive to some of their people." She warned that the Nicaraguan revolution might become "a focus for subver-

sion of their neighbors."

Woods opposed open aid to the *contras*, however, citing the opinion of a top U.S. military man that "there is no way that the *contras* could ever defeat the Nicaraguan government forces."

Arguing that aiding the *contras* is "counterproductive of our best interest," she criticized the administration for not being sufficiently "supportive of negotiations."

Woods did not rule out a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua: "If this administration says that our objective is the military overthrow of the Nicaraguan government, then we ought to say to the people that we are willing to send our troops and our people in there to do it."

The views of Bob Miller, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, were a sharp contrast.

"These politicians," Miller said of his Republican and Democratic opponents, "call the Sandinista government 'repressive' when it takes measures to defend the Nicaraguan population from the terrorism of the U.S. government. They hide the truth about Nicaragua's huge expansion of unions and of farmers', women's, youth and other organizations. . . ."

Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party, he stated, "supports the Nicaraguan people's right to self-determination." They "want the overthrow of the Sandinista workers' and farmers' government."

Miller urged Missourians to join the October 25 antiwar demonstra-

tion in Chicago. "We call for an immediate end to the war against Nicaragua, for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and military personnel from Central America. The billions spent on the war should be used for vitally needed social services and to help Nicaragua rebuild its economy."

'Get Minnesota National Guard out of Honduras!'

"Under the guise of training, Minnesota National Guard units have been participating in U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras, which are aimed at threatening Nicaragua and aiding the *contra* terrorists who are attacking Nicaragua from Honduras."

August Nimitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota, made this charge at a news conference held in the state capitol in St. Paul September 30.

Nimitz had just returned from a two-month visit to Nicaragua, where he observed firsthand the hardships imposed on the people by what he called "Washington's mercenary war."

Nimitz said that Gov. Rudy Perpich "was complicit in the first stages of another Vietnam-style war" because of his refusal to bar the National Guard from participating in the Honduras operations.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
David Ferguson, SWP candidate for Alabama governor, demands National Guard units be kept out of Central America.

"National Guard units have helped to construct military facilities and roads for use by U.S., Honduran, and U.S.-organized *contra* forces. They have transported war equipment there, which is turned over to the *contras* for the war of terror and destruction against Nicaragua."

Nimitz demanded that Perpich "call an immediate halt to the sending of Minnesota National Guard personnel to Honduras."

Perpich admitted that guard units had been sent to Central America, but said their purposes were "humanitarian."

Steelworker pledges fight against U.S. war

David Ferguson, a steelworker at the Plantation Patterns plant in Birmingham, is the SWP candidate for governor of Alabama.

"As governor, I would immediately end the participation of the Alabama National Guard in war moves against Nicaragua," he told a news conference in Birmingham.

Ferguson strongly supported steelworkers at the Fairfield Works, who have been locked out by USX. "The socialist campaign stands with workers who are fighting corporate greed and union-busting," said the candidate, who is a member of the United Steelworkers of America. "We will fight to repeal Alabama's so-called 'right-to-work' law and to make lockouts illegal. The court order restricting picketing by the Fairfield workers is an undemocratic attack on the whole labor movement."

"Thousands of farmers are being thrown off their land, while millions of people starve around the world," Ferguson continued. "Farmers in Alabama have also been hit hard by a severe drought. What is needed is massive federal aid to working farmers and other victims of the drought. We support a moratorium on farm foreclosures and the cancellation of the farmers' debt."

New Boeing contract continues multi-tier wage setup

BY TIM MAILHOT

SEATTLE — About 40,000 members of the International Association of Machinists ratified a contract offer by the Boeing company at October 8 meetings here and in two other cities where the company's plants are located. The meetings were held by District 751 in Seattle; District 70 in Wichita, Kansas; and Local Lodge 63 in Portland, Oregon.

The new contract leaves in place the main takebacks in the 1983 contract.

That contract, ratified at a time of massive layoffs at Boeing, instituted a multi-tier wage system that dropped starting pay by as much as 41 percent. Under this scheme, it takes five years to reach top rate.

Workers in the lowest pay grades were "red circled" in the 1983 contract. Their wages were frozen until new workers hired into these grades at still lower wages gradually caught up to them.

The last three years have seen Boeing profits rise to near-record levels — \$516 million in 1985 and \$314 million in the first half of 1986. The company now has cash and short-term loans on hand.

A month before the ratification meetings, Boeing workers in the three cities had voted to authorize the leadership to call a strike if necessary. The union had previously distributed leaflets in the shops that stressed the need to regain cost-of-living increases and described the practice of replacing wage increases with lump-sum payments as a rip-off.

Then, on October 3, the first meetings to discuss a company proposal were held. There were no provisions for a general wage increase, following a three-year wage freeze for many workers. The multi-tier wage system was untouched. Cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) were restricted to "eligible employees," with "red-circle rate" workers excluded.

A further provision allowed the company to require machine operators at grade eight and above to operate more than one machine in exchange for a bonus equivalent to one pay grade. Machine operators at grade seven and below could be required to run more than one machine with no added compensation.

To sweeten this package, Boeing offered to restore quarterly COLA, with the COLA adjustments being rolled into the base wage at the end of the year. It also offered to con-



Seattle Boeing workers show opposition to company's contract proposal at October 3 union meeting. Slightly improved version of this proposal was ratified October 8.

cede a full union shop for the first time since 1948, requiring nonunion workers at the three plants to join the union and pay dues.

The company offered lump-sum payments of 12 percent the first year and 5 percent in the second and third years.

At the October 3 meeting in Seattle, Boeing workers showed their opposition to the proposals with choruses of boos and shouts of "strike!" during opening formalities.

District President Tom Baker said the company proposals contained "substantial improvements" and were the best that could be obtained without a long strike.

Then he stated, "Because this contract contains many provisions which you indicated in your questionnaires in January that you wouldn't accept, the negotiating committee cannot recommend this proposal."

He did not recommend rejection. "If you do accept it, we can feel proud and hold our heads high. This contract will put us in a good position to fight for general wage increases in 1989."

No time was set aside for discussion at the meeting. Five hours after the vote at the three meetings, union officials announced that the contract was not approved and that

a separate request for strike sanction had obtained the necessary two-thirds majority.

Baker then told the members to continue working, citing the "terrible economic impact" a strike would have on the community and the company's willingness to continue negotiating.

During the next days, there were fre-

quent discussions on the shop floor in Seattle and Portland. Some felt it was a mistake to work past the expiration date. One mechanic expressed concern that a vote based on a summary is "like buying a pretty car without driving it."

But the mood was different by the time of the October 8 mass meeting in Seattle, held to consider a revised contract proposal.

A 40-cents-an-hour prepaid COLA was added to the company proposal. This was not given to "red-circle rate" workers. The contract summary indicated that the process of lower-tier new hires catching up with "red-circle rates" would soon be completed and these frozen rates would be abolished.

Boeing dropped its demand that machine operators be immediately required to run more than one machine. The company will discuss this with union officials for up to six months. If no agreement is reached, Boeing can impose its plan, and the union can file a grievance.

The multi-tiered wage structure was preserved.

The slightly improved company offer, which was implicitly supported by union officials, was ratified by a wide margin.

Tim Mailhot is a Boeing worker in Seattle and a member of International Association of Machinists District 751.

Takebacks forced on winery workers

BY GEORGES SAYAD

OAKLAND, Calif. — More than 2,000 workers at 11 California wineries voted October 2 to accept a takeback contract demanded by the Winery Employers Association. The vote came after the employers threatened to permanently replace all strikers with scabs unless they returned to work by October 6. The workers had voted overwhelmingly to reject the same offer September 25.

The vote marked the end of a strike that began August 18 against the Christian Brothers winery and spread to 10 other wine companies, including Gallo, the world's biggest. The workers are represented by Local 45 and Local 186 of the Winery, Distillery and Allied Workers Union.

The contract expired July 31. The employers demanded big cuts in wages and benefits, reduced health-care coverage, cuts in vacation time, and lower company contributions to the pension plan. Union negotiators offered to accept an average hourly wage cut of 75 cents going into the negotiations.

Unionists estimated that the companies, using scab labor and management personnel, had carried out about 50 percent of normal production during the strike.

"There's a difference between accepting a contract because you want to or because it was jammed down your throat," said Robert Fogg, president of Local 186. "There's no way they can have the same attitude toward their employers after this."

'Town of living dead': a memorial to company greed

BY DAVID SALNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — "The town of the living dead" has once again leaked into the news — despite a relentless cover-up campaign by the backers of Union Carbide.

Mention of Union Carbide brings Bhopal, India, to mind. In 1984 a Carbide plant leaked a deadly gas, killing more than 2,000 and condemning at least 200,000 to slow death or disability.

But "the town of the living dead" is not Bhopal but Gauley Bridge, West Virginia, where more than 1,500 workers perished drilling Carbide's Hawk's Nest tunnel project in the early 1930s. The state of West Virginia has just commissioned a small memorial plaque for the foot of the tunnel built to divert water from the New River dam to a Carbide power station. This will be the first official state observance recognizing the disaster.

Hawk's Nest is a page from history that shows how far the employing class will go in pursuit of profits. It illustrates how far the superwealthy will go to lie and cover up their crimes — even after half a century.

A 1936 congressional committee documented the facts of the disaster. But to this date no real compensation has been granted to the victims' families. With the agreement of the state's Democratic and Republican politicians, Hawk's Nest has been a nonevent in West Virginia history, remembered only as an engineering triumph.

Some 2,000 workers who came to Gauley Bridge in 1930 were victims of industrial and agricultural depression. They lived in shacks or camped on the chilly hill-sides.

They labored 10- to 12-hour shifts, six days a week, drilling a tunnel through almost pure silica. After work they emerged from the tunnel with the deadly dust packed in their nostrils and lungs.

G.B. Matheny, one of the few living survivors, recalled how workers overcome by dust would be carted out of the tunnel by the dozens. Those who did not revive enough to return to their labors were driven off by company guards.

Silicosis is a hardening and scarring of the lungs that still affects hard rock miners

Portland unionists meet Austin fighters

BY LISA HICKLER

PORTLAND, Ore. — Madeline and Merle Krueger have been in the Northwest telling the story of the meat-packers' struggle in Austin, Minnesota.

Merle worked at the Hormel plant for 43 years before going on strike with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in August 1985. Madeline is a member of the United Support Group that was formed in October 1984 to win support for the strike.

One of their first stops in Portland was to walk the picket lines with members of UFCW Local 555 currently on strike against Plaid Pantry, a convenience store chain in this area.

Merle Krueger spoke before three locals of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers while in town. The AWPPW has spearheaded solidarity work with Austin meat-packers in the Portland area. Virtually every issue of the union's newspaper, the *Rebel*, has contained articles on the situation in Austin and urged its locals to aid Austin meat-packers. Workers from AWPPW Local 5 in Camas, Washington, contributed more than \$180 at the meeting.

Krueger also addressed meetings of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 328 and the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Before arriving in Portland, the Kruegers toured union locals in the Seattle area.

and others — usually over a protracted period of time. But many of the Hawk's Nest victims died within weeks, or less. Engineers and superintendents with less exposure died along with the Black and white workers who carried steel and the primarily white workers who ran equipment.

Carbide dismissed the suffering and death as "tunnellitis" and ordered its contractor to keep rushing the project. In fact, Carbide made a cold-blooded decision to waste more lives by widening the tunnel and mining the valuable silica for its nearby alloy plant.

Matheny and others recall how a local undertaker employed by Carbide hauled bodies away in a cart. The 1936 congressional report states, "They buried them like they were hogs, putting two or three in a hole."

One hundred and sixty-nine were buried in one mass grave, a cornfield near Summersville.

The workers drilled the 3.75-mile tunnel through silica without safety protection. "Wet drilling" would have reduced the dust, but this was a slower method, and time was money to Carbide and its contractor. The slower method was used only when government inspectors were expected for a visit.

Support grows for Gainers strikers

BY JIM UPTON

EDMONTON, Alberta — As the fifth month of a strike at the Gainers meat-packing plant draws to a close, the 1,080 members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 280P continue to win new support in their fight for parity in wages and benefits with workers at other major meat-packing plants across Canada.

Eighteen strikers have just returned from a five-week tour in which they spoke to labor, student, church, community, and New Democratic Party meetings in all 10 provinces of the country.

The strikers addressed hundreds of groups and spoke to thousands of people. Through their efforts, tens of thousands of dollars were raised to support the strike and for the cross-country boycott of Gainers and Swifts products, which are currently being produced by hundreds of scabs in the Edmonton plant.

On October 24, Local 280P is holding a big welcome-home party for the touring strikers. Some 400 tickets had already been sold to union members and supporters more than a week before the event.

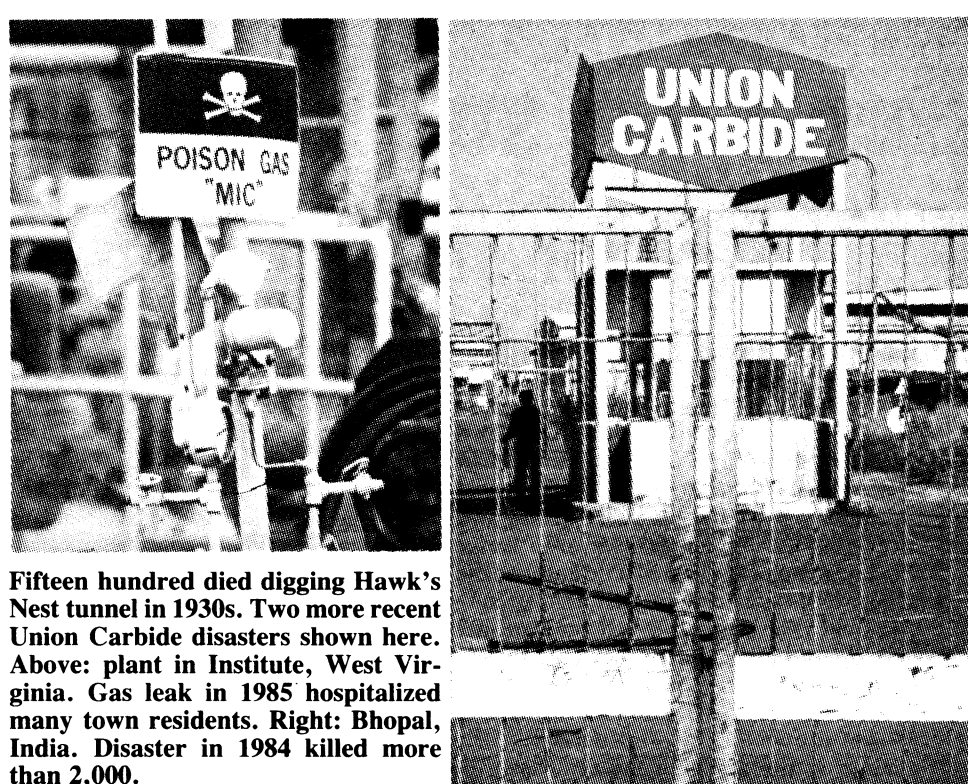
One example of the support generated by the tour occurred in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In response to a complaint from Ed Blackman, president of Local 500 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, which represents hospital workers, the administrator of Winnipeg Municipal Hospitals agreed to "refrain from using Gainers' products until such time as a settlement is reached between Gainers and its unionized employees."

Local 500 also voted to give the striking Gainers workers \$2,000 a month until the strike is won.

While the strikers and their supporters were able to prevent scabs from entering the plant for the first few days after the strike began June 1, sweeping injunctions backed up by hundreds of arrests on the picket line enabled the company to resume production using hundreds of scabs.

The UFCW filed a complaint of unfair labor practices against Gainers owner Peter Pocklington after he told the union that "at least" 500 scabs would keep their jobs as part of any settlement. The union says this amounts to bargaining in bad faith and has called on the Alberta Labor Relations Board to order all scabs removed from the plant until the strike is resolved.

A board hearing was postponed until Oc-



Fifteen hundred died digging Hawk's Nest tunnel in 1930s. Two more recent Union Carbide disasters shown here. Above: plant in Institute, West Virginia. Gas leak in 1985 hospitalized many town residents. Right: Bhopal, India. Disaster in 1984 killed more than 2,000.

When 300 Hawk's Nest survivors and their relatives filed lawsuits, they eventually received \$130,000 between them, half of it going to their lawyers. One Black widow got only \$85.

In 1935 the West Virginia state legislature passed a bill providing compensation for silicosis victims who could prove they had worked for two years in an exposed project. No Hawk's Nest worker lived long enough on the job to qualify.

Judith Greenwood, director of research and development for the state workers compensation fund, says the handful of survivors still do not qualify for compensation. According to Greenwood, "There

was then and is now no remedy."

Thaddeus Epps, Carbide's public affairs director, had this observation: "It happened so long ago, the knowledge and information is lost and long since forgotten." (Epps is the Carbide spokesman who minimized the danger of a 1985 Carbide leak that hospitalized many residents of Institute, West Virginia.)

What is lost and forgotten under capitalist rule is the value of a worker's life. Today, attacks on our health and safety are escalating as working conditions deteriorate in meat-packing, mining, rail and air transport, and other industries.

tober 24 at the company's request. "We basically wanted more time to prepare our defense," Gainers spokesman Douglas Ford admitted. UFCW spokesman Ed Seymour said a favorable decision would be "significant" while a decision against the union would show that strikers have "absolutely no protection" under Alberta's labor laws.

On October 17 talks between Pocklington and the UFCW resumed for the first time in six weeks. This reflects the widespread support for the strikers that forced prominent Conservative Party politicians, including Alberta Premier Donald Getty, to publicly urge a resumption of talks between his fellow Conservative Pocklington and the union.

Despite the talks, there is no sign that

Pocklington is prepared to negotiate seriously. On a local TV talk show the day before talks resumed, Pocklington reaffirmed his commitment to the scabs. As part of any settlement, he said, "the first thing I would do is look after those people who looked after me at Gainers through the tough times. . . . These people I'm going to protect."

The strike of the Gainers meat-packing workers remains a key test of strength for the whole labor movement in Canada and for all meat-packing workers in North America. Messages of support and financial contributions can be sent to UFCW Local 280P, 9588-111th Ave., Edmonton, Alberta T5G 0A7, Canada. Telephone (403) 474-8369.

'Commando-style' spy operation, drug raid on Pittsburgh postal workers

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

PITTSBURGH — The real meaning of Reagan's "war on drugs" hit home here recently with a much-publicized commando-style raid on three mail centers and the arrests of 14 postal workers.

Postal inspectors backed by armed officers and dogs swooped down on the mail facilities, charged into the workers' locker rooms, ordered the workers there to leave, cut all the locks off and indiscriminately rifled the lockers.

The invaders came armed with 14 warrants for those arrested and with chains and manacles to drag the accused off the work floor.

A U.S. attorney described the bust as targeting a concerted drug ring.

"This is nonsense and hogwash," said John Richards, president of the Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers Union. "What was confiscated can best be described in our troubled society as miscellaneous 'recreational' drug substances."

Although some 8,000 workers were the objects of the raid, no evidence was found against any other workers.

It turns out that the raids culminated a year-long undercover spying operation against the workers, including miles of video tapes, informers, and two-way mirrors.

Nevertheless, the evidence was so meager that "conspiracy" charges were not filed. The 14 are accused of drug trafficking. All have denied this charge and have entered pleas of not guilty.

"These are 14 separate, minor drug cases," Richards said in a letter to the editor protesting the *Pittsburgh Press's* coverage of the sensational raids.

"I am outraged at the total disregard of our members' rights both constitutionally and contractually," Richards said, "and the spectacle created by the postal inspectors and the U.S. attorney."

Another scare here is aimed at workers for U.S. Air, the main carrier at Pittsburgh's airport. Federal investigators are grilling workers and a federal grand jury has been doing the same. County cops have been all over the work areas at the airport conducting random searches and using dogs.

The local media have gotten into the act, whipping up a scare around airline "safety" as the range of suspects has widened from the baggage handlers to flight attendants to pilots. Genuine issues of safety, such as the insufficient number of air traffic controllers, the poor conditions they work under, and speed-up of the maintenance workers, are ignored.

The real targets are the airline and postal workers and their unions.

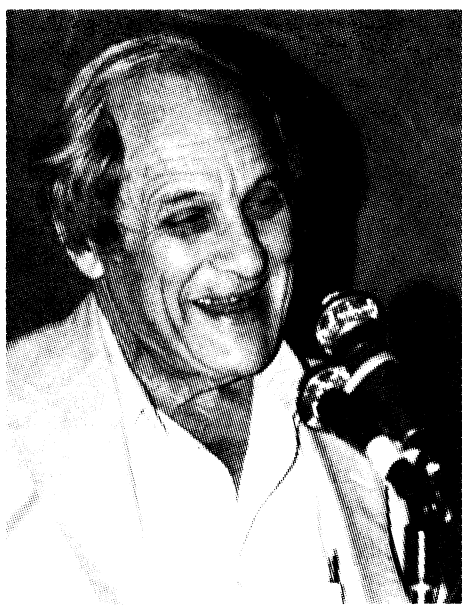
Socialist suit against FBI a victory for private

An appeal for support from unionists, women, Blacks to uphold

The following is a slightly edited appeal for support being widely circulated by the Political Rights Defense Fund. It is a basic explanation of the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1973 against government spying and disruption and describes the central gains won in Judge Thomas Griesa's recent decision in the case. The appeal explains the importance of this victory for all political activists and supporters of democratic rights. It outlines the broad campaign initiated by the PRDF to win thousands of new supporters to aid in defending the victory in the next stage of the case.

This appeal will be the basis of an introduction for a book that will include Griesa's ruling, which is to be published soon by the PRDF.

We have won a historic victory for political rights and constitutional freedoms. On August 25, U.S. District Court Judge



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Attorney Leonard Boudin explains, "Impact of decision goes far beyond Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance."

Thomas Griesa handed down a 210-page decision affirming the right of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to publicize their views and engage in lawful political activity free from government interference. Judge Griesa ruled that "the FBI's disruption activities, surreptitious entries and use of informants" constituted "violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP and lacked legislative or regulatory authority."

The federal court decision in *SWP v. Attorney General* marks an expansion for all U.S. residents of the room for political activity and individual privacy, constitutionally protected from the chilling effects of government investigation and interference.

Judge Griesa's opinion makes clear that rights and protections under the U.S. Constitution apply to everyone — including

communist organizations such as the SWP and YSA that openly advocate a social revolution in this country.

Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional lawyer and attorney for the plaintiffs, explained, "The impact of this decision goes far beyond the SWP and YSA. It is a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protection to the rights of all politically active individuals and organizations."

The ruling also emphasizes that the FBI's illegal and unconstitutional actions were not justifiable on grounds of assumed "national security interests." This is true even of those FBI operations directly initiated or approved by the president of the United States. Even the highest official of the executive branch of the government cannot simply sweep aside the rule of law, Judge Griesa stresses.

By rejecting government "discretion" to exempt communists and other alleged "national security" threats from protection under the Bill of Rights, the federal court knocked down what has been — for almost 50 years — the central justification for the entire spying and disruption operation of the FBI and other political police agencies.

This ruling therefore provides broad additional protection for the political rights of all. It benefits unionists combating employer take-away demands; action coalitions organizing to resist Washington's deepening war against Nicaragua; organizations protesting nuclear power and weapons; women's rights groups battling for equal pay, affirmative action, and to keep abortion legal and available; farmers fighting foreclosures; and the people of the United States as a whole.

This decision caps almost a decade and a half of court hearings, thousands of pages of legal documents, a 12-week trial in New York City in 1981, and post-trial legal arguments. It is a blow against what the *Nation* magazine, in its front-page editorial hailing the decision, aptly called the government's "domestic *contra* operation."

Every supporter of the Political Rights Defense Fund is part of the effort that has made this victory possible. And each of us, like all those living in this country, now has a new tool to use in defending constitutional freedoms against abuses by the FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government police agencies.

The main achievements registered in Judge Griesa's decision are:

- **Informers violate right to privacy of individuals and organizations.** For the first time, a federal court has ruled that it is illegal and unconstitutional for the FBI and other government agencies to use informers against political organizations. Judge Griesa declares that the government's use of undercover agents violated the right to privacy of the SWP, YSA, and their members. The ruling extends the constitutional protection of the people against government meddling in their private affairs and those of associations to which they belong.

Advances in establishing this right to personal and associational privacy were among the conquests of the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1958, for example, the NAACP won a Supreme Court decision in *NAACP v. State of Alabama* recognizing that "inviolability of privacy in group associations may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs." That decision grew out of a campaign against efforts by Alabama state officials to force the NAACP to publicly reveal the names of its members, thus exposing

ment agencies.

The federal court decision states, "These disruption operations were directed against entirely lawful and peaceful political activities" with "the express purpose of harming the SWP." Judge Griesa cites evidence of specific operations aimed at weakening the party's political effectiveness, trying to cut it off from collaboration with others in common civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activities, and attempting to create racial divisions inside the party. The decision states that "the evidence compels the finding that some of the operations accomplished their malign purpose, at least in



Unionists battling the employers' offensive spying and harassment will benefit of informers.

them to victimization by the police, employers, and racist terror outfits such as the Ku Klux Klan.

Judge Griesa's ruling in *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* reinforces this landmark Supreme Court decision in *NAACP v. Alabama*. The FBI's use of informers, Judge Griesa rules, "clearly constituted invasion of privacy." These informers, he states, "obtained information not only about organizational subjects but also about purely personal matters. The latter was sought by the FBI for its relevance to the organization and possible FBI operations to disrupt the organization through actions against the members. Thus the FBI's intrusions upon the privacy of the members was in reality an intrusion on the organization."

The right to be free from government interference in a person's private affairs was also central to the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in the case of *Roe v. Wade*, which resulted in the decriminalization of abortion. By a 7-2 majority, the justices ruled that "a right of personal privacy, or a guarantee of certain areas of privacy, does exist under the Constitution. . . . This right of privacy is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

Many political forces, from the White House on down, are now trying to scuttle *Roe v. Wade*. By further imbedding the principles underlying *Roe v. Wade* in the constitutional and political fabric of this country, the federal court decision in *SWP v. Attorney General* is thus even more important. Judge Griesa's ruling takes on additional significance in light of the setback to constitutionally protected individual privacy earlier this year in the Supreme Court decision upholding Georgia's "sodomy" law.

- **Covert disruption operations "patently unconstitutional."** Judge Griesa's opinion marks the first time that a federal court has ruled that surreptitious disruption operations by government agencies are illegal and unconstitutional. This applies to the FBI's now-infamous COINTELPRO ("Counter Intelligence Program") operations targeting the SWP, Communist Party, new left groups, the Black liberation movement, the women's liberation movement, and other organizations, as well as any other disruption schemes by govern-

part."

"There can be no doubt that these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly," Judge Griesa rules. "Moreover,

“It is contribution to constitutional law, extending new protection to rights of all politically active individuals

— Leonard Boudin

there was no statutory or regulatory authority for the FBI to disrupt the SWP's lawful political activities."

- **FBI burglaries, "bugs," phone taps violate Fourth Amendment.** Judge Griesa's opinion also marks the first time that a federal judge has ruled that burglaries carried out by the FBI ("black bag jobs") to steal or copy private papers or to plant hidden microphones ("bugs") are violations of the Fourth Amendment. The Fourth Amendment was written to protect the people against arbitrary search and seizure by the government. On the same grounds, the judge ruled that the government has no right to tap phones of political activists in the name of "national security."

These government acts, Judge Griesa points out, "were invasions of privacy of the most aggravated form. The FBI's own nomenclature — 'bag jobs' and 'black bag jobs' — indicates something of the nature of these stealthy invasions of private premises for the purpose of obtaining private information."

- **Decision is binding on government; FBI must pay damages.** Judge Griesa's ruling goes beyond declaring the government's domestic *contra* operation against the SWP and YSA illegal and unconstitutional. It makes it more difficult for the FBI, INS, and other government agencies to continue what they have considered standard operating procedure for nearly half a century.

As Leonard Boudin, attorney for the



Militant/Dee Scalera
Women march to defend legality of abortion. Judge Griesa ruling strengthens women's right to privacy established in *Roe v. Wade* abortion rights decision.

Privacy and democratic rights of all court ruling against gov't spying, disruption

SWP, explains, "The decision is in effect binding upon the government. If the government ever decided to resume its disruption activities, break-ins, and use of informers against the SWP, we would initiate new litigation relying on Judge Griesa's decision. Other organizations facing government interference are also now on stronger ground to seek the same protection of their rights."

Judge Griesa significantly strengthened his constitutional law conclusions by adding that the SWP "is entitled to an award of damages" from the government for the violations of its rights by the FBI. He has or-

trial.

He points to the evidence of 1,300 informers who were paid \$1,680,592 for spying on and disrupting the SWP and YSA between 1960 and 1976, and who stole 12,600 documents. Some 300 of these informers posed as members of the YSA or SWP at one time or another during these 16 years. The remainder were employers, school administrators, landlords — even a hospital clerk who provided confidential medical records on SWP members and their families. "The FBI files clearly indicate recognition on the part of the FBI that the informant was violating his duty to the hospital," the judge states, "and that the procurement of these records by the FBI was a flagrant invasion of the privacy of the patients."

Judge Griesa outlines the government's disruption campaign, especially COINTELPRO-SWP. He details 57 operations: poison-pen letters, malicious articles planted in the media, instances of harassment and victimization, attempts to get SWP members fired from their jobs, efforts to disrupt collaboration between the SWP and civil rights and anti-Vietnam War groups, and others.

Detailing the available evidence of the government's electronic surveillance of the SWP, Judge Griesa enumerates 20,000 wire-tap days and 12,000 bug days between 1943 and 1963. He points to 208 "black bag jobs" into offices and homes of plaintiffs, resulting in the theft or photographing of 9,864 private documents.

Judge Griesa makes clear that the goal of the government's informer operation against the SWP was *not* to unearth evidence of crimes. Despite more than four decades of investigation, Griesa states, "there is no evidence that any FBI informant ever reported an instance of planned or actual espionage, violence, [or] terrorism." Instead, the informers helped the FBI amass "thousands of reports recording peaceful, lawful activity by the SWP and YSA," and — above all — functioned under the FBI's instructions to "suppress recruiting activities," to "frustrate the growth of the organizations," and "to attempt to disrupt them."

Judge Griesa points to the government's efforts in the 1950s to put *all* SWP and YSA members on its "Security Index," a list of people to be rounded up and put in concentration camps in case of "national emergency." If you were included on this index, government agents during the 1950s visited your landlord and your employer every 45 days, on the pretext of verifying that you still lived or worked there.

Gov't conduct 'grossly deceptive'

Judge Griesa's summary of these FBI crimes highlights one of the successes of this PRDF-supported lawsuit. It exposed to the light of day the extent of the government's domestic informer and covert disruption programs and their dangers to democratic rights and the rule of law. It revealed how the White House from the time of the Franklin Roosevelt administration on has increasingly relied on secret police operations to target and victimize political opponents for their views and constitutionally protected activities. And it exposes how hard the government worked to conceal its dirty tricks from public view.

Judge Griesa's decision outlines systematic government attempts to lie and conceal its activities from the plaintiffs, from the court, and even from its own attorneys. He quotes the government's own secret memos urging FBI field offices to keep all information about their "black bag jobs" in "Do Not File" files. The government's overall conduct during the pretrial proceedings was "grossly deceptive," he says. It resorted to "outright falsehoods" and "intentionally suppressed the facts," in a conscious effort to put itself outside the reach of the federal courts.

By these methods, the government not only sought to hide its crimes from the people of the United States, but also to drag out pretrial proceedings and drain the

plaintiffs, their counsel, and their supporters of the resources and determination to carry on. Thanks to the efforts of all those who supported this case, however, much of the truth was forced out.

Help protect and advance gains

The Political Rights Defense Fund wants to sign up thousands of new endorsers. We especially want to reach out to all those who have become active in their unions and political struggles during the five years since our last endorser drive at the time of the trial in 1981.

A special focus of this PRDF campaign is to deepen knowledge about and sponsorship for this legal battle among trade union leaders and fighters who are organizing to resist employer attacks on the living standards and job conditions of working people. Many of these unionists, in the course of intensifying conflicts, are beginning to have firsthand experience with police harassment and government disruption and are looking for effective ways to defend their rights.

We will also reach out to others who have a stake in this victory — women's rights fighters, defenders of Black rights, Puerto Rican independence activists, farm-

Disruption operations were violation of First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly — Judge Griesa

ers, anti-apartheid campaigners, opponents of the U.S. contra war against Nicaragua, participants in the sanctuary movement, and defenders of the political rights of the foreign-born.

Next steps to win broad injunction

Leonard Boudin is now preparing for the upcoming hearings before Judge Griesa at which the SWP and YSA will seek the broadest possible injunction to segregate all the files illegally assembled by the FBI and other police agencies. Big stakes are involved in this next stage in the battle.

After Judge Griesa has ruled on this matter and entered his final judgment, two further legal proceedings will then be placed

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK	
-----X	
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, et al.,	73 Civ. 3180
Plaintiffs,	
v.	OPINION
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, et al.,	
Defendants.	
-----X	

DECISION:
Government Spying and Disruption is
Unconstitutional and Illegal

A copy of the opinion in *SWP v. Attorney General* is available for \$10 from Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

on the agenda.

First, proceedings will begin on government accountability for the attorneys fees and legal expenses that have mounted up over the 13 years since the case was filed. Supporters of political rights must resist government efforts to limit the right of its opponents to legal representation by seeking to avoid payment of fees for attorneys who defend these clients, often donating part or all of their time and energy.

Second, given the character and scope of Judge Griesa's decision, there is every reason to expect that the government will mobilize large resources to overturn all or part of this ruling in the appellate courts. That will place the gains we have won before the courts for challenge and possible reversal. This fight — all the way to the Supreme Court — is crucial in the continuing defense of political rights from government attack.

Your participation can help to achieve these goals.

- Help us get out the facts about Judge Griesa's decision by ordering additional copies to circulate.

- If you are not already a PRDF sponsor, sign up now. And help us win hundreds more endorsers by signing up your friends, colleagues, and people you work with.

- The Political Rights Defense Fund must raise tens of thousands of dollars to meet the expenses for the next stages in this ongoing legal battle. Help us raise the funds to secure and advance this historic victory for constitutional rights. You can make a tax-deductible contribution to the Political Rights Defense Fund.

dered the government to pay the socialists more than a quarter of a million dollars:

- \$125,000 as damages for invasion of privacy of the SWP, YSA, and their members by FBI informers.
- \$96,500 as damages for 193 government burglaries.
- \$42,500 for specific COINTELPRO operations.

This award of damages to the SWP and YSA as a "remedy for intentional and malicious actions" by the government is new and important. It means that the use of informers and harassment by the FBI, INS, and other police agencies can be countered not only by court orders to cease and desist such unconstitutional activities, but by damage judgments against the government as well.

- **Injunction against use of files obtained or developed illegally.** Judge Griesa grants the SWP and YSA an injunction against government use of secret files that were "obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained information." His decision mandates further court hearings to determine the scope of this injunction.

The government will seek the narrowest possible injunction, so that it can continue to use and disseminate these files on the SWP, YSA, their members, and any future supporters. Such an outcome would weaken the constitutional protection achieved in the decision by Judge Griesa.

The SWP and YSA, on the other hand, will seek a broad injunction to isolate *all* files that were obtained or generated illegally. These *millions* of records must no longer be used by the FBI or other bodies to whom they have been disseminated — from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to "security departments" of private employers, to "red squads" in local police departments. A ruling along these lines would broaden and advance the gains for constitutional rights in Judge Griesa's decision.

Mobilizing the support and financial resources necessary to prepare for this new round of proceedings on this injunction is the next, immediate step in this fight.

Decision details government crimes

Judge Griesa supports his rulings with an extensive summary of the government's illegal operations against the SWP and YSA that were entered into the record during the

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.

Why Washington won't let Nicaragua live in peace

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The downing of a U.S. war plane inside Nicaragua on October 5 raises some big questions for working people in the United States. Captured prisoner of war Eugene Hasenfus, who survived the plane crash, has admitted that he was working for the CIA and that the plane's mission was to drop rifles, grenade launchers, and ammunition to *contra* troops trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

What is this contra war all about? Should U.S. workers and farmers support what Washington is doing in Nicaragua?

'Freedom fighters'

Let's begin by looking at what the contras do with the guns the CIA gives them. We can take an example from southern Nicaragua, where Hasenfus was going to drop weapons the day his plane was shot down.

On September 22, on a remote road in the village of El Juste, contra troops attacked a group of civilians. One was a teacher who was pregnant. She was raped and then shot in the abdomen. Another woman was machine-gunned to death. A farmer with them had his throat slashed with a bayonet. A fourth victim was kidnapped and later found dead.

What the contras did in El Juste is not unusual. Most of their military operations are precisely terror attacks of this kind, aimed at civilians, at farm cooperatives, at schools and hospitals. Between 1981 and 1985, the contras destroyed 48 schools, 1 hospital, and 54 clinics in Nicaragua.

President Ronald Reagan calls the contras "freedom fighters." The Nicaraguans call them "mercenaries," "terrorists," and "Somozaists." By Somozaist, they mean supporters of the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown by a popular insurrection here in 1979.

The Somoza family was placed in power in Nicaragua by the U.S. government in the 1930s. This dynasty guaranteed U.S. mining, lumber, and fishing free rein to plunder the country's natural resources. It let Washington use Nicaraguan soil as a staging ground for military attacks on other nations in Latin America.

During the Somozas' tyranny, tens of thousands of working farmers were driven

off their land so that capitalist farmers could set up big cotton plantations, coffee farms, and cattle ranches for export trade with the United States.

Farmers who fought to get back their land were murdered by Somoza's National Guard, as were workers who tried to build unions.

When the Nicaraguan people succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorship in 1979, they were determined that their new government would not simply be "Somozaism without Somoza." They took political power away from all the capitalists and landlords in the country and established a government, headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, that was responsible to workers and peasants.

Unwilling to tolerate the right of Nicaraguan working people to choose their own form of government, the U.S. National Security Council approved a secret \$19-million fund in 1981. The money went to the CIA to hire and train ex-officers of Somoza's National Guard as mercenaries to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

From camps in Honduras and Costa Rica, the Somozaist terrorists have been infiltrating Nicaragua for five years, raping women, shooting farmers, bombing bridges, and burning down farms.

This illegal war has been financed by the U.S. government every step of the way. In 1982, the U.S. Congress gave \$30 million to the mercenaries. In 1985, as protests grew against the U.S.-financed war, Congress approved \$27 million for the mercenaries, but said it could only be used for "humanitarian" aid. The guns and bullets in Hasenfus' plane were part of this "humanitarian" donation.

Now, Congress has approved and President Reagan has signed into law a bill substantially escalating the war. The bill gives the mercenaries \$100 million in direct military aid, plus it authorizes U.S. advisers to openly train these killers.

What the money pays for

As of July of this year, more than 4,300 Nicaraguans had been killed by the contras. This number at first glance might appear small. But Nicaragua is a country of only 3 million people.

And the total number of Nicaraguans — including those in the contra ranks — who



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Thousands have been displaced by war in Nicaragua. Above, four peasants who have lost their homes. Contras focus attacks on civilians, farm cooperatives, schools, and hospitals.

have been killed or wounded is now 31,290. If this war were taking place in the United States, with its much larger population, the total number of dead would be more than 1 million.

Despite this five-year terror campaign, the contras have never been able to take and hold a single town in Nicaragua. Several thousand Nicaraguans who joined or were forced into the contra ranks have deserted, laying down their arms and receiving amnesty from the Nicaraguan government. The only thing that keeps this war going is the constant aid from Washington.

World Court

This criminal war has been denounced by trade unions around the world, by many governments, by the United Nations, and by the World Court. The latter body ruled last June that the U.S. government should "immediately cease and refrain" from its aggression and pay Nicaragua reparations.

The court also condemned Washington for mining Nicaragua's harbors in 1984; for organizing attacks on Nicaraguan oil storage facilities in 1983 and 1984; for running spy flights over Nicaraguan airspace; and for giving the contras a CIA-written manual that encouraged terrorist acts "contrary to the general principles of humanitarian law."

But the White House and the Democrats and Republicans in Congress still refuse to let Nicaragua live in peace.

What is it about Nicaragua that the U.S. government can't tolerate?

The Nicaraguans' first crime, in the eyes of Washington, is that they have taken over their own country and are running it as they see fit. Nicaragua is today a free, independent nation.

The workers and farmers have achieved their right to organize. Under Somoza, there were only 133 trade unions in the whole country, with a membership of 27,000. Today there are 1,099 unions, with a membership of 228,000. Farmers, women, and youths have also formed organizations to advance their needs.

The old National Guard has been replaced by a revolutionary army and police force, drawn from the ranks of workers and farmers. Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguan civilians, male and female, participate in popular militias.

Land to farmers

The Nicaraguan government is carrying out the most far-reaching land reform program anywhere in the Americas since Cuba's agrarian reform more than 25 years ago. Some 98,075 families have received title to 4.7 million acres of land since 1979. Another 60,000 families who have asked for land have been promised they will receive it.

Right at the beginning of the revolution, the government nationalized the land and factories that belonged to Somoza and his closest cronies, as well as foreign trade and the banks. The profits from these nationalized properties no longer go into the pockets of millionaires. They are used to build health clinics and schools in areas where they had never existed before, to promote food production for working

people, to provide bank loans to poor farmers, and to bring potable water to the countryside for the first time.

Under Somoza, the majority of the population could not read or write. Four hundred thousand Nicaraguans were taught to read in the first year of the revolution. Today, *one third* of the population is involved in organized study — in the midst of a war.

Uprooting racism

On Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, the government has taken bold steps to tackle the legacy of special racial abuse that Nicaraguans who are Black or Indian suffered under Somoza. Indians and Blacks have won the right to speak and write in their own languages. Their cultures are being promoted. Economic development projects are helping overcome the extreme backwardness of this area of the country. And regional autonomous government structures are being set up to allow residents of the Atlantic Coast to determine their own affairs.

Nicaraguan workers and farmers are demonstrating how even in one of the poorest countries of Latin America, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and inequality are not inevitable. They can be uprooted by taking political power away from those who profit from the misery of the vast majority.

It is this example that Washington wants to extinguish through its mercenary war, forcing the Nicaraguans to make big sacrifices to keep their government in power.

Today, the Nicaraguans call theirs an "economy of survival," in which all resources and energies are directed at ending the U.S. aggression. Programs to build child-care centers, clinics, and schools have been drastically cut back because the government has to spend 50 percent of the national budget for defense. There are shortages of food supplies. Workers' real wages have suffered a sharp decline.

The response of workers and farmers has been to work harder and longer to try to minimize the war's harsh effects on the economy. Nicaraguan unionists are putting in voluntary work days at no pay to keep production going. To replace spare parts for U.S.-made machines — parts the U.S. government refuses to let Nicaragua buy — workers are becoming "innovators," inventing the parts from the leftover scraps of metal. Young people in the high schools and universities are volunteering for months of unpaid farm labor in the countryside to help bring in this year's crops.

Nicaraguans are willing to make these sacrifices because they know that today they are free and building a better future for their children. They do not want a return to Somozaism.

Nicaraguans deserve the right to live in peace, and U.S. workers and farmers can make a difference in helping them win that right. We should demand that Washington cease all aid to the contra terrorists immediately; withdraw all "advisers," CIA agents, and U.S. troops from Central America; stop its economic embargo of Nicaragua; and pay full reparations for the death and destruction it has waged.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Mexico and the debt crisis

One year after the earthquake that hit the Mexican capital, the country is still reeling from the destruction. This came on top of another social calamity — Mexico's unpayable debt of more than \$100 billion. International bankers recently agreed to loan Mexico another \$12 billion to stave off default. But they demand harsh austerity measures against Mexican working people: deep cuts in social spending, plant shutdowns, and price hikes for staple foods and services.

In the current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, correspondent Martín Koppel reports on the Mexican economic crisis and the fightback by Mexican working people, particularly garment workers who are struggling for dignity, better working conditions, and to defend their newly won union.

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.

Perspectiva Mundial

25 de octubre y 1 de noviembre

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Western Sahara's fight for independence

Interview with representative of Saharan Arab Democratic Republic

The following interview with Ali Habib Kentawi was obtained by Russell Johnson and Deb Shnookal. Habib is the Asian representative for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) government of Western Sahara.

In 1973 the Polisario Front was established to fight for Western Sahara's independence from Spain. The SADR was proclaimed by the front in February 1976 when Spain finally withdrew.

In November 1975, however, Spain had signed the Madrid Agreement with the governments of Morocco and Mauritania. This recognized the two governments' territorial claims over Western Sahara. In return, Spain retained a 35 percent stake in

struggle against the Spanish.

Q. Could you explain the origins of the Saharan people?

A. The Saharans have been living in that area for many centuries. The population is a combination of Arabs, Berbers, and also Africans.

Western Sahara was never historically part of Morocco. This has been clearly recognized by the International Court of Justice, which rejected Morocco's territorial claim over Western Sahara.

Q. Why did Morocco claim Western Sahara?

A. There were two reasons for the invasion. Firstly, the aim was to gain control of the considerable resources of Western Sahara — the fisheries and the phosphates especially.

Secondly, King Hassan of Morocco was trying to unify diverse political forces and the army behind himself. There was a deep internal crisis in Morocco at the time. The army had twice tried to overthrow the king with attempted coups. Riots were widespread. So the invasion of Western Sahara was the way Hassan sought to solve this threatening economic and political crisis.

Today, Morocco faces a huge problem in sustaining this war. It costs them at least \$4 million daily to maintain their army in Western Sahara. The war has become a drain on the Moroccan economy and morale.

Militarily they are far from achieving their goal. Even with 150,000 troops, they are isolated in a corner of the country. Their morale is low, and their losses are higher than ever. That is why Morocco is desperately seeking the assistance of anyone willing to help.

Q. Who is backing the Moroccan government?

A. The United States has given a lot of military and economic aid to Hassan. But France and Saudi Arabia are the main supporters of this war.

For 10 years the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have been seeking a peaceful solution to this problem of Western Sahara. The OAU has recognized the SADR as a full member state, and the UN has pushed hard for a negotiated settlement between Morocco and Polisario.

Q. What are the social and political goals of the Polisario Front, and how have they been reflected in the formation of the SADR?

A. The SADR is now a member state of the OAU. We have bilateral relations with 65 countries that have recognized the Saharan government.

Our objective is to develop our country and its resources and to rebuild the devastation caused by the war. Western Sahara has considerable natural resources. We want to develop and control our resources, develop education, build industry, and create social services for the people.

Even now we are developing these objectives. In the Polisario-occupied areas and the refugee camps [in neighboring Algeria], for example, we have schools for all the children. This is something we consider important. And it is something new. These schools are for both boys and girls,

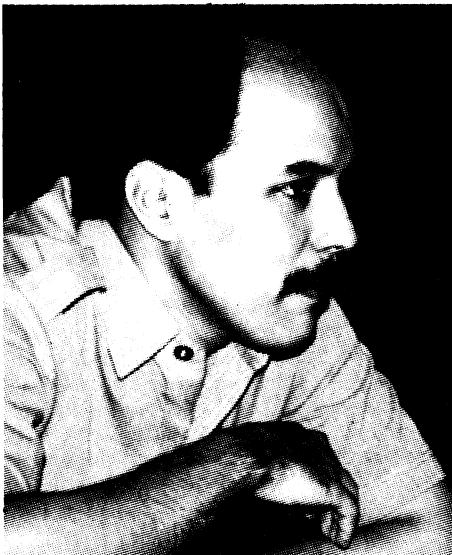
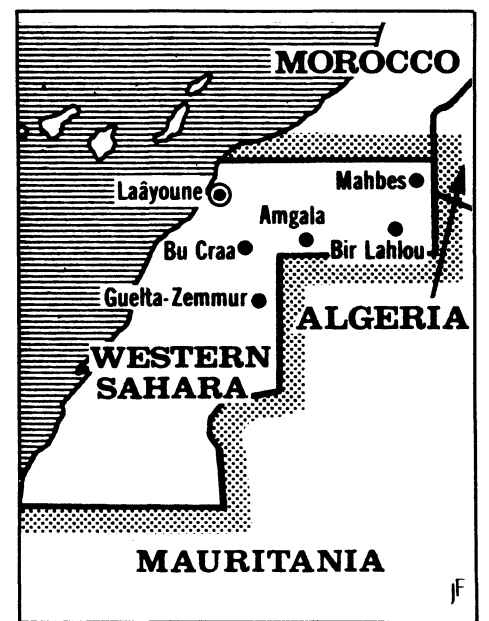
which is also something new. There is also a literacy campaign.

Women are playing a very important role in the administration of the liberated areas and the refugee camps and in the political aspects. Their contribution is very decisive in the Saharan struggle.

We have also built hospitals and are trying to improve the health of our people. We are trying to start agriculture again, even in the desert.

Q. What is the basis of the political settlement demanded by Polisario?

A. The peace plan adopted by the OAU and the United Nations clearly states that the way to resolve the conflict is through direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and Morocco and the implementation of a free and fair referendum for the people of Western Sahara so that they can choose their own destiny.



Militant/Deb Shnookal

Ali Habib Kentawi

the company mining the territory's rich phosphate deposits.

In August 1979 Mauritania signed a peace treaty with the Polisario Front and gave up all territorial claims to Western Sahara. But the Moroccan monarchy of King Hassan II maintained some 150,000 troops there, and the war continues.

The interview took place in late July in Manila, capital of the Philippines.

* * *

Question. Could you tell us something about the historical roots of the independence struggle being waged by the people of Western Sahara?

Answer. It has been a continuing struggle since the beginning of this century — first against the penetration of French colonialism in the region and then against the Spanish.

The Spanish came to Western Sahara in 1884. Because of the resistance of the population, however, they didn't succeed in establishing control over the territory until the 1930s. Even after that, there were sporadic struggles against Spanish occupation.

In the 1950s the Saharan people took up arms again in the struggle for independence. At that time the resistance was crushed by a coalition of France and Spain. The resistance was organized again in the late 1960s, this time taking the form of a political struggle for independence by peaceful means. But again the Spanish responded with force.

So in 1973, after the peaceful road had failed, the Polisario Front was formed as a liberation movement to organize an armed



Polisario fighters in Western Sahara

— WORLD NEWS BRIEFS —

Protest in W. Germany against U.S. missiles

More than 100,000 West Germans demonstrated October 11 outside a U.S. Air Force base at Wiesbaden where 96 cruise missiles are to be stationed under a 1979 NATO agreement. Sixteen of the missiles are already battle-ready.

The protest was organized by more than 1,000 groups, including the opposition Social Democratic and Greens parties, trade unions, and church institutions. It was the largest antimissile protest in West Germany since October 1983, when more than 1 million people took to the streets across the country in a week of demonstrations.

New constitution drafted for Philippines

The final draft of a new constitution was presented to Philippines President Corazon Aquino October 15. Aquino



Corazon Aquino

announced that she will launch a campaign to win support for the proposal, which will be voted on in a nationwide plebiscite in January 1987.

One of Aquino's first acts after becoming president in February was to abolish former President Ferdinand Marcos' 1973 constitution, adopted under martial law. The new constitution was drafted by a 47-member commission appointed by Aquino.

Many in the Philippines see the plebiscite as a referendum on Aquino herself, because the new constitution would allow her to remain in office until June 1992. Right-wing opponents, such as Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, claim that she abandoned her mandate to govern when she abolished the previous constitution and that she should submit to new elections.

Two members of the drafting com-

mission, peasant leader Jaime Tadeo and human rights lawyer Jose Suarez, also voted against the draft, saying its provision on land reform was not far-reaching enough.

Suarez also opposed the continued presence of two U.S. military bases in the Philippines. The new constitution would allow them to remain until the current lease expires in 1991. An extension of the lease has to be approved by the Philippines Senate, which can also hold a referendum on the question.

Israeli jet shot down during raid on Lebanon

An Israeli jet was shot down October 16 during a large-scale bombing raid on southern Lebanon — the 13th such raid in 10 months. A crew member was captured by members of the Lebanese Shiite Amal militia.

It is the first time that Lebanese or Palestinian forces have brought down an Israeli plane since June 1982, during Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

The Israeli planes bombed positions around the Palestinian refugee camp of Mieh Mieh on the eastern outskirts of the port of Sidon. Israeli warships off the Sidon coast also bombed the Palestinian area. Four people were killed and 12 wounded in the attack. The raid was in retaliation for the October 15 grenade attack on members of the Givati elite infantry brigade and their families in Jerusalem.

Claims of fraud in Bangladesh election

Despite a low turnout of voters and allegations of widespread fraud, Gen. Hussein Mohammed Ershad proclaimed his victory in Bangladesh's October 15 presidential election as "the last bridge toward a democratic government."

Ershad, who seized power in a 1982 coup, has resigned as army chief of staff. With his election, he has pledged to lift martial law and restore civilian rule.

All the principal opposition parties boycotted the election, describing it as an attempt "to legalize an illegal regime." Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, was virtually shut down on election day in response to a strike called by the opposition.

The opposition parties said that hundreds of their workers had been arrested the week before the election for advocating the boycott. The two main opposition leaders — Sheikh Hasina Wazed of the Awami League and Khaleda Zia of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party — were also prevented from addressing protest rallies on the final campaign day before the election.

Sounds like a pro — Musing on his dreams for the future, Ed Zschau, GOP hopeful for U.S. Senate from California, confides:



Harry Ring

"What I'd really like to do some day is to run a diner in a college town. I'd serve up greasy hamburgers and talk philosophy."

Don't be so touchy — Cleveland hospitals are running an ad campaign to improve what they see as a tarnished image. A spokeswoman said a recent study indicated people were "confused" by the businesslike posture of hospitals. "The feeling," she said, "was that hospitals were seen as more mercenary and less caring."

Bread for the masses — One of the aims of the French revolution of 1789 was to make bread available to the entire nation. Now that goal is being expanded. Frozen 4½-pound loaves are being flown from Paris to Chicago from where they can be ordered for only

\$25, plus \$4.50 shipping.

Precious glow — The latest cosmetic wrinkle is adding flecks of gold to cosmetics. Such as L'Air d'Or perfume, \$95 a quarter ounce. Manufacturers don't argue with dermatologists that the gold does nothing for your skin, but, one assures, "It energizes a woman, makes her feel alluring and precious."

Golden pits — Since gold was once used for filling teeth, how about pores? A whole new market for glittering underarm deodorants.

Esteemed legislators — California lawmakers enacted a measure establishing a task force, with a \$245,000 budget, to study how to promote self-esteem. Lone opposition came from the State Department of Mental Health, which argued self-esteem was in its jurisdiction.

The wonders of capitalism — They've got one already, but officials and business honchos in the Ogdensburg, N.Y., area are ecstatic at the prospect of two new jails being built there. "It's superb," enthused a local bank official. "We'll be able to finance about 700 new automobiles."

Not a wheel would turn without them — Asked to rate the productivity of various groups of workers, a collection of top corporate execs agreed they were the most productive of all.

We'll take a closer look — Among the schoolbooks targeted by right-wing censors is Webster's Ninth Dictionary.

Wretched ingrates — "Customers are becoming a jaded, disloyal group who will switch brands without thinking twice if you offer them a bonus." — Allan Mottus, a cosmetics industry consultant.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Eyewitness Report from Southern Africa. Speaker: Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 1, open house and dinner, 5 p.m.; program, 6 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

The Fight Against Apartheid from Southern Africa to the United States. A campaign rally. Speakers: Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, recently returned from Movement of Nonaligned Countries conference in Zimbabwe; Eugene Johnson, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 26. Potluck dinner, 5 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: dinner and rally, \$4; rally only, \$2. Ausp: 1986 SWP Campaign Committee and YSA. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

COLORADO

Denver

Young Socialist Alliance Open House. Speakers: Roaya Abbassi, chairperson, Denver Young Socialist Alliance; Mike Chamberlain, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Mike Grubbs, YSA. Sat., Oct. 25, 3 p.m. following antiwar march and rally. 25 W 3rd Ave. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

Rally for Political Rights Defense Fund. Speakers: Betty Tsang, vice-president of Miami-area local of the American Postal Workers Union; Dr. O.R. Dathorne, director of Caribbean, African, and Afro-American Studies, University of Miami; Andrés Gómez, Cuban activist; Patricia Ireland, national leader, National Organization for Women; Jack Lieberman, director, Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association; Jim Pinaro, president, Irish Northern Aid of South Florida; Marty Anderson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Translation to Creole and Spanish. Thurs., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. Haitian Activities Center, 28 NE 54th St. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Why We Must Have Sanctions Against South Africa. A panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Abortion Rights and the Fight for Women's Liberation. Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

Capitalism, Women's Oppression, and the Fight for Socialism. A discussion class. Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 26, 11 a.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Boston Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Say No to the U.S. War on Nicaragua! A protest meeting and forum. Speakers: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor recently returned from two months in Nicaragua; Janice Dorlaie, member of Witness for Peace's Black delegation tour of Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 25. Social, 7 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Government's 'War on Drugs': An Attack on Workers' Rights. Speakers: Ed Martone, executive director, New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union; Carol Smith, representative, Communications Workers of America Local 1034; Jethrow C. James, coordinator of community services, Utility Coworkers Association; Chris Brandon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Decline of the American Empire: What Does the Future Hold? Speaker: Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 14th C.D. Sat., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. 402 N. Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

Socialist Campaign Meeting. Speaker: Susan Zarate, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor. Translation to Spanish.

Sat., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: North Texas Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Open House and Campaign Brunch. Hear Deborah Lazar, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 2, 11 a.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Workers '86 Campaign. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speaker: David Salner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D. Sat., Nov. 1, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist

Workers 1986 Campaign. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Hear the Socialist Alternative in the 1986 Elections. Speakers: Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D.; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., Oct. 29, 12 noon. Activities Room, Mountainlair, West Virginia University. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Kathy Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D.; Rev. Pat Meechem; representative of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Nov. 1. Wine and cheese reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1986 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Miami protest hits CIA airline

BY MELANIE WENTWORTH

MIAMI — "Southern Air, CIA — how many kids did you kill today?" This was the chant on October 15, when more than 30 people picketed the facilities of Southern Air Transport here. The Miami-based company has been linked to the plane supplying the *contras* that was shot down in Nicaragua two weeks ago.

The protest was very spirited, especially when another Southern Air cargo plane was seen pulling into the company's hangar.

Andrés Gómez, a spokesperson for La Casa, told the protesters, "This is a good opportunity to start an overall investigation of illegal activities that for years has been taking place against Nicaragua, the people of El Salvador, and Central America."

Jack Lieberman, a leader of the antiwar movement in Miami, called for an independent investigation into the activities of Southern Air and the other contra organizations in Miami for violation of the Neutral-ity Act.

Nicaraguan calls for antiwar actions

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Víctor Tirado, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, issued a "call to the international community to make a united front for peace" now that the U.S. government has approved \$100 million in open funding for the mercenaries attacking Nicaragua.

Tirado was speaking to hundreds of union and farm cooperative leaders at an October 18 meeting here.

In an interview with the *Militant* following the meeting, Tirado called upon the U.S. people to continue protests against the

war. He pointed to the example of four U.S. veterans who held a 46-day hunger strike against Washington's war policies.

"The U.S. people must not remain silent," Tirado said. "They must protest just as they protested during the war in Vietnam." Now that the \$100 million has been approved, "the U.S. people must make great efforts to demonstrate their opposition to the use of these funds," he said.

Tirado also called on U.S. citizens to "learn more about Central America and its history, so they will correctly understand why we are opposed to [the U.S.] policy of intervention."

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

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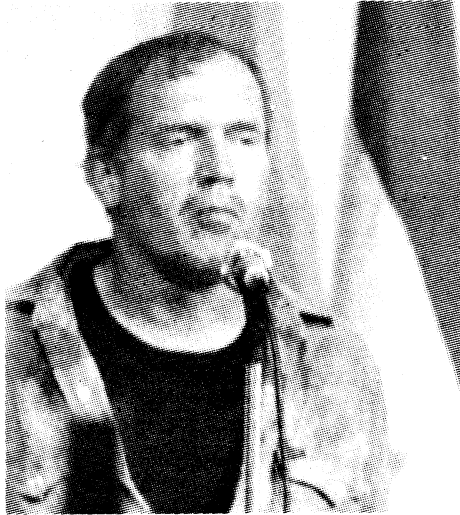
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Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Captured CIA man Eugene Hasenfus

Actions key in antiwar fight

Continued from front page

called to protest U.S. ties to apartheid, nuclear weapons, and war spending.

On October 25, marches and rallies are taking place in Austin, Texas; Atlanta; Miami; New York City; Providence, Rhode Island; New Haven, Connecticut; Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Cincinnati; Salt Lake City; Minneapolis; Denver; San Francisco; Portland; and San Diego.

Demonstrations are also slated for Boston and Los Angeles on November 1 and Seattle on November 2.

Antiwar and solidarity activists are discussing how to use these successful efforts

to mobilize more action. Many see the need for a broadly sponsored national protest against the U.S. war in Nicaragua and intervention in Central America.

The idea of a national spring action is now being widely discussed. Such an action could open the way toward broader trade union endorsement and participation.

Questions such as what kind of events to have, who to draw in, and what the focus of a spring action should be can be expected to come up at a range of meetings planned over the next few weeks.

These include:

- a mid-Atlantic meeting of the Nicaragua

Network November 8 in Baltimore;

- a National Mobilization for Survival conference that same day in Minneapolis;
- and a November 23 meeting in Washington, D.C., of the mid-Atlantic coalition that built the October 25 action, which all antiwar and solidarity groups in the area are invited to attend.

Events of the last few months have shown that Washington is worried about public opinion on U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. While it hopes to escalate that war and threatens a regionwide conflict, it does not have a completely free hand.

The first obstacle the U.S. rulers face is the widespread and organized resistance of the Nicaraguan people themselves, who are successfully defending their country from the mercenary contras.

The second obstacle is the opposition of working people in the United States and the rest of the world. The White House and Pentagon must judge how high a political price they will have to pay for each escalation. Antiwar actions can have an impact by raising that price.

To do this, a movement is needed that can mobilize many people in action, showing others they are not alone in opposing this war and convincing them to take action against it.

A national spring action that unites a wide range of groups and individuals, focused on opposition to the real war in Nicaragua, will be an important next step in building such a movement.



What are Sandinista people's courts?

BY RUTH NEBBIA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Eugene Hasenfus, the CIA mercenary recently captured in Nicaragua, is being tried by the People's Anti-Somozaist Tribunals (TPAs). The U.S. government has repeatedly claimed that the TPAs have no authority to try Hasenfus for his crimes.

What are the TPAs and how do they function?

In 1983, faced with an escalating U.S.-financed war of aggression, the Nicaraguan government formed the TPAs to provide speedy trials for those accused of military attacks on Nicaragua, sabotage, terrorism, and organizing draft evasion. The majority of those who appear before the TPAs are captured mercenaries and their collaborators.

These TPAs are called people's tribunals because they are made up of one lawyer

member of the TPAs plus two ordinary citizens. The latter two are chosen for their high moral standing from candidates presented by the Sandinista Defense Committees, the neighborhood committees that organize defense of the revolution on a block-by-block basis.

The TPAs are called anti-Somozaist because the individuals they try are accused of attempting to reimpose a Somoza-style dictatorship in Nicaragua. Anastasio Somoza was overthrown here in July 1979.

After being formally charged with a crime, the accused has two days to plead guilty or not guilty. If the accused pleads not guilty, the prosecution and the defense have eight days during which to present their case. This time can be extended four more days if needed. The TPA then has six days to issue a sentence.

The accused has the right to a public trial, to be considered innocent until proven guilty, to know the nature of the charges, to participate in all aspects of the judicial process, to have an attorney, to be assisted by a translator, to see all the evidence presented, and to have a verdict issued within the time limit set by law. If convicted, the accused has the right to appeal to a higher TPA court.

Between January and September 1986, 410 people were tried by the TPAs, of which 243 were convicted.

Publications Fund helps pay for on-the-scene reports from Nicaragua

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus goes on trial here, the *Militant* is bringing you on-the-scene reports from our bureau in Managua.

Since July 1979, when the Sandinista revolution triumphed here, the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* have had a bureau in Nicaragua. Maintaining a permanent news bureau here is an expensive proposition. It would not be possible without the generous contributions of our readers to the Fall Publications Fund drive now in progress.

How do your donations help? First of all, they allow us to keep a permanent staff of three correspondents working in Nicaragua full time. Currently, our staff consists of this reporter, Harvey McArthur, and Ruth Nebbia.

In addition to the living expenses of the staff, your contributions help cover the cost of maintaining a Jeep and pickup truck so that the staff can make regular reporting trips. The pickup truck, a brand new Toyota, was purchased this year to take advantage of opportunities to visit war zones and farm cooperatives in remote areas where the roads are quite rough.

In the last 12 months — whether by Jeep, truck, boat, bus, or plane — *Militant* correspondents have traveled to Siuna in Northern Zelaya and Bluefields in Southern Zelaya, on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast; to towns such as Jalapa, Ocotal, Pantasma, and El Cuá in the northern war zone of the country; and to Boaco, Juigalpa, Rama, Santo Domingo, and La Libertad in south-central Nicaragua, another war zone.

The building that houses the bureau office in Managua is an expensive budget

item in and of itself. In addition to regular rent and maintenance costs, we have spent thousands of dollars over the last year to upgrade and professionalize the building.

The first floor was remodeled to set up a spacious office, a separate conference room-library, and a reception area. New office equipment and furniture were purchased. The kitchen and laundry area was also modernized. Last month, a brand new roof was installed over the whole building.

The cost of telephone calls to the *Militant*'s New York office is one of the most expensive items in the bureau budget. Recently, to cut down on phone bills and improve the accuracy and speed of sending articles, we purchased a small computer that transmits our articles electronically by phone. This was another several-thousand-dollar expense.

Finally, we spend thousands of dollars each year in travel between the United States and Nicaragua, since bureau correspondents need to make trips occasionally to our New York office to consult with the editors there.

All of these expenses are aimed at providing our readers with the most truthful and rounded reports possible about the U.S.-backed war here and the Sandinista revolution as a whole.

In no other U.S. newspaper will you find this kind of coverage. To help us keep bringing you the truth, send your contribution to the Fall Publications Fund today.

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CIA man on trial

Continued from front page

nounced that Griffin Bell, former U.S. attorney general under the Carter administration, had agreed to defend Hasenfus. On Bell's behalf, the embassy asked the Nicaraguan government to postpone the trial for two weeks. Under Nicaraguan law, however, only attorneys certified before the Nicaraguan Supreme Court can practice in Nicaragua, so Bell was disqualified and the postponement denied.

Sotelo, who is Nicaraguan, said Bell asked him to take the case and that Bell would be his adviser. Sotelo is a well-known figure in the right-wing Conservative Democratic Party (PCD). Last April, he was one of three PCD deputies in the National Assembly who proposed suspending Nicaragua's land-reform program for 10 years.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

October 29, 1976

[Ten years ago James Carter was about to win the 1976 U.S. presidential elections. This is an excerpt of an article by Greg Cornell based on a visit he made to Plains, Georgia.]

Interviewing Jimmy Carter's maids was hardly the story I had in mind when I set out to talk with Blacks in his hometown here.

But almost every other Black woman I found turned out to be a maid from Carter's childhood, or a maid he hired after he married and settled down, or a maid working for him now.

All, without exception, are poor.

In a town with few jobs, being a maid for the Carters has been one of the few available sources of income for Black women. The other one has been Carter's peanut-processing plant.

At the end of Carter Street here there's a dirt road. Along that road there are a number of Black homes. It could be Appalachia, and a million miles distant from Jimmy Carter. But it's only a few blocks.

The houses have been patched and re-patched. There is a vegetable garden in front of one house, and there I meet Ruth Harvey.

Harvey, 63, was a maid for Carter and is also a veteran of his peanut plant.

"I'm barely making it," she says. "The thing makes me so depressed. I used to be working, but now I'm not. I can take in sewing, but my sewing machine is broken and I can't afford to get it fixed."

"I'm hoping," she says, "they'll raise my Social Security check."

Harvey says she took care of Amy, Carter's youngest daughter, before he was

elected governor. She spent several days after Carter was elected caring for Amy at the governor's mansion.

When she went to work for the Carters in 1966, she was paid \$12 for 20 hours' work.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

October 30, 1981

Price 10c

October 24 — The long pent-up struggle between Moscow and Peking erupted at the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party when [Premier Nikita] Khrushchev denounced the Albanian Communist Party, which is closely allied with Peking, as guilty of the Stalinist "cult of personality."

Simultaneously Khrushchev renewed the campaign within the Soviet CP against the 1957 "antiparty" group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, and Voroshilov.

In each case of this double barrage, the Khrushchevites repeatedly invoked the revelations about the Stalin cult made at the historic 20th Congress of the Soviet CP.

The open cleavage between Moscow and Peking and the new attack on the "antiparty" group were dramatic high points in the congress.

The public dispute was of Moscow's, not Peking's, choosing. The fuse was lit by the Kremlin's calculated exclusion of the Albanian Workers (Communist) Party as a fraternal delegation. Then in his opening speech October 17, Khrushchev accused the Albanian CP of having "embarked on the road of a sharp worsening of relations with our party and the Soviet Union." Moreover, "the Albanian leaders do not hide the fact that the course taken by our party towards a decisive overcoming of the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's individuality does not please them."

Visitors barred for their ideas

On October 12 Patricia Lara, a freelance reporter for *El Tiempo*, the largest newspaper in Colombia, was detained on arrival at New York's Kennedy Airport. She was visiting the United States at the invitation of Columbia University to attend its October 16 annual award presentation to Latin American journalists. Her visa was revoked by the State Department and she was deported October 17.

Lara has written articles criticizing the Reagan administration's policies in Central America and has interviewed Cuban President Fidel Castro. She has also written a book based on interviews with three leaders of M-19, a Colombian guerrilla organization.

The same week, Nicaraguan psychologist Silvana Mercedes Sequeira was refused entry into Puerto Rico to attend a conference sponsored by an organization that provides humanitarian aid to day-care centers in Central America and the Caribbean. She was carrying pamphlets and a book "that would indicate that she has Communist affiliations," immigration officials claimed.

Both women were barred from the United States under

the sections of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act that deny entry or permanent residence to those whose works advocate communism or who are suspected of membership in a communist organization.

These provisions have been used to bar entry to the United States to many writers — including Nobel Prize-winning novelist Gabriel García Márquez, who, like Lara, is Colombian. They are also currently being used to try to deport U.S.-born author Margaret Randall.

In August an immigration service judge ordered Randall to leave the country by December 1. This date has now been set back pending the hearing of an appeal lodged by Randall's lawyers.

Each time these provisions in the McCarran-Walter Act are used to deny entry to the United States to someone on the basis of his or her political ideas they violate the rights not only of the person concerned, but of everyone living in this country. Our constitutional rights to freedom of speech and association are denied. All supporters of democratic rights have a stake in loudly protesting each time this reactionary legislation is used.

Immigration law: blow to rights

Continued from front page

documented immigrant workers. The law strikes a further savage blow to their rights to live and work in this country, free from discrimination, superexploitation, and police terror.

It deals a blow to the democratic rights of all. It means more neighborhood and factory roundups by the border patrol. And it legalizes the immigration cops' practice of forcing working people to prove they have the right to be here or face deportation — a violation of the constitutional presumption of innocence.

The bill's "amnesty" provisions provide cover for its more openly antidemocratic measures. The provisions allow immigrants who came to this country on or before Jan. 1, 1982, to apply for amnesty and to possibly become citizens at a later date.

Even this stingy amnesty is booby-trapped. Applicants must show the INS documents "proving" their virtually continuous presence in this country since January 1982. But to avoid falling into the hands of the border cops, many immigrants have systematically avoided creating such a paper trail. And, in an effort to intimidate potential applicants, U.S. immigration officials Vincent Henderson and Michael MacMahon predicted a flood of forged documents. According to press summaries of the new law, conviction on charges of making false statements in an application could bring five years in jail.

Applications for amnesty can be submitted during one year, ending June 30, 1988. After that, all undocumented immigrants will be fair game for the immigration cops. And those whose applications are rejected will be subject to immediate deportation.

The amnesty offers no relief for thousands of refugees from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, who have been driven to this country since 1982 by the escalating U.S.-organized war in Central America.

A central provision of the new law bars the hiring of illegal immigrants. It requires state officials to verify the legal status of applicants for welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, unemployment compensation, housing assistance, and college aid. This will effectively bar undocumented immigrants from legally receiving these vital social services.

Such institutionalized discrimination against millions of workers is a blow to the gains working people have made in barring discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, or other grounds.

Mario Morena, associate counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, predicted: "If you're an employer, and a person who has darker skin and speaks with an accent comes in for a job, he's going to be scrutinized more closely. It will come down to a situation of 'them' and 'us,' and anybody who doesn't look like 'us' is 'them,' and they're not going to be employed."

In an attempt to hide the discriminatory nature of the new law, a provision was tacked on barring discrimination against legal immigrants, and an office was set up in the Justice Department to enforce this. That's the same Justice Department that has been fighting to destroy affirmative action programs that aim to counter some of the discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women.

According to reports on the new law, employers must demand that job applicants show proof of legal residence in this country. Bosses who are found to have repeatedly violated the ban on hiring undocumented workers may be fined or imprisoned. The *Wall Street Journal* noted, "The bill seeks to deputize employers to supplement the border guards."

For every employer who is fined or jailed under the new law, scores of others will be placed in a stronger position to blackmail and superexploit undocumented workers. By legally denying them the right to work, the law



Border patrol in action at U.S. border with Mexico. New bill means more cop terror at border, more neighborhood and factory roundups.

proclaims undocumented workers an outlaw caste with no right to demand even the minimum wage, safe working conditions, legal working hours, or the right to join a union. The denial of rights to undocumented workers is a blow to gains won over decades by the union movement.

One partial exception to the blanket ban on hiring undocumented workers is agriculture. The border patrol must have a search warrant or permission of the owner to raid farms. This assures that a steady stream of workers will be forced to submit to low pay and miserable working conditions on these farms as the price of protection from the immigration cops.

If the supply of cheap labor is inadequate, the law will also allow growers to recruit undocumented workers in Mexico and other countries between 1990 and 1993. They may remain in the United States for up to three years, but must work only in agriculture.

Such measures guarantee agribusiness a pool of superexploited laborers who have no right to seek alternative work. And if they attempt to join a union or assert their human rights in other ways, the employers can invite in the border patrol.

The law authorizes a big increase in funding for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which oversees anti-immigrant operations. It projects a 50 percent increase in the size of the border patrol, which now numbers 3,700 cops. The border patrol has already arrested 1.4 million alleged illegal immigrants this year.

"The President and the public want to retain control of the borders," declared a September 29 editorial in the *New York Times*. But these national borders are not in the interests of U.S. workers and farmers. They serve the interests of big business, which uses them to oppress working people in this country and around the world. These borders are used to block the solidarity of U.S. workers with their brothers and sisters in other countries.

The labor movement has a life and death interest in fighting the rulers' attempt to establish a caste of workers without legal rights in this country. It has a big stake in condemning a law that mandates employers to discriminate against immigrant workers in hiring and other fields.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 is another step in the U.S. rulers' efforts to slash the rights of all working people. Trade unions have a responsibility to defend the right of all workers to come to this country and to defend their right to full equality in hiring, equal access to public services, freedom from cop raids and deportations, and union protection.

The INS and its brutal U.S. Border Patrol should be abolished.

Why trade unions should support working farmers

BY DOUG JENNESS

A few weeks ago nearly 2,000 farmers met in St. Louis to discuss what they can do about the worst farm crisis in the United States in 50 years. This was the largest conference of farm activists in several years.

One of the things registered by this meeting was that there has been no letup in the difficulties facing farmers

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

in the past decade. Hundreds of working farm families are forced off their land every week, and there seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel for tens of thousands more.

The consensus at the St. Louis meeting was that the farm bill adopted by Congress last December has not brought relief; rather it has aggravated farmers' problems.

Since the first tractorcades began nine years ago farmers throughout the country have been protesting their worsening situation. Scores of protest organizations have sprung up that have conducted tractorcades, penny auctions, demonstrations, rallies, milk dumpings, and other actions.

In spite of their considerable militancy and the broad support they have won, the farmers' actions have not succeeded in halting farm foreclosures.

Farmers have many opinions as to why this is so and what should be done next, and these were debated at the St. Louis meeting. Those of us who are not farmers and have not been directly involved in organizing farm actions are not well-qualified to discuss many of the tactical problems facing the farm protest movement.

There is one observation, however, that deserves attention. And that is the failure of the organized labor movement to use its considerable potential strength in support of working farmers and their families.

If the unions were to launch a campaign of solidarity with the farmers — publicizing widely the truth about their plight, mobilizing big forces to help halt foreclosures, and organizing massive protests to demand a moratorium on mortgage payments — it would have a resounding impact.

But the mossbacks who sit astride the trade unions today refuse to do this.

This is not because there isn't support among workers for farmers. To the contrary, quite a number of local unions and unionists have participated in farm protests. And the progressive demands of working farmers are clearly better known and appreciated among workers than they were even a few years ago.

The union officialdom doesn't conduct the kind of campaign that is needed for the same reason that they don't mobilize union power to defend workers who are under heavy fire from the employers.

Like horses wearing blinders, their vision is narrowed; and the only road they see is keeping the employers with whom they negotiate profitable. In their view, what's good for the boss will be good for the workers.

But it's becoming increasingly apparent to many workers that this policy of accommodation is not working, at least for workers, and in fact is leading to disaster.

Over the last few weeks, we've been explaining in this column that one of the things workers must do if they are going to begin organizing an effective fight against their worsening conditions is to recognize that they are a *class* of workers fighting a *class* of employers. They are not simply a group of workers from a particular plant, industry, town, color, sex, or citizenship status fighting their own employer.

In the course of developing this understanding of themselves as a class, workers will more readily be able to distinguish other classes in society, both those that are foes such as bankers, landlords, and industrial owners; and those that are potential allies, such as working farmers.

The enemies of working people continually drum into our heads that farmers are more like businessmen than workers. It is true that farmers who regularly hire wage labor are more like industrial employers.

But working farmers who hire no wage labor and depend on the labor of their families are not. They have more in common with workers. Neither workers nor working farmers get back the full fruits of what they produce.

Workers are also told that farmers are becoming unproductive and obsolete. It is inevitable, we are told, that more of them must leave farming. Many industrial workers, however, are likely to be suspicious of this argument. They have heard a version of that tune used against them. As the country "deindustrializes," they have been informed, there won't be a need for as many steelworkers, auto workers, etc.

As workers start using their unions to fight for the interests of the working class as a whole they will at the same time begin using them to champion all the struggles against the injustice, indignities, and robbery perpetrated by those who own factories, banks, and most of the land.

Unity is needed to fight two-tier wage system

BY MAURA O'BRIEN

A daily topic of conversation of United Airlines (UAL) employees is the two-tier wage system. In general, there is a lot of anger, confusion, and heated discussion about the state of the airline industry following deregulation, bankruptcies, and reorganization of many major com-

UNION TALK

panies. Most of the discussion centers on whether we should be making concessions given the unstable future of this industry.

Despite its overall good financial health, rising profits, and rapid expansion, UAL owners insist on "remaining competitive." Their favorite method of trying to achieve this is to "reduce labor costs," as they often refer to their union-busting efforts in the daily *Employee Newsline* computer printout. (This fancy jargon does not fool my coworkers, who often highlight these telling phrases with a yellow marker and insert editorial comments.)

UAL has been in many battles recently with its employees, especially around the issue of a two-tier wage structure. These skirmishes are closely watched and discussed by all airline employees.

A hard-fought and bitter strike was waged by 5,200 members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) against UAL in May 1985 over the company's demand that newly hired pilots be paid up to 57 percent less than pilots already on the job. Five hundred and sixty-six trainee pilots honored the picket lines. When the strike ended, United refused to hire the trainees. The U.S. district court later ordered the company to hire them.

This union victory was overturned on Sept. 29, 1986, when a U.S. appeals court agreed with United that the

trainees were not employees under contract and were not protected by the Railway Labor Act.

This adverse ruling came on the heels of another recent attempt by UAL to impose a two-tier wage on the pilots. United bought some profitable capital assets from People Express' ailing Frontier airline, including the gates at Denver airport.

UAL balked, however, at hiring the Frontier airline pilots when it couldn't get ALPA to agree on a lower wage tier for these new employees. UAL couldn't force the merger on its two-tier terms since that would violate the contract currently in effect with United pilots. Nevertheless, United went on a propaganda barrage, implying that greedy, overpaid pilots were the cause of the Frontier-United deal collapsing and the consequent loss of jobs for Frontier employees. While many coworkers I talked with thought concessions might have been necessary to save the jobs, many saw through United's "labor costs" farce.

Many of us who work the ramp (loading and unloading planes) don't often come into contact with the pilots, so it is difficult to talk with them about their important fight against the company. But we have our own experience living under a two-tier contract for the past two years.

Newly hired ramp-service and cabin-service workers start out at two-thirds of full pay, progressing to top scale only after five years. Worse yet, kitchen workers (the lowest paid work category and where mostly Blacks and Latinos work) have a permanent lower tier wage. With a new contract coming due on November 1, the company has spread rumors about imposing a third, lower wage tier.

The divisions the tiered wage structure creates are felt when you talk about the upcoming contract. Some older,

higher-seniority coworkers have said they will not go out on strike over this issue, although they think a third tier is bad. They know that United would like to drive down wages to \$4 an hour, but they are concerned about job security and union-busting.

Many newly hired, younger workers see things differently. In addition to working for less money, many of us are temporary or part-time workers. We are constantly under pressure to work harder and prove ourselves in hopes that the company will hire us full-time. Temporary workers have no union protection. Part-time workers are union members, but have no company seniority.

The bosses arbitrarily pick a few workers at a time to go full-time. This has created a lot of discontent, mostly directed at the company. Sometimes, however, it is directed at the union as some part-timers wonder why they should pay such high union dues (while making less and working shorter hours) or why the union doesn't make this a contract issue.

They believe the union should fight the company's attempts to use a section of the work force with little or no rights against the rest — forcing more work for less pay and violating seniority and bidding rights with temporary work assignments.

That is why some part-timers are planning to go to their first union meeting. They plan to let their needs be known to the company through our union representation. This will be an important opportunity for all United workers (new and old) to hear and discuss the problems we face. Through the union we can begin to build up the unity we will need to oppose United's divide-and-conquer schemes.

Maura O'Brien is a part-time ramp-serviceman at O'Hare airport and member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1487.

LETTERS

Liberation of Haiti

I greatly appreciate your newspapers. I have read them despite the little knowledge I have of English. I respect your fervor and your competence in the struggle for a world socialist revolution.

I will return to Port-au-Prince at the beginning of October, but the struggle for the liberation of Haiti will continue. We have a group called Patriot's Mission. Our objective is to struggle for a truly independent Haiti. We struggle against General Namphy's dictatorship and against imperialism and Yankee neocolonialism. Our slogan is "Haiti or death."

Richardson Narcisse
Gonaïves, Haiti

Suggestions

I have some suggestions for your much improved "Learning About Socialism" column. How about some articles on:

What a socialist society would be like — the advantages of socialism compared with capitalism. (Most workers simply don't know this.)

The relation between socialism and democracy. Why the Soviet Union is not socialist though it possesses some socialist features.

A more detailed explanation of how capitalism exploits workers — how profits are produced.

Also, how about a new feature serializing or condensing some of the Marxist classics, for example, *Wage Labor and Capital*; *Value, Price and Profit*; and Cannon's *Socialism on Trial*.

A reader
New York, New York

Gift from Local P-9

I just read about the destruction of the mural on the side of the Austin Labor Center. The mural was the result of the efforts of dozens of meatcutter activists and their supporters and was a gift from Original Local P-9 to the people of Austin, Minnesota.

This is not the first time projects like this I participated in have been destroyed. Two years ago a mural-installation I created at the Massachusetts College of Art was destroyed — first vandalized by members of the Boston Police Department and later painted over by the school administration. The

mural contained verbatim testimony from the inquest of the brutal police murder of Elijah Pate, a young Black man.

Two months ago an installation-performance about images of women and pornography was refused by Boston's "alternative" art gallery on political grounds. The work explained how pornography degrades women, yet argued against the current government moves toward censorship.

The fact is that any time artists challenge the frail bounds of artistic expression under capitalism they are subject to censorship and victimization. The only works of mine left standing are those painted in Nicaragua, where workers and farmers defend artwork with governmental power they took in struggle.

Mike Alewitz
Hampton, Virginia

Irish prisoners book fund

As a reader of the *Militant*, I look to it for good coverage of events from Ireland. I have sent numerous copies of the paper to two prisoners of war with whom I communicate in Northern Ireland's Long Kesh (Maze) prison. One is a friend, the other a cousin.

I have also sent in for books published or distributed by Pathfinder Press, such as *Cuba: Dictatorship or Democracy?*, *Nicaragua: What Difference Could a Revolution Make?*, and *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*.

My cousin has recently sent out a list of books he and other prisoners of war on his wing would like. As I could not possibly afford the cost myself and would like to establish a more systematic way of raising funds and purchasing and mailing books to them anyway, I've started a Republican Prisoners Book Fund for that purpose.

Contributions are needed for the fund. The recipients are Irish Republican prisoners of war currently held in British and Free State jails. We need paperback books and funds for postage fees. A list of books requested by the prisoners is available. For information write to: RPBF, c/o The Peace Center, 139 Raritan Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904.

Eugene McElroy
Highland Park, New Jersey

Stand up and be heard

The United States has the resources for all its people to have adequate food, decent homes, jobs, and adequate medical care, but we have hungry, homeless, and jobless people here.

U.S. businesses close down, leave people jobless, and take those same businesses to a foreign country so they can exploit those people on slavery wages.

The U.S. government spends billions of dollars on more nuclear bombs when we already have enough bombs to nullify the world four or five times over.

The U.S. government sends millions of dollars to support the *contras* of Nicaragua, claiming that it is only doing that which is right. If our government is so righteous, then why won't it aid the Black South Africans? The U.S. refuses to aid the Black South Africans; they are in slavery.

We must stand up and be heard. It is said that the people make up the government. Then power to the masses of people! — no longer to the minority who control the economy, laws, schools, and religion.

Let all the people enjoy the wealth of America. Let us get our American government out of other people's countries.

Mateen Aziz Al-Mumit
Albany, Georgia

Thanks

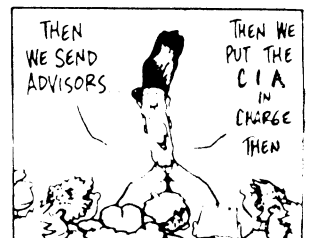
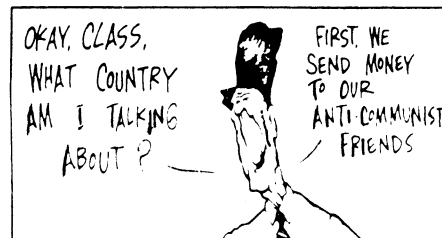
I am writing to you because I receive your paper here at Taconic and soon I will be on parole. I thank you and appreciate what the *Militant* is doing for inmates all over the State of New York.

A prisoner
Bedford Hills, New York

Summit

At the recent summit in Iceland both sides met and held so many meetings it was speculated there might be an agreement in the works.

There could have been some major cuts in both sides' nuclear arsenals if President Reagan had decided to sign an agreement not to proceed with his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program past



the laboratory stage. The president refused any such concession.

If Soviet leader Gorbachev were to sign a similar agreement, as well as agree to significant cutbacks in both long- and short-range nuclear missiles, which he apparently did, why couldn't we come to terms?

The SDI would become obsolete if there were huge decreases in our nuclear arsenals. Why would anyone need Star Wars?

The real reason there was no agreement is that the world leaders had no intention of coming away from Iceland with something substantial. Certainly, President Reagan didn't want an agreement badly enough or he wouldn't have thrown in Star Wars. But who's to say Gorbachev wouldn't have come up with something else to deter what might have been real progress in lessening the threat of a nuclear holocaust?

It's obvious we need new leaders who will strive with real effort to make the world a safer place and will work toward equality for us all.

Mark Greene
Hampton, Virginia

Crass consumption

The news program "60 Minutes" recently aired the "New Revolution in China" — in other words, a "capitalist revolution."

Viewers saw the Chinese people being tempted with the desire for "things" — motorcycles, Levis, TVs, etc. Don't mistake me. I think the Chinese people should have these things. I understand the desire of a working person in China to own a motorcycle so he can get to work, take his kids to a

movie, or get to an emergency room without waiting for a bus.

However, the calculated way in which the "lust for things" was presented on this program gave me a new awareness of the ruling class' obsession with narcissistic individuality and crass consumption, which is the hallmark of capitalism in its final, decadent period.

Jack Bresée
Miami, Florida

War on Nicaragua

Bernard Survil, a Maryknoll missionary, recently spoke at St. John's Catholic Church in Morgantown, West Virginia, on the effects of the U.S.-backed *contra* war on the Nicaraguan people.

"In the last five years in Esquipulas, Matagalpa," he said, "there have been an extraordinary number of burials of young people — more than marriages." Survil has lived and worked in Nicaragua since 1977.

"I want America to say no to the *contra* war," he said, "cut off the terrorism of the gun," and "give honest support to Contadora." He encouraged everyone to participate in the October 25 march in Washington, D.C., against the war.

Pattie Sanchez
Morgantown, West Virginia

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.

Samora Machel killed — by apartheid?

Mozambique a victim of South African threats, terrorist attacks

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Samora Machel, a central leader of Mozambique's independence struggle and the country's president for the past 11 years, was killed October 19 when his plane went down just inside of neighboring South Africa. Several other Mozambican government officials also died.

The South African authorities blamed the crash on bad weather, saying that Machel's plane had been blown off course on its way back to Mozambique from a meeting in Zambia.

But this explanation was greeted with immediate skepticism, particularly in light of the apartheid regime's persistent efforts to destabilize the Mozambican government. Both the official Zambian news agency and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa pointed to possible involvement by Pretoria.

The apartheid authorities have long opposed the struggle of the Mozambican people to free themselves from imperialist domination. South African paramilitary units participated in counterinsurgency operations in Mozambique in the late 1960s and early 1970s, at a time when Samora

Machel's Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) was waging its armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule.

Despite this opposition, Mozambique gained its independence on June 25, 1975. Machel, Frelimo's central leader since 1970, became the new state's first president.

A democratic revolution began to unfold in Mozambique, bringing many important gains to its 13 million people. Frelimo also gave refuge and assistance to other southern African freedom movements, in particular to the Zimbabwean liberation fighters and to the ANC.

Pretoria responded with continual economic blackmail, threats, and military aggression. In the early 1980s it stepped up its backing to a counterrevolutionary terrorist outfit called the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo). These "bandits" — as they are commonly called in Mozambique — burn down schools and health clinics, destroy crops, and terrorize the population through massacres and assassinations. Tens of thousands have died in this war, and the Mozambican government estimates the economic damage at more than \$5.5 billion.

Under this pressure, Machel was forced to sign a "nonaggression" pact, called the Nkomati accord, with South African President Pieter Botha in March 1984. In compliance with it, the Mozambican authorities expelled several hundred ANC members from the country. Pretoria was supposed to have halted its aid to Renamo. But it did not.

Renamo attacks continued throughout Mozambique, even spreading into the vicinity of the capital itself. At least half a million Mozambicans have been displaced by the war and another 300,000 forced to flee into neighboring countries.

On October 8 the apartheid regime struck a further blow against Mozambique's people and economy by declaring that it would expel the more than 68,000 Mozambicans working in South Africa.

Three days later the Mozambican government issued a statement charging "an increase in armed bandit infiltration from South Africa" in recent months. "Increased terrorist operations against our capital have coincided with these actions," it said, adding that "high-ranking civilian and military officials of the Pretoria regime" were directly involved.

On October 16 Carlos Cardoso, the editor of the Mozambique Information Agency, warned that Pretoria seemed ready to "murder the Mozambican president."

Three days later Machel was dead.



President Samora Machel

Houston abortion clinics hit

BY NANCY COLE

HOUSTON — Eighteen antiabortion protesters invaded the West Loop Clinic here September 20 and chained themselves to the front doors. More than 100 of their supporters chanted and marched outside.

When patients continued to come and go through a side emergency door, the disrupters drove a van up to the door to block it.

Despite a large police presence, the van and the chained trespassers remained in place for four hours before arrests were made.

One police sergeant even embraced the minister leading the invaders and told reporters that they were "a group of Christian people, and they are opposed to the murdering of innocent babies that is going on in here."

The protesters vowed to return on another "rescue mission" — next time to seize the clinic's operating room.

Because of the disruption, about half the day's abortions had to be rescheduled. The so-called right-to-lifers, however, claimed to have "saved six unborn children from death" that day by referring women to their nearby Crisis Pregnancy Center for "Christian counseling." This is one of the growing numbers of fake "abortion information centers" that deceive women into thinking they offer abortion services.

Then, on October 4, two antiabortion demonstrators attacked a reporter at a picket of more than 100 outside the Texas Medical Center. Two thugs pushed Jo Ann Evansgardner, injuring her shoulder,

grabbed a tape recorder from her husband, and destroyed the tape. Evansgardner, a longtime member of the National Organization for Women, was reporting on the antiabortion-rights action for the *Daily Cougar* at the University of Houston where she is a journalism student.

This escalation of clinic violence follows a call to action delivered by Life Advocates leader Joseph Scheidler during a July visit to Houston. Scheidler, author of *Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion*, urged the "prolife movement . . . to get out on the streets." He presented framed citations to two Houston "right-to-lifers" arrested for trespassing at abortion clinics earlier this year.

When Scheidler was here in July, the Coalition to End Clinic Violence organized a picket line of more than 100 outside the hotel where he spoke.

The coalition is also responding to this latest frenzy of rhetoric and action against women's right to choose abortion. First, the coalition protested the police inaction at the September 20 clinic invasion with a letter-writing campaign to Police Chief Lee Brown and with public testimony before city council. Chief Brown has supposedly ordered an investigation.

Secondly, the coalition is planning a countermobilization outside the offices of Life Advocates, which also houses the Crisis Pregnancy Center. The November 1 picket will feature Bill Baird, a nationally prominent spokesperson for reproductive rights.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Picket protests visit of antiabortion leader Joseph Scheidler

Unionists back L.A. antiwar action

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

LOS ANGELES — Efforts to build participation in the November 1 antiwar march and rally in this city are in high gear.

The central theme of the demonstration is "Stop the U.S. war in Central America." The action is also demanding: embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua; no aid to the *contras*; stop the bombing of El Salvador; an end to human rights abuses and repression in Guatemala; and support to the rights of immigrant workers.

The October 6 meeting of the Fall Mobilization On Central America, the coalition of more than 60 organizations building the action, launched a 25-day "Plan of Action" to win support for the march.

A letter signed by prominent solidarity and trade union leaders who have endorsed the November 1 demonstration was sent to more than 200 organizations and individuals urging their backing for the march and rally.

Among those signing the letter were: Pete Beltrán, president, United Auto Workers Local 645; Dolores Huerta, vice-president, United Farm Workers Union; Luis Olivares, Catholic priest at Our Lady Queen of Angels Church; and Steve Nutter, western states regional director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Participation in the October 11 anti-apartheid march in Los Angeles was an important part of the coalition's outreach efforts. A sea of placards prepared by coalition members demanding "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua" were seen throughout the march. Olivares and a Salvadoran community leader spoke for the coalition, connecting the U.S. war in Central America and the U.S. government's continued support to the racist regime in Pretoria.

Among those who will address marchers November 1 will be: Wabun Inini (Vernon Bellecourt), American Indian Movement; California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters; Dolores Huerta; James Lawson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rigoberta Menchu, a leader of the Guatemalan movement; and a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic

Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Scheduled to perform at the rally are Chilitic-Istac, a popular Salvadoran band, and Country Joe and the Fish.

With only weeks remaining, activists are continuing to attempt to broaden participation in the coalition. Among those endorsing the action are: the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); Nicaragua Task Force; Association of Latin American Students, Glendale College; University of California at Los Angeles MEChA; Democratic Socialists of America; Communist Party; Venceremos Brigade; American Friends Service Committee; Interfaith Task Force on Central America; Young Socialist Alliance; Socialist Workers Party; Raoul Teillet, administrative director, California Federation of Teachers; Office of the Americas; and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Volunteers and funds are urgently needed. To help and/or to endorse contact: Fall Mobilization on Central America, P.O. Box 57337, Los Angeles, Ca. 90057; or call (213) 225-6136.

Protests in four cities blast 'Star Wars' program

In coordinated actions held in four cities, hundreds of demonstrators turned out October 20 to protest the Reagan administration's "Star Wars" space weapons program. Organized by a coalition calling itself No Business As Usual, the protests took place at Star Wars research centers in Washington, D.C.; Cleveland; Atlanta; and Sunnyvale, California.

"We're the future, not the bomb," about 50 protesters chanted during a day-long demonstration outside the main headquarters of the Strategic Defense Initiative (as Star Wars is officially known) in Washington.

At least 95 participants in the four demonstrations were arrested on charges stemming from civil disobedience actions.