

Tower report seeks to salvage gov't antilabor, war policies

Why liberal Democrats hail proposals

The Tower commission report seeks to salvage the authority of the presidency and the executive branch by pinning blame for the current government crisis on Ronald Reagan's "personal management style," "unprofessional" implementation of policies by his appointees, and lack of adequate consultation.

But the roots of this crisis do not lie in incompetent aides, Reagan's alleged

EDITORIAL

forgetfulness, or failure to practice "hands on" management. They go much deeper.

The crisis stems from the failure since 1981 of the U.S. government's *contra* terrorists to topple the government of Nicaragua; the failure of the U.S. rulers to crush the Iranian revolution and other anti-imperialist struggles in the Middle East; and the obstacles that the U.S. employers are running into in their drive to roll back wages, working conditions, and democratic rights inside the United States.

The crisis is an opportunity for working people to demand a new government.
Continued on Page 14



Antiwar march in Washington, D.C., April 20, 1985. Nicaragua's victories over *contras* and U.S. working people's opposition to war are among causes of government crisis.

More revealed about covert operations

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The Tower Commission report, released February 26, is aimed at trying to refurbish the ability of the U.S. government to carry out secret, illegal policies that are against the interests of working people in this country and abroad.

In pursuing this goal, the commission was forced to reveal substantial information about how the government — and especially its executive branch — actually rules.

The report focuses on the functioning of the National Security Council (NSC), an advisory board to the president established in 1947 and generally immune from public scrutiny. Although the report deals with foreign policy operations of the NSC, this

Continued on Page 11

Hearings disclose FBI attack on antiwar forces

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Two days of special hearings before the House Judicial Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights have revealed a pattern of government intimidation, harassment, infiltration, and break-ins against organizations and activists engaged in legal opposition to U.S. government policy in Central America.

Evidence was also brought forward that the FBI's claim in the federal court suit *SWP v. Attorney General et al.* that it had stopped its spying operation against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1976 is false.

A decision in that case was issued last August. Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the government's decades-long investigation and harassment of the SWP and YSA was unconstitutional and illegal.

The House panel, chaired by Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), featured testimony by Frank Varelli, the FBI informant who infiltrated the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) with the aim of "breaking" it as an organization.

Varelli testified that he fingered Salvadorans being deported from the United States and U.S. citizens traveling to El Salvador to FBI contacts in the Salvadoran National Guard. The guard has been involved in the death squad murders of thousands of Salvadorans.

Varelli said he was recruited to the FBI in early 1981. The cop agency assigned him to establish formal links with the guard. He was promised \$1,000 a month plus expenses for his work.

His contacts in El Salvador included the military officers directly connected to the murder of four Maryknoll nuns and two employees of the American Institute for Free Labor Development in 1980 and 1981. All were U.S. citizens.

In 1981 Varelli was also directed to "become a very active member" of the Dallas chapter of CISPES. In that capacity he sent

Continued on Page 10

Philippine army's ties to Singlaub

BY SAM MANUEL

MANILA, Philippines — Concern over U.S. intervention in this country has heightened over the past few weeks. The concern centers around trips by retired U.S. Gen. John Singlaub. He is a former head of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which helps to secure funds and weapons for counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua, Angola, and Kampuchea.

Singlaub is reported to have been in and out of the country over the last year. He has supposedly met with a wide array of individuals in government, business, and the military.

Among those Singlaub is reported to have met with is Col. Reynaldo Cabauatan. The colonel is supposedly being sought by military authorities for his role in an aborted January 27 coup attempt. Cabauatan has pledged not to surrender and has proclaimed that he and his supporters will eliminate the mass base of the New People's Army (NPA), a euphemism for plunder and murder of peasants.

The NPA is the peasant-based army that fought the former dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos and the private armies of the big Filipino landlords. It is the armed wing of the National Democratic Front, a coalition of 12 national organizations, including the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Singlaub claims that he is visiting the Philippines to hunt for lost treasure. General Yamashita of the Japanese Imperial Forces is rumored to have left gold in the Philippines when his troops retreated to Japan in 1945. It is estimated to be worth \$100 billion.

Singlaub is supposedly being watched by military and intelligence agencies. The head man assigned to monitor him is also a retired general, Luis Villareal of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency. Villareal also heads the Philippines chapter of the World Anti-Communist League and considers Singlaub to be a "good friend."

Late last year, the government issued a permit to a company called Nippon Star to hunt for Yamashita's treasure. Singlaub is listed as chief of staff of the company. Villareal has confirmed that most of the employees of the company are U.S. servicemen who served in Vietnam as well as retired Filipino military officers. Nippon Star's office is located in the Technology Center building in Manila, which is owned by Raymond Moreno, a businessman closely associated with Marcos' armed forces chief of staff Fabian Ver.

Nippon Star has also bid for a sizable block of shares in a mining company seeking to do "explorations," many of them in

Continued on Page 2

40,000 gather in Burkina Faso for Pan-African film festival

BY ERNEST HARSCH

OUAGADOUGOU, Burkina Faso — Under a hot African sun, more than 40,000 people filled the city's main stadium — and thousands more pressed against the doors from outside — to welcome participants in Africa's foremost film festival.

From the opening ceremonies February 26, the hundreds of guests and observers at the week-long 19th Pan-African Film Festival of Ouagadougou could tell that this was a film festival like few others. "The struggle against imperialism is an ongoing battle," proclaimed the sign above the main entrance. Other revolutionary slogans greeted them within.

Befitting the festive occasion, political messages were conveyed through symbolism and entertainment. The crowd swayed to popular and revolutionary songs, overlaying the electrified African

rhythms of performers from Burkina and neighboring Ivory Coast. One of the singers shouted out, "Homeland or death!" to which the crowd responded, "We will win!"

Multicolored balloons were released into the air. As our eyes rose to follow them, we saw a plane flying high overhead drop six parachutists from one of the military's paratroop units. To everyone's amazement, they guided their parachutes to within a few feet or yards of designated markers on the stadium field. People shouted and cheered. Among them were President Thomas Sankara and other leaders of the National Council of the Revolution, Burkina's main governing body.

The festival's Pan-African scope was symbolized when groups of children from

Continued on Page 5

Support for April 25 grows in N.Y.

BY WENDY BANEN

NEW YORK — More than a hundred labor and religious leaders gathered here at a breakfast hosted by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and sponsored by the New York Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa.

The purpose of the gathering was to discuss plans for making the April 25 antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstrations as large as possible.

Activists in 70 cities are organizing to take people to Washington D.C., and San Francisco, reported David Dyson of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of the United Auto Workers and a key organizer of the massive anti-apartheid demonstration here last June, addressed himself to the unions "still sitting on the sidelines."

Nineteen international unions have endorsed the demonstrations, Robinson said, but much more union support is needed.

"I hope we understand what we have to do," he told the other union officials, "and don't become deterred by obstacles." Among the obstacles he had in mind, he made clear, were the foreign policy pos-

itions of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The next event, organizers of the breakfast announced, will be a news conference on the steps of City Hall on March 12.

In the meantime, organizing here for the action is being carried out from the Hospital and Health Care Employees union Local 1199 headquarters, 310 W 43rd St., Manhattan. Telephone (212) 315-2933. Leaflets and bus tickets are now available.

The next mobilizing assembly will be on March 16, 7:00 p.m., at Local 1199.

Ottawa protest against Reagan's Canada visit

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney meets with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Ottawa in April, antiwar activists will be marching on Parliament Hill to demand an end to the *contra* war against Nicaragua and in support of the right of self-determination for the countries of Central America.

The demonstration, scheduled for April 5, has been initiated by the Ottawa-based Coalition for Aid to Nicaragua, an affiliate of the Tools for Peace Campaign. A broad coalition is being built which includes forces which will be demonstrating on issues such as acid rain and nuclear disarmament.

The Quebec Central America Solidarity Network has already de-

cided to participate in the action and a coalition is being formed in Toronto to mobilize people from across Ontario.

Texas conference backs national demonstration

BY JAMES P. KHYNE

SAN ANTONIO — The Texas Statewide Central America Conference met in Boerne, Texas, near here on February 14-15. Some 35 activists from Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Laredo, Nacogdoches, and El Paso participated.

The April 25 march on Washington, D.C., was a key item on the agenda. Conference participants endorsed the action, urging local areas to form coalitions to build Texas participation in the demonstration in the capital.

The meeting approved a proposal by Antonio Gonzales of San Antonio. He explained there were opportunities for building this action among labor, religious groups, and Chicano and Black organizations in San Antonio. He urged areas to organize ad hoc local coalitions soon to tap this potential.

Anti-apartheid events to help build April 25

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — According to Joshua Nessen, student organizer

for the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), "The 1987 National Weeks of Anti-apartheid Action will be crucial in building grassroots momentum for the April 25 mobilization."

Two highlights of the March 21-April 6 period will be the March 21, "National Day for Educational Programs on Sanctions and U.S. Policy in Southern Africa" and the April 3-4, "National Protest Days for Divestment and Sanctions."

A resource packet for the weeks of action is available from the ACOA. It includes several flyers, a speech by Martin Luther King calling for sanctions against South Africa, a literature list, and an update on college and university divestment.

ACOA can be contacted at 198 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038. Telephone (212) 962-1210.

Detroit sets March 9 march, rally

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — Religious, labor, and student leaders announced plans for a March 29 demonstration here against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Speaking at the press conference calling the action was Thomas Gumbleton, a Catholic auxiliary bishop. "We call," he said, "on the people of southeast Michigan to demonstrate our opposition to aid to the *contras* in

Nicaragua and to the brutal, antidemocratic, and unlawful actions of the Reagan administration."

Bernie Firestone, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Chicago and Central State Joint Board; H. Coleman McGehee, episcopal bishop of Michigan; and Penny Millender, a recent graduate of the Detroit College of Law also spoke at the press conference.

N.J. protest demands end to 'contra' aid

BY JON ERWAY

UNION, N.J. — More than 75 people protested here last month against continued U.S. government aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*. The demonstration at the offices of U.S. Sen. Bill Bradley was organized by a coalition of anti-intervention, peace, labor, and anti-apartheid groups.

The protesters demanded that Bradley vote against the release of the final \$40 million in aid Congress approved last year for the *contra* terrorists. Bradley, who was not in his office, voted in favor of the original \$100 million *contra* aid bill.

The protesters also used the opportunity of a press conference at Bradley's office to announce the formation of the New Jersey April 25th Coalition, an umbrella group that will coordinate activities in the state to build the April 25 march in Washington.

Philippine army's ties to ex-general Singlaub

Continued from front page

areas controlled by the NPA. The February 19 *Manila Chronicle* explained, "This complex corporate web has allowed Singlaub to travel extensively around the

See page 10 for more on the Philippines

country, acquire arms and security personnel, and to meet with various politicians, businessmen, and the upper reaches of the military."

No government connections

Government and military authorities have denied any connections to Singlaub. Armed forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos explained, "The new armed forces of the Philippines has nothing to do with retired U.S. Army General Singlaub. We

don't need him. He is a lot of baloney." He added, "We are not his supporters, and we don't know why he is here."

Regarding the implication that Singlaub is recruiting mercenaries, Ramos said simply, "If he has met with some military officers, the meeting was unauthorized."

Philippine Defense Secretary Rafael Ilto made the incredible assertion that "If they are recruiting mercenaries, it is without our knowledge."

At the same time Ramos himself admitted to meeting with Singlaub at military headquarters at Camp Aguinaldo last year. "We only exchanged notes on our combat experiences. I did not request anything, and he did not ask for anything. It was a social and courtesy call," claimed Ramos.

No one, however, denies that Singlaub is up to something. Eva Estrada Kalaw, the vice-chair of the Philippines WACL, said, "General Singlaub must be organizing an anti-communist movement here but is

keeping it very quiet so the communists cannot penetrate the structure. Everybody knows the treasure hunt is a cover."

The Filipino people have just cause to be concerned about Singlaub. He has a record of involvement in Washington's dirty wars against the workers and peasants of the colonial world.

Singlaub began his career in 1943, training with the U.S. Airborne Rangers and British Commandos and working for the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency. Singlaub's case handler at that time was William Casey, recently resigned head of the CIA.

Singlaub became the CIA's deputy mission chief in Korea in 1951. In 1966 he became chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Command Studies and Observations group in Vietnam. He is also alleged to have recruited officers for the CIA's "Phoenix Project," which resulted in the death of

20,000 Vietnamese.

Singlaub resigned his commission in 1978. In 1980 he joined the WACL. That same year he became honorary Colorado state chairperson for Ronald Reagan's election campaign. He has since played a key role in aiding Washington's network of covert aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

The Philippine Alliance for Human Rights Advocates has called upon the government to "seriously consider deporting Singlaub." This organization includes 90 human rights groups. "The government must deport Singlaub in order to assure the public that it does not condone outright American intervention in the country," the alliance said.

The National Democratic Front is also opposed to Singlaub's presence. NDF spokesperson Antonio Zumel demanded the immediate banning and expulsion from the country of "covert warriors" posing as "treasure hunters".

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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. We provide first-hand coverage of important struggles in other countries, such as Angola, Haiti, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

Subscribe today.

If you already have a subscription, by renewing now for six months or a year you'll receive a free issue of *New International* (cover price \$5.00), a magazine of Marxist politics and theory published in New York. The current issue features the article, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," by Jack Barnes.

The Militant

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

Hormel makes new moves against meat-packers

BY TONY DUTROW

AUSTIN, Minn. — In a move calculated to divide and intimidate meat-packers, Geo. A. Hormel & Co. has sent discharge notices to seven leaders of the struggle here.

Notice of the firings came in a letter dated Feb. 13, 1987. Hormel claims the former members of the executive board of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9 violated provisions of the sweetheart contract the company imposed at the Austin plant last September. The provisions barred the meat-packers from encouraging a boycott of Hormel products.

The contract was negotiated by the UFCW top national leadership after they placed P-9 in trusteeship as a way of trying to force an end to the strike at the Austin plant.

Scabs Hormel brought in to break the strike and Hormel workers who crossed the picket line were allowed to vote on the pact along with former strikers.

More than 800 of the meat-packers were denied their jobs back under the terms of the settlement. They were placed on something called a "preferential hiring list."

Prior to the contract vote, the UFCW tops prepared a contract summary. It made no mention of the provisions now being used for the firings. The first knowledge meat-packers had that the terms existed was through a letter the company mailed to those on the preferential list last October.

Refusing to be intimidated, the unionists have continued to tour the country demanding that they be rehired along with workers fired for honoring P-9's roving pickets at Hormel's plants in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska.

Hormel held hearings on the firings February 26.

Earlier, the Austin United Support Group had mailed out a letter to unionists across the country urging them to attend a March 14 "national boycott" rally in Austin. The mailing pointed out that not one person had been recalled since the contract was ratified.

Pete Winkels, former P-9 business agent, said the company officer at his hearing was enraged about the mailing.

Kathy Buck explained that the company tried to divide the board members by offering "a few of us the opportunity to overturn our discharges and be returned to the recall

list by making public statements renouncing the Hormel boycott."

Trustee present

Ken Kimbro, the deputy trustee appointed by the UFCW officials, showed up at the hearings. Hormel insisted that the two strikebreakers appointed by the trustees to full-time positions in the plant be the union representatives at the hearings.

The company is now supposed to submit a written report on its findings. Hormel also says the meat-packers can file a grievance on the firings.

The UFCW trustees, however, claim the fired workers are no longer covered by the September contract but instead covered by a separate agreement signed last November, entitled "The Strike Settlement Agreement." The fired workers first learned of this agreement at the time of the hearings.

"We intend to appeal to the whole labor movement, packinghouse workers in particular, who look to our strike and its leadership, to help overturn the firings," Buck said.

The company is also stepping up its harassment of other meat-packers. Lorraine Fossum, office coordinator for the Austin United Support Group, said five meat-packers have received letters from Hormel demanding that they remove "boycott Hormel" stickers from their cars or face immediate discharge.

March 14 rally

On March 14 the support group is sponsoring a full day of activities around the theme "Turn up the heat on Hormel."

The day will begin with a march followed by a rally at the National Guard Armory. Rally speakers will include Kathy Zvarich from the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, Paul Sobocinski from the farm group Groundswell, Native American activist Chris Spotted Eagle, Fred Dube of the African National Congress of South Africa, Phill Kwik from *Labor Notes*, and Dave Foster from the National Rank and File Against Concessions.

Denny Mealy, national boycott coordinator, said the events "will show that the Hormel struggle is ongoing. An important aspect of March 14 will be showing solidarity with other struggles and letting people know we are supporting the meat-packers locked out at Iowa Beef Processors in Nebraska and on strike at Cudahy in Wisconsin."

Coalitions discuss big openings for April 25 antiwar protests

BY LAURA GARZA

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Representatives of coalitions from 22 cities met here February 21 to discuss the national April 25 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa.

The meeting was organized by the national steering committee of the Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa.

The meeting provided an opportunity for activists from around the country to discuss preparations for the marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

National steering committee member David Reed pointed to the unprecedented opening for antiwar and anti-apartheid activists to build the demonstrations.

The political context, Reed explained, "is framed by the fact that the U.S. government is in a defensive posture" as a result of the unfolding governmental crisis.

The debate within the government on U.S. foreign policy in Nicaragua and South Africa, he said, "is not a debate over peaceful relations with the Nicaraguan people or their government, or justice for the peoples of southern Africa."

Instead, Reed stated, it is a debate "over how to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution and how to insure pro-U.S. regimes" are in place in southern Africa.

"For the first time in six years we have a historic moment in which to further exacerbate this crisis and deepen the debate," he said.

Reed reviewed how the call for the demonstration, signed by dozens of labor offi-

cials and church figures, was put together. He pointed to the important role Central American solidarity organizations have played over the last six years in helping to educate about the U.S. government's role in Central America.

In the discussion, coalition representatives from Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia stressed that there are new opportunities to involve Blacks and other antiracist fighters in the April 25 actions, especially those who have come forward in response to racist attacks in Howard Beach, New York, and Forsyth County, Georgia.

Reports were also given on the interdenominational religious service April 26 and on the April 27 nonviolent civil disobedience and lobbying activities that were included on the national call for the Washington, D.C., mobilization.

The final report dealt with the organization of the national mobilization itself. The national outreach coordinator, Clarence Lusane, explained that the coalition is still in the process of putting a national staff together. He urged local coalitions to use their own materials to build the action since the national materials are still in preparation.

For information on the Washington D.C. action write: Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa, 712 G St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003 or call (202) 547-0061.

The San Francisco coalition can be contacted by writing the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, 255 9th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103 or calling (415) 626-8053.



Unionists rally behind Minnesota meat-packers at April 1986 protest. Support group urges unionists to attend national rally in Austin on March 14.

Socialists to Host Conferences in 6 Cities

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be hosting active workers conferences in six cities in March and April.

Members and friends of the SWP and YSA and supporters of the *Militant* will get together to discuss the new situation in international and U.S. politics and its importance for the trade unions today. They will also discuss the SWP and YSA's lawsuit against the FBI and Attorney General Meese, and the spring campaign to increase the circulation

of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Each conference will also feature a public talk given by an SWP leader.

The next issue of the *Militant* will carry an article outlining the spring circulation for the *Militant* and *PM* along with a special feature section, including articles on the recent SWP active workers conference in Pittsburgh; a meeting of the SWP National Committee; and a report on a national leadership gathering of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Active Workers Conferences

Host city	Participating	Host city	Participating
March 21-22			
New York	Amherst, Mass. Annandale, N.Y. Baltimore Boston Capital District Newark Philadelphia Rome, N.Y. Stonybrook, N.Y. West Haven, Conn.	Los Angeles	Carmel, Calif. Fresno Gualala, Calif. Oakland Olympia, Wash. Phoenix Portland San Diego San Francisco San Jose Seaside, Calif. Seattle Stockton Tucson
March 28-29			
Houston	Austin Baton Rouge Dallas Edmond, Okla. Kansas City Kennedy, Texas Lubbock New Orleans San Antonio	Atlanta	Birmingham Greensboro Low Gap, N.C. Miami Montgomery Morganton, N.C. Tampa Tallahassee West Palm Beach
April 4-5			
Chicago	Austin, Minn. Cleveland Columbus Detroit Hudson, Wisc. Madison Milwaukee Oberlin, Ohio Toledo	St. Louis	Ames, Iowa Cedar Falls, Iowa Cincinnati Denver Des Moines Fremont, Neb. Iowa City Lawrence, Kan. Louisville Northfield, Minn. Omaha Twin Cities

Malcolm X Today Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Editor and author of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, interviewed Malcolm X in Jan. 1965.

Los Angeles, Sat., March 21

For more information on the time and location of the talk contact the SWP and YSA at (213) 380-9460.

Sales renewal drive is a big success

BY MALIK MIAH

The totals are in for the *Militant* eight-week winter renewal campaign that ended February 28. Of the 8,577 *Militant* subscribers who received renewal notices, 1,017 have extended their subscriptions — a rate of 12 percent. This figure includes many long-term readers of the paper.

Of the first-time subscribers, however, those who bought their *Militant* subscription during last fall's sales campaign — which netted 8,672 new *Militant* and 2,328 *PM* readers — 615 renewed their *Militant* subscriptions. A renewal rate of 7.7 percent.

(Because most *PM* introductory subscriptions only began to lapse in February or March, a future article will report on the results of *PM*'s renewal effort.)

While our records are incomplete for previous renewal campaigns, the 7.7 percent is comparable to other efforts in the early 1980s. But more significantly, it is much better than most of the circulation campaigns in the 1970s. When a similar campaign of 10,000 subscriptions was organized in 1974, for example, the follow-up renewal rate was only 2.9 percent.

The most important figure, however, is the number of readers who bought long-term subscriptions — that is, for six months or longer. Some 247 first-time readers did so, or 3.1 percent of new readers.

Our long-term paid subscription base (excluding library and prisoner subscriptions) nearly doubled from one year ago. Then we had 890 long-term domestic subscribers. Today it's 1,658. There are also more than 900 introductory subscribers.

Significance of figures

What is the significance of these figures?

They reflect both political and organizational advances for the *Militant*'s circulation.

As the only sources for the truth about the current government crisis, the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua, and the struggle of working people and students in the United States, the *Militant* and *PM* received an excellent response during the fall circulation campaign.

To take advantage of this, both the circu-

lation drive and renewal campaign were based on using teams of salespeople. For instance, phone teams were organized to call all those whose subscriptions were up for renewal. "Runners" were then sent to pick up the money for renewals, which also led to further political discussions with our readers. Many subscribers learned from these visits about political events in their area — April 25 antiwar coalition meetings, protests against racist violence, forums on Malcolm X.

This was the response from Newark, New Jersey, to Austin, Minnesota, to San Francisco. Most everyone who participated in telephoning readers had substantial political discussions whether or not they immediately netted a subscription extension.

Many areas are now permanently incorporating renewal activity as part of their normal servicing of subscriptions.

Role of business office

For the business office's part, we were more professional as well. The biggest step forward was increasing our contact with subscribers. We sent six renewal notices to every reader as their subscription began winding down. Not only did this help increase the rate of renewals, but we also received many comments by readers about the paper. Many of these appeared in the *Militant*'s letters column each week.

In addition, the business office established a procedure so every subscriber who extended their subscription for six months or more, rapidly received their free copy of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. (*PM* resubscribers receive an eight-week introductory subscription to the *Militant* or the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Sudáfrica: la revolución en camino*, by Jack Barnes.)

The business manager, Jim White, also made sure that every couple of weeks supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* received a list of all subscribers in their area so distributors could check their lists for new readers and find out about extensions.

The advances made during the winter renewal campaign put us in a good position to further expand our circulation.

Malik Miah is the *Militant* circulation director.



Militant salesperson (middle) in New York. Renewal effort, like fall subscription campaign, involved wide-ranging political discussions with new readers and subscribers.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Soviets press scrapping medium-range missiles

At the arms talks in Geneva, Washington was pressed to accept the Soviet proposal that the two nations eliminate medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe. U.S. negotiators agreed to extend the session beyond the scheduled March 4 adjournment.

The Soviet plan, first made public by Mikhail Gorbachev February 28, would eliminate some 500 U.S. and Soviet missiles deployed in Europe. Earlier, a similar Soviet proposal had been linked to an agreement on long-range weapons, including the U.S. Star Wars project, designed to give Washington a first-strike capacity.

The U.S. government already has 316 Tomahawk and Pershing 2 medium-range missiles in place in Britain, West Germany, Italy, and Belgium, with 256 more slated for deployment by the end of 1988. The Soviet Union has 243 missiles based in the European part of its territory.

Under the Gorbachev plan, each country would maintain 100 medium-range missiles — the U.S. ones in Alaska, the Soviet ones in the Asian area of the Soviet Union.

Washington began deploying the deadly weapons in Western Europe in 1982 in the face of massive popular opposition. Huge European demonstrations demanded that the missiles be kept out.

U.S. army plans to stay in Honduras

Ending the fiction that its military buildup in Honduras is temporary, the Pentagon asked Congress for \$10 million to build permanent barracks for troops stationed at the Palmerola air base outside the capital city of Tegucigalpa.

According to law, U.S. military bases cannot be established in other countries without congressional approval. In Honduras, a military infrastructure has been created over the past number of years, with the claim that the airstrips, radar installations, roads, and storage depots are for the use of U.S. troops rotating through on six-month "training exercises."

Throughout, Congress has simply looked the other way.

The slated new cement-block barracks at Palmerola will be designed to last at least 15 years and will house 900 troops. An 80-bed hospital will also be built.

According to the Pentagon, in February there were 3,700 GIs in Honduras. These included 750 paratroopers. Using

live artillery and other ammunition, they conducted the biggest training operation in four years. With a straight face, an officer said it was to deter Nicaraguan "expansionism."

New attacks on Mandelas in South Africa

Shots were fired at the home of Winnie and Zinzi Mandela March 2. With news from South Africa heavily censored, few facts were available about the gunfire.

Earlier, on February 27, in a continuing pattern of harassment, police held Zinzi Mandela in custody for several hours. They alleged there had been a gun in the house.

Like her parents, Winnie and Nelson Mandela, Zinzi, 26, is a fighter for South African liberation. Her father, a leader of the African National Congress, has been imprisoned since 1964. Her mother, also a leader in the anti-apartheid struggle, has been victimized countless times by the cops.

Gov't party loses Irish elections

With public sentiment running against its harsh "austerity" program, the governing Fine Gael party lost heavily in the February 18 Irish elections.

The opposition capitalist party, Fianna Fail, won 81 seats in the parliament, three shy of a majority.

The newly formed Progressive Democrats won 14 seats.

The Labour Party, until recently in a coalition government with Fine Gael, was reduced from 14 seats to a reported five. This January it quit the government over new budget cuts.

The Sinn Féin party, which supports the struggle for a unified Ireland and is the political party associated with the Irish Republican Army, was credited with 2 percent of the vote. Traditionally, Sinn Féin had a policy of running for office but refusing to be seated if elected. This was the first contest since it scrapped that policy.

The party was the target of press censorship and a nearly total blackout by the capitalist media. Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams said there is wide sympathy for the party's stand in favor of a united, independent Ireland, but that candidates were not able to make their voices widely heard on the economic issues that were the focus of the elections.

Ireland suffers the highest unemployment rate in Western Europe, 19 percent; a staggering tax burden; and a strangling foreign debt.

Ga. team well-received

BY CATHY RICE

ATHENS, Georgia — A four-person *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales team just completed a two-week tour of South Carolina, northern Florida, and Georgia, February 14-27. We wanted to respond in a timely way to the recent mass protests in Forsyth County, Georgia, demanding desegregation of that all-white enclave.

We talked to scores of working people and students and were favorably received.

The results of the team's efforts were: 26 *Militant* and 1 *PM* subscriptions; 245 single issues of the *Militant* and 22 *Young Socialists*; 11 new sponsors for the Political Rights Defense Fund; and \$400 in Pathfinder literature and T-shirts and buttons, which are distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance.

We focused on sales at college campuses and plant gates. In our nearly 2,000-mile trip, we averaged one campus per day. We also squeezed in some shopping center and community sales, including one sale of 15 *Militants* and 1 *YS* in mixed civilian and military housing across from Fort Jackson, in Columbia, South Carolina.

At the majority of campuses, the response we got was great. At a few, however, we were controversial and engaged in debates about the U.S.-sponsored *contra* war against Nicaragua and whether Nicaragua represents a threat to the people of the United States.

Without exception, some students from every campus had participated in the 30,000-strong antiracist protest in Forsyth County on January 24. In fact, many of our sales were based on the *Militant*'s coverage of Forsyth County and other fights that people are waging for democratic rights, from South Africa to the Philippines.

Our campus tables were a novelty. Students rarely come across a literature display with titles by Malcolm X, Fidel Cas-

tro, and Sandinista leaders. A typical response was, "When will you be back?"

Aside from meeting students at our tables, we spoke to as many classes and meetings of Central America and South Africa solidarity organizations as we could.

There's a lot of interest in the April 25 march in Washington, D.C., calling for an end to the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua and Washington's support to the South African regime.

Where antiwar student groups didn't exist, we encouraged people to link up with nearby campuses that are trying to organize buses or carpools.

Despite five days of rain, our plant-gate sales to both organized and unorganized workers were successful. "If that's pro-union, I'll buy it," said one woman at a large unorganized textile mill in Augusta, Georgia, where we sold 15 *Militants*.

Workers at a nonunion meat-packing plant in Thomasville, Georgia, and at a poultry processing plant in Carrollton, Georgia, organized by the Tobacco and Confectionary Workers Union, liked the coverage of Midwest meat-packers' struggles. We sold 19 *Militants* at those two plants.

We also sold six *Militants* to aerospace workers in Savannah, Georgia, at a plant previously organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW). One worker told us that the union was voted out and the UAW didn't put up any kind of a fight.

Malcolm X titles were the most popular Pathfinder books sold, followed by Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela.

Although *Militant* subscription sales fell short of our expectations — there's a lot of student poverty — we're sure to get subscriptions in the mail as a result of the number of single issues we sold. We also know that many more young fighters now know about the YSA.



Theme of festival is role of African cinema in developing cultural identity of peoples of Africa. Roadside mural above reads: "I am a Burkinabè."

BY ERNEST HARSCH

OUAGADOUGOU, Burkina Faso — In a continent where few countries can claim more than a quarter of a century of independence, the African cinema is still in its youth. The first significant feature film from sub-Saharan Africa, *Borom Sarrett* (Buggy Driver), by Senegal's Ousmane Sembene, was not made until 1964. A few hundred others have been produced since then.

Like the countries themselves, the African film industry has been plagued by poverty, inadequate educational and training facilities, poor communications, and a lack of interest by many African governments in promoting indigenous African culture and creativity.

Most films actually shown in Africa are from the United States, France, and other parts of the world. They usually portray places, people, and situations that have nothing to do with African experiences and, if they do, it is often in a negative light.

'Fighting to save our culture'

"We Africans are fighting to save our culture," said Philippe Sawadogo, the general secretary of the Organizing Committee for the Pan-African Film Festival of Ouagadougou (FESCAPO). "In these countries where illiteracy is so high, images are a good weapon with which to fight. There are no illiterates in the world of cinema."

The biannual FESCAPO has served as the foremost showcase for the continent's films, as well as a meeting place for filmmakers, writers and others to share experiences and ideas.

The festival's growth reflects the development of African cinema itself. The first week of African cinema was held in 1969, with films shown from five countries in Upper Volta (as Burkina was then known). The total attendance for those films was just 10,000.

But that week marked the beginning of what was to become FESCAPO, a continent-wide film festival held here more or less every two years. By the eighth FESCAPO in 1983, films were shown from 25 African countries and 12 non-African countries. The total audience had grown to 200,000.

Later that year, on Aug. 4, 1983, came the beginning of the Burkinabè revolution, with the seizure of power by a group of anti-imperialist and left-wing military officers and civilian activists. Besides supporting measures to improve the lives of Burkina's 7 million people, they have sought to assert the country's political and cultural independence, particularly from France, the former colonial power. This has led to increased governmental support for all the arts, including film.

Philippe Sawadogo and Gaston Kabore — the general secretaries of FESCAPO and of the Pan-African Filmmakers Federation — are both Burkinabè.

The festival of 1985 was bigger than any ever held before. The 300,000 filmgoers were able to see films from 31 African countries and 22 non-African countries.

In keeping with that festival's theme of "Cinema and National Liberation" various freedom movements, such as the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa, participated as well.

And for the first time, films by Black filmmakers outside Africa were shown in the main competition.

Largest festival ever

Although the final attendance figures for this year's FESCAPO are not yet available, it is obvious it has been even larger than the previous one. All of Ouagadougou's hotels were packed to capacity. Some 40 African countries were represented in either the main competition or in the many informal showings that were also part of the festival.

Representation from outside Africa was quite broad. An estimated 200 participants came from the United States, and even more from France. Filmmakers flew in from the Philippines, Peru, South Korea, Argentina, Cuba, and many other countries. The jury for the main competition included eight members from Africa, and one each from the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Cuba.

Cuban assistance in helping to promote African cinema has been especially notice-

able. At a February 23 General Assembly of the Pan-African Filmmakers Federation (FEPACI), Gaston Kabore pointed out that the last time the group's governing federal bureau was able to meet was in December, in Havana, where all the bureau members had been invited to attend a Latin American film festival. Through FEPACI, 10 African students are now studying film and television at an institute in San Antonio de los Baños, Cuba.

Challenges facing African filmmakers

In his report to the General Assembly and in other presentations, Kabore drew attention to the difficulties and challenges facing African filmmakers. Although the development of African cinema has made progress over the past 25 years, Kabore pointed out, "The situation in African cinema is generally alarming."

"Africa produces films, good films," he said, "but the peoples of Africa rarely have a chance to see them." The films that have been made are often not distributed.

Financing for new films is hard to come by.

In such a situation, it is difficult to develop professional skills — 90 percent of all African films are first works, and many of their directors have been unable to make more films. This has held back African cinema's general level of technical and artistic experience.

"We don't need only money," Kabore said, "but also goodwill." The governments of Africa have a duty to aid the development of African cinematography, he stressed.

African filmmakers themselves have a key role to play, Kabore continued, "FEPACI has to be a federation that acts, and not just talks." One of its projects is to build up an archive of African films that can be toured around the continent.

"The African people are hungry and thirsty to see their images," Kabore said. "How much longer before they are culturally satisfied?"

40,000 attend Pan-African festival

Continued from front page

some 40 African countries marched past, dressed in their national colors. There were also contingents from the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia and from the "diaspora" — people of African descent now living in the United States, Canada, Britain, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world.

Burkina's own cultural diversity was well represented. Groups of performers from a dozen or so of the country's different language groups danced by in their elaborate masks and traditional costumes. Bernadette Sanou, minister of culture, welcomed the participants to FESPACO, as the festival is known by its French initials. "The road of our economic independence does not run against that of our cultural rehabilitation," she said. "To the contrary, they cannot be separated." That has been the main theme of the festival this year — the role of African cinema in preserving and developing the cultural identity of the peoples of Africa.

'Revolt of filmmakers'

"Our screens are invaded by foreign films and our people are treated to them every evening," an editorial in the weekly *Carrefour Africain* pointed out. "Faced with this situation, there is legitimate revolt — a revolt of filmmakers who want to create a cinema that is inspired by the realities of their people."

Many of those realities — and hopes and dreams as well — could be seen on Ouagadougou's cinema screens.

One of the Burkinabè films, Emmanuel Sanon's *Desebagato*, tells the story of Adama Azn and his fellow construction workers as they grapple with how to respond to the exploitative practices of a French-owned construction company. It is a joint production with Cuba, which provided much of the financing and some of the technical assistance.

Visages des Femmes (Faces of Women), by Desire Ecare of the Ivory Coast, provides a glimpse into the lives of several women. In contrast to the way women have

been portrayed in some of the other films shown here, these women strive to assert some economic, social, and sexual independence from the men in their lives. They also display strong bonds of solidarity among themselves. (This film has recently opened in New York City.)

Sarraounia by the Mauretanian director Med Hondo, is an epic account of the armed resistance to French colonial troops in eastern Niger by Queen Sarraounia and her people.

Ironu, by François Okioh of Benin, deals with the tribulations of a progressive newspaper editor who is eventually murdered for his exposure of corruption and his radical views.

Among other films, there are the stories of a taxi driver in Cameroon, destitute villagers in drought-stricken northern Burkina, the economic difficulties of a family in Mali, and the adventures of a child in Guinea-Bissau.

Documentaries also abound, touching on such topics as traditional medicine in Burkina, the independence struggle of the people of the western Sahara, or the Senegalese poet David Mandessi Diop.

Documentary on Mandela

Lionel Ngakane's documentary, *Nelson Mandela*, was screened at one of the largest cinemas in the city. Using rare film footage, interviews with people who knew Mandela, and recitations from Mandela's writings, Ngakane has sketched a biography of Mandela and a brief history of the struggle that he symbolizes. Ngakane is a member of the African National Congress of South Africa and of the Federal Bureau of the Pan-African Filmmakers Federation.

Burkina's main anti-apartheid group, the Burkinabè Movement Against Racism and Apartheid and for the Friendship of Peoples, held two forums featuring Ngakane, exiled South African poet Breyten Breytenbach, and Harlem Desir of SOS Racism in France.

At a reception in the presidential palace February 26, two pioneer African filmmakers — Ousmane Sembene from

Senegal and Tahaar Cheriaa from Tunisia — received decorations on behalf of the National Council of the Revolution in recognition of their contributions to African cinema.

Every day — and often into the night — the lobby, bar, and lounging areas of the Hotel Independence in central Ouagadougou have been packed with filmmakers, actors, journalists, and government officials discussing and debating the films that have been shown. Each morning, a live radio show has been held in the hotel, with listeners phoning in questions, comments, and criticisms of the films.

People of Burkina participate

The festival was not limited to its official participants. The people of Burkina were very much part of it. Under the slogan of "decentralization," the films were shown not only in the city's main cinemas, but also in open-air theaters in several of the popular neighborhoods. This helped bring the festival to the Burkinabè people and also exposed foreign participants to the difficult conditions in which most Burkinabè live.

Everyone, it seemed, was going to the movies. The more popular films drew long lines and crushing crowds. One evening, as moviegoers were rushing furiously from one film to another across town, several found taxis parked along the street, but their drivers were not available — they too were at the movies.

After the festival, many of the films will be sent around the country to be shown in the dozens of new theaters that were built as part of a recent economic development program. Today, commented Burkinabè director Bemile Meda, FESPACO has gone beyond Ouagadougou and its vicinity.

But more needs to be done, he stressed. Not only is there a need for even more theaters, "but also, and above all, a cinema worthy of the name, in order to satisfy the ever-growing demand of all the African masses."

Tufts students protest racist beating

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Singing "We Shall Overcome" at the center of Tufts University in suburban Boston, 500 students and faculty capped off a day of meetings to protest racist violence on the campus.

The February 19 demonstration and widespread campus outrage came in the wake of a late-night beating of university anti-apartheid activist Ian Kremer February 16. Kremer is white.

Well known for his views opposing racism, Kremer had written articles for the *Tufts Observer*. One such antiracist piece appeared February 13.

Walking alone on the campus several days later, he was assaulted by three or four white thugs, who beat him with a blunt instrument as they yelled, "nigger lover," "pinko," and "Jew boy" at Kremer. The 19-year-old student, his eye blackened and his arm in a sling, addressed the February 19 rally.

The evening after Kremer was beaten, campus meetings began. Activists leaving one such meeting February 17 were harassed.

A white driving a Cadillac began shouting at the students and then smashed the camera of *Boston Globe* photographer Keith Reitman, who was taking pictures.

Then two whites in a van attempted to run down a Black student, Leon Dunkley, after shouting racist epithets at the students.

Police have identified the owners and occupants of the vehicles. But Tufts University has not decided, as of yet, whether charges should be pressed against the racist thugs.

Tufts University President Jean Mayer called for a "Day of Reflection" February 24. Mayer, who attended the massive antiracist march in Forsyth County, Georgia, last month, condemned the recent spate of campus racist violence but stated that such "acts of racism and prejudice within Tufts are inevitable."

Issues avoided in Chicago primary race

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — "The real issues haunt this election, even though the Democratic and Republican candidates would rather talk about anything else. These issues include the danger of a new Vietnam war in Central America, the crisis shaking the U.S. government, the defense of Black rights against racist attacks, and the desire of working people to fight declining wages, social services, and living conditions."

That was the comment of Pedro Vázquez, a factory worker who is the Socialist Workers Party nominee for mayor, after the Democratic and Republican primaries here February 24.

Mayor Harold Washington won the Democratic primary, getting 53 percent of the vote and winning by a margin of 70,000 votes. Former mayor Jane Byrne got 47 percent of the vote.

Sheila Jones, who ran in the Democratic primary as the candidate of a fascist outfit headed by Lyndon LaRouche, got less than 3,000 votes.

The big-business media portrayed the issue in the elections as "the politics of race." They focused on questions like, "How will whites vote? How will Hispanics vote? What would the turnout in the Black wards be?"

The general election will take place April 7. There are three other candidates in the race in addition to Washington and Vázquez.

Thomas Hynes, a member of the Illinois Democratic State Central Committee, is running under the ballot designation of Chicago First Party. Edward Vrdolyak, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, is the candidate of the Solidarity Party. The Republican candidate is Donald Halder.

Vrdolyak and Hynes are backed by remnants of the old Chicago Democratic machine. Each appeals to racism, portraying himself as a "white hope" against Washington.



Human chain protests attack on anti-apartheid activist

Boston: new blows to public schools

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — The opening of the 1987 school year here has been marked by new blows against public education, as long sought school mergers and consolidations were approved by the Boston School Committee.

On February 3 the committee voted 7-6 to merge Boston Technical High School with Madison Park High School, while moving Boston Latin Academy to the dilapidated Boston Tech building.

In January the committee had narrowly rejected the same proposal, made by Boston School Superintendent Laval Wilson. The plan had been vehemently opposed by students, faculty, and parents at the affected schools.

Boston Tech, like the Latin Academy, is an examination school, with a big majority of students graduating and going on to further education. Before court-ordered desegregation in 1974, both schools were majority white. Entry was made difficult for Black and Hispanic students because of discriminatory examinations.

The student body in both schools is now majority Black and Latino.

Latin Academy students and parents had protested the move to the Boston Tech building, repairs on which will be completed at an as yet undetermined date. They are demanding a more modern site or a new building.

Tech Students reject merger

Boston Tech students and parents expressed concern that merging with the Madison Park school would dilute academic quality.

The new, merged high school will dissolve both previously existing schools' athletic teams in all sports as well.

Nearly 90 percent of the Tech students rejected the merger idea in an opinion poll. Tech is 74 percent Black and Hispanic.

Black students and parents from Tech praised the desegregated atmosphere of the school, currently located in Roxbury, Boston's Black community.

Madison Park High School students led a series of walkouts and demonstrations last year against a previous merger-consolidation plan. It would have turned the school, which is more than 85 percent Black and Hispanic, into a vocational school, depriving it and the Roxbury community of a high school with college track programs.

The student upsurge, spurred by united actions of Black, Latino, and white high school leaders, forced the school committee to vote down the plan. But Wilson vowed to return with another variation of

it, as part of his "belt-tightening" campaign.

Wilson, backed and prompted by Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn and the city's big-business media, claims there is insufficient money to keep all the schools open.

After the committee declined again to give Wilson a majority for this latest consolidation plan, he threatened to resign.

This triggered a major media campaign aimed at changing the committee's vote.

Campaign to force consolidation

The focus of this effort was the committee's four Black members, whose decision not to support the Wilson proposal was demagogically posed as "disloyal." Wilson is also Black.

Editorials in the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald* found an echo among some Black religious figures, who publicly "lobbied" the Black committee members during Sunday sermons to change their votes.

School committee member Jean McGuire, a historic figure in the fight for school desegregation and the only member to regularly speak out in defense of it today, has noted the potential damage to desegregation gains under the impact of school closings and consolidations. She was a particular target of the media's arm-twisting.

After a tense public hearing at a jammed school committee meeting February 3, the plan went through. Students and parents cheered McGuire when she warned of the danger posed to the quality of education and to desegregation in Boston, voting against the proposal. The three other Black members changed their votes to support Wilson.

'Educational excellence?'

While Wilson claimed that "educational excellence" had been achieved, nothing could be farther from the truth.

It will be years before Latin Academy moves to the finally repaired Tech building. Until then, it will continue to conduct classes in a warehouse behind the Fenway Park home of the Boston Red Sox.

The Madison Park-Tech merger plan has a lot of built-in organizational problems.

An indication of what's to come is shown by the chaotic results of another Wilson "cost-cutting" plan, which slashed 10 percent of the number of city high school students taking yellow buses to school. They were switched to the Boston public transit system, the MBTA.

But overcrowded bus lines have resulted in students missing buses. A January walkout by Black, Latino, and white students at English High School demanded a return to the yellow buses.

The school administration responded by suspending 15 students.

On January 28 the city ordered school bus drivers, members of United Steelworkers of America Local 8751, to violate their own contract and pick up 2,000 MBTA-transported high school students stranded by an early dismissal. The drivers refused.

As a result, union President James Barrett and shop steward Susan Moir were suspended for 15 days without pay. After this, they will return to work for 30 days on "probationary" status.

This is the latest in a long line of union-busting outrages aimed at the drivers' union, which supports desegregation and has backed student protests against school closings. The suspensions are now heading for arbitration. And the MBTA student transit program is under federal appeal.

After laying off 40 bus drivers as a result of switching students to MBTA buses, the school committee, seconded by the big-business media, patted itself on the back. During the past three months, the committee voted itself and members' staffs \$143,000 in raises, while Wilson entered 1987 with a \$25,000 jump in income. These sweeteners account for more than half of the money Wilson's blow against the bus drivers supposedly saved.

The precedent of the busing cutback combined with the school consolidation point to a situation where more students — Black, Latino, and white — will have more trouble getting to more crowded schools in which the quality of education is threatened by the budget knife.

These cutbacks are also aimed at chipping away at the court-ordered school desegregation plan.

Kentucky: 1,000 rally against Ku Klux Klan

BY MELANIE SCOTT

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Nearly 1,000 people rallied against racism in late January at the county courthouse here. The rally was called by Charles Kirby, president of Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), in response to the burning of a picture of Martin Luther King, Jr., by four members of the Ku Klux Klan the week before at the Southwest Government Center.

Keynote speaker at the rally was E. Randall Osborn, national SCLC vice-president. He spoke out against the U.S. government's domestic and foreign policies.

Other speakers included Mattie Jones, chairperson of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Anne Braden, a longtime civil rights activist in Louisville; county Judge Harvey Sloane; and Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson.

Joe Seidl, business agent for Local 21 of the International Association of Machinists, spoke for the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council. "Labor stands united in the spirit of true brotherhood," he said. "We call on union members to stand against any form of inequality." He pointed to the need to fight for affirmative action.

The Klan held a counterdemonstration at the Southwest Government Center. It drew 12 members and supporters of the KKK.

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Santiago, Chile under the dictator

A U.S. visitor's notebook

BY HOWARD SCHAFFER

SANTIAGO, Chile — Tracy Rosenberg and I were among the 200 people who packed the Café Cerro to hear a Chilean folk-jazz band. During a break between sets, we wandered outside.

Suddenly a paddy wagon pulled up. Police jumped out. Several went into the café to look for people on their hit list of foes of the dictatorship. The other cops forced a dozen people to stand against the wall and searched them.

No one was arrested, and the cops drove away 15 minutes later. "They were certainly well-mannered tonight," commented a Chilean friend.

As we went back in for the next set, I noticed on the wall three photographs of a building partially gutted by fire. A caption read, "Not everyone in Santiago likes Café Cerro. We've been bombed four times."

We were spending two weeks in Santiago in October. Greater downtown Santiago has beautiful architecture, well-kept parks, modern subways, and is a cultural center. The many beggars on the streets, however, are one sign that all is not well.

With the help of several Chilean friends, we saw things that most tourists don't. Our friends were members of the outlawed Christian Left. They live in the *poblaciones*, working-class neighborhoods that surround downtown Santiago. About 2.5 million of the city's 4 million people live in *poblaciones*.

Our friends won respect among the poor by struggling against the military regime that has ruled here since Sept. 11, 1973, when U.S.-backed generals led by Augusto Pinochet overturned and murdered President Salvador Allende.

So people opened their homes and spoke candidly with us.

Kike, 21, lives in La Victoria, a *población* of 32,000 residents that has been the scene of many protests. "This is the vanguard *población* — the most combative," he said proudly.

He took us down a street of poor, wooden houses to the Cultural House. The heavy front door was hanging on its hinges.

Kike pushed it open, revealing smashed works of art, broken furniture, ransacked files, and walls with dozens of bullet holes in them. "The CNI [Chilean political police] did this on September 8," he said.

We walked a block to a small church. The foyer was decorated with pictures of slain Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero, the pope, and Father Andrés, a local priest. Kike led us into a study where there was another photograph of Father Andrés. It showed him slumped over a desk with bullet holes in his head and blood streaming down his face. "He was assassinated right here by the CNI," Kike told us.

In Chile, the task of combating hunger is left up to working people. Residents of the *poblaciones* have had to launch "common kettle" programs. Volunteers collect whatever food their neighbors can spare. The food is pooled at one house, and volunteers cook pots of soup. The soup is there for anyone who needs it.

Kike took us to a common kettle in La Victoria. Twenty people stood in line with us. "We need to have a kettle here every day, but there just isn't enough food," said one volunteer as she peeled potatoes. Despite the shortage, she insisted that we eat and handed us each a bowl of potato soup and a slice of bread.

"We used to have the kettle at a much better place," apologized José, who was sitting across from us, "but the police broke it up and destroyed the food, so we had to move."

"Most of the people here are unemployed, except for me. I have a job, but I make less than 1,000 pesos [\$5] a week," said one woman.

As he left the table, José filled a bucket with soup. "This is for my family. There's no other food in the house."

While downtown one day, we walked to the Plaza de Armas and sat on a park bench. An older, well-dressed couple asked where we were from. "The U.S.," we replied.

In English, the man exclaimed, "I'm glad you're here. Just look around; all is tranquil now. Everything is fine thanks to Pinochet. During the Allende communist government, there was no food, no work. Now there is tremendous progress, and the people are content. Don't believe the lies in the foreign press. The truth is, no one here likes the communists."

One afternoon in La Victoria we noticed a hand-printed leaflet posted on the side of a house. It announced a meeting to discuss the abduction of two youths from La Victoria.

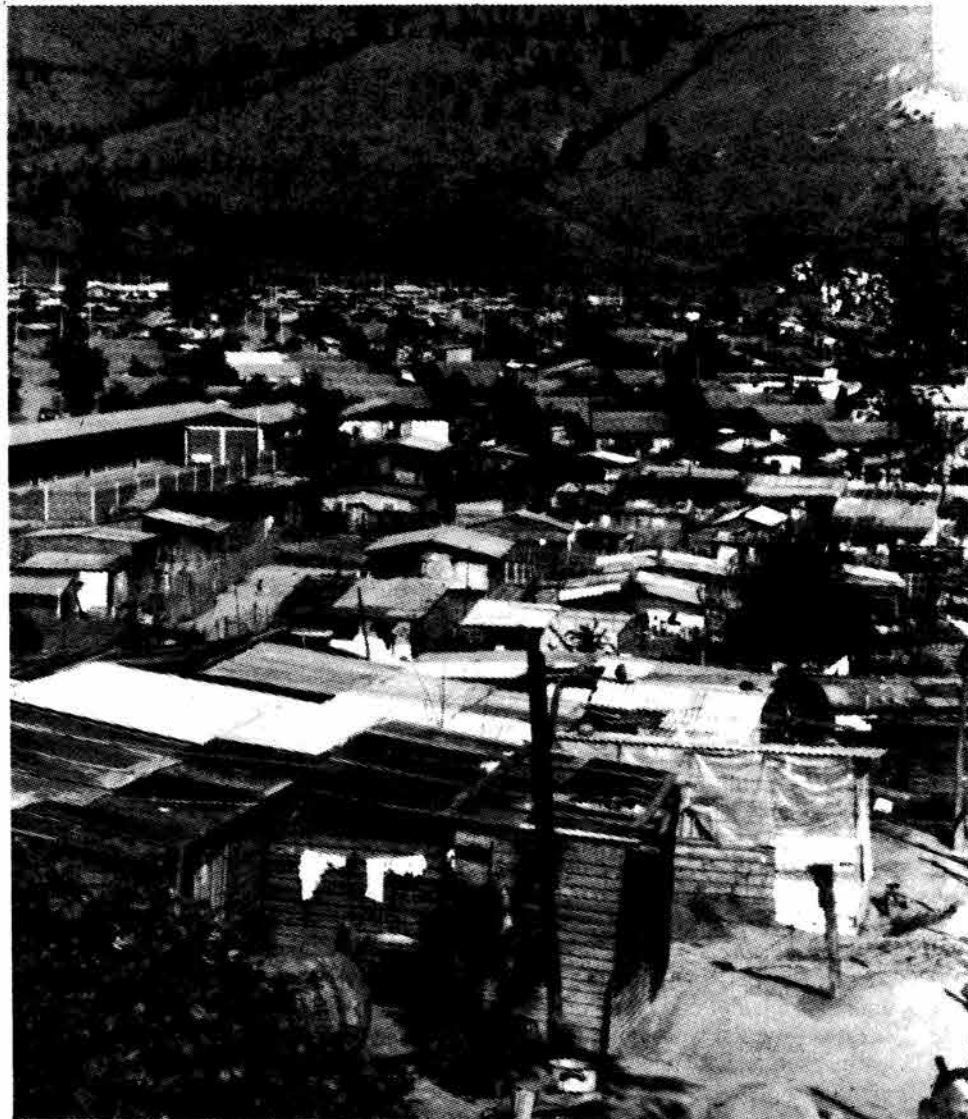
"We went to the authorities. They have no record of an arrest and claim to know nothing of their whereabouts. This happens all the time. We have to do something about it!" one man explained.

María Isabel is 40 years old. She lives with her husband and four children in Pincoya, perhaps the largest *población*, with 80,000 people. Pincoya is the furthest point north in the city and runs right up against the beautiful *cerros* or "baby Andes" hills.

"This is a very militant area," explained María Isabel. "The police are afraid to come around here."

She pointed to the new street lights that run through the neighborhood. "These weren't installed for our benefit. They're so the police can see us better during the night skirmishes. And you see that the streets are paved. You know why? We used to dig trenches in the roads to prevent the police and military vehicles from driving through. So they paved the streets. I guess being combative is one way of getting your neighborhood upgraded," she said.

We left María Isabel's home and walked with friends high into the *cerros*, which provide a good view of Pincoya. "This area was bombed during the coup," we were told. "People fled up into these hills to escape the bombing and were chased by



Militant/Howard Schaffer

Pincoya, a militant working-class *población* in northern Santiago. Neighborhood was bombed and its people massacred during 1973 Pinochet coup. Today, dictator's cops still stage raids here, which are met by resistance.

helicopters that hovered overhead and shot at them. It was a massacre."

The Chilean 5- and 10-peso coins depict an angel breaking chains that bind her wrists. The coin reads: "September 11, 1973 - *libertad*." That's the date of Pinochet's coup.

One day we went to the Law School to meet a friend. "The elections for student government are coming up, so you'll see a lot of activity on campus," he had told us.

The central courtyard at the school was covered with banners and posters: "End the state of siege! Down with Pinochet! — Chilean Young Communists," "For a general strike! For a liberated youth in a liberated country — Young Socialists."

A banner with a picture of Che Guevara declared, "19 years after Che — free homeland or death. We will win or die. — Rebel Youth."

We saw slogans in solidarity with Nicaragua and the freedom struggle in South Africa. A tiny display in a corner spon-

sored by "Youth for Democracy" warned against the "communist threat to our homeland."

On our last evening in Santiago, our friends organized a going-away party for us. Students from a music workshop brought instruments and performed revolutionary songs. One young artist presented us with two small bottles that had portraits of Salvador Allende and Augusto Sandino, Nicaragua's national hero, painted on the inside.

Kike told us more about the views of the Christian Left. "We think there's a coming together of Christianity and Marxism in Latin America today. We've followed the Nicaraguan revolution and have learned a lot from it," said Kike. "Our program is a Sandinista program. We're fighting to become the next Nicaragua in the region," he added.

A woman held out one of the 10-peso coins with the slogan, "September 11, 1973 - *libertad*." "And the first thing we're going to do when we win," she said, "is get rid of this coin."

Meeting with Relatives of the Disappeared

BY TRACY ROSENBERG

SANTIAGO, Chile — According to the staff of the Group of Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared here, an estimated 2,500 people have disappeared while in government custody in Chile. The committee is now working on 758 of these cases.

The families of the victims don't know their fate. The police claim there is no record of the people. Petitions of habeas corpus are rejected. The authorities say, "They are not detained," "They have left the country," or "There is no information."

The Ordinary and Military Tribunals know where the secret detention centers are located, but they refuse to lift a finger to put an end to the disappearances.

Political prisoners who have been released have revealed that torture is a systematic part of interrogation. "We must endure being kept in tiny cages, suspension in the air by wrists and ankles, being beaten and shocked," explained one former prisoner.

"The seriousness of the problem, the false answers, the number of people affected, the continuation of the detentions, the concentration camps, all compelled family members to confront the search for and defense of the detained-disappeared in an organized way," said a leader of the

Group of Relatives.

For each detained and disappeared person, the committee makes signs and posters with his or her picture, national identification number, and date last seen. The pictures carry slogans such as, "You are not forgotten" and "We demand their live release and punishment of the perpetrators!"

The Group of Relatives of the Detained and Disappeared functions out of the Vicaría de Solidaridad, which has offices in a big Catholic church downtown. The group is a legal organization, although harassed by the police.

The office walls are covered with posters made up of photos and names under the words, "Where are they?"

The committee's publications include a book entitled *Where are They? Detained-Disappeared Chilean Women*. It is a collection of verbal portraits of 57 women. Fifty of the women disappeared in Chile and seven in Argentina. The Argentine military dictatorship collaborated with the Chilean government's death squads.

The cases date from 1973 through 1978. The portraits are drawn in the words of family members, close friends, jail mates, and others. The only crime of these vanished women was opposing the dictatorship.

One of the group's staff members took me to visit a section of San Miguel Prison in Santiago where women prisoners are held. He visits political prisoners there twice a week.

The guard eyed Howard Schaffer and me suspiciously and took our passports inside. The answer finally came: no foreigners in the prison without special permission. We waited outside while our friend went in.

While we waited, a gate opened, and a paddy wagon backed into the street. We could see the faces of young women staring out from behind barred windows. We wondered if they were about to be added to the list of the disappeared.

Twenty minutes later our friend came back. He said that when he told the women we had been denied admission, they protested and demanded that we be allowed in. When that failed, they sent us a message on a tiny piece of paper he brought out to us. It read:

"Dearest friends Tracy and Howard, "The political prisoners of San Miguel send our warmest, fraternal greetings. We lament that you aren't allowed in and we are unable to meet with you. We know that you, like ourselves, want a new and just society without bars or locks."

"The political prisoners — ¡Hasta la victoria siempre! (Until the final victory!)"

Bosses step up attacks on U.S., Canada meat

In wake of Hormel strike, more workers beginning to fight back

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — On February 14 meat-packers who have been through struggles at several packing plants in Iowa, Minnesota, and Nebraska participated in a panel discussion here on the way forward for North American meat-packers (see February 27 *Militant*).

The framework for the discussion was the attacks on workers in plants that slaughter and process beef and pork across the continent. The employers are continuing to fight to impose wage cuts and new work rules, which are leading to more accidents.

These attacks are not going unchallenged. An article in a recent issue of *Meat Processing*, published by the packinghouse bosses, stated that in the past few years, "almost all of the industry leaders have had labor upheavals." The article lists many of the companies affected — Iowa Beef Processors (IBP), Swift Independent, ConAgra, Excel, Oscar Mayer, John Morrell, Wilson, Hormel, FDL Foods, Smithfield Foods, Farmland Foods, and others.

Left off the list were militant strikes by meat-packers at the Gainers and Fletcher's Fine Foods plants in Alberta, Canada.

At packinghouses from Maryland to Arizona, line speed is increasing, and workers are being forced to put in longer hours. If unionists balk at the bosses' demands for wage and work-rule concessions, the company threatens to close the plant altogether. If that fails to intimidate the workers, the bosses try to force a strike or lock them out. At the first opportunity, many bring in scabs.

Employers' offensive

The attacks against packinghouse workers are part of the offensive against all working people that was launched following the 1974-1975 worldwide economic recession, which accelerated in the first half of the 1980s.

The handful of U.S. families who own or dominate the large banks, manufacturing and processing industries, commercial firms, and land compete ferociously with each other and their international rivals for shares of the slowly growing U.S. and worldwide markets.

The quarter century of accelerated worldwide capitalist development that began soon after the end of World War II set the framework for the class struggle in the decades leading up to the 1974-1975 recession. In this period, the employers could afford to buy labor peace by granting large sections of the industrial working class wage and benefit increases, sometimes substantial ones, at contract time. In exchange, the bosses received quick con-

tract settlements that assured little disruption in production.

The union officialdom steered a course away from mobilizing union power to settle disputes. And the employers and their government in Washington, in cahoots with union officials, entangled the unions in more and more red tape, from longer contracts to lengthy grievance and arbitration procedures to more and more legal restrictions on using strikes as a weapon to defend the workers. Union democracy, which depended on the use of union power, was steadily eroded.

But as international competition has stiffened, the employers launched a concerted attack to lower workers' real wages.

Takeback demands began to be raised by bosses throughout the meat-packing industry. When workers struck nine plants in Milwaukee in 1975, for example, the employers succeeded in reopening the plants with scabs and breaking the union.

Hormel began threatening in 1975 to carry out the production at its Austin, Minnesota, plant elsewhere unless the workers accepted major takebacks. Under this pressure, the Austin meat-packers accepted the advice of their union officials and granted concessions in 1978 after Hormel promised it would build a new plant there.

By 1980 eight beef packers controlled 60 percent of the industry's production. Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) took a large share of the market after opening slaughtering plants in rural areas close to feedlots. Ten of IBP's 13 plants are nonunion.

Instead of transporting beef carcasses long distances to be processed, IBP began to package beef in boxes to be shipped to market.

An article in the business section of the *New York Times* last year reported with satisfaction that IBP's plants "bore little resemblance to the cramped killing beds in Chicago and Omaha. Rather they were sprawling one-story structures with stainless-steel conveyors that moved 1,100-pound carcasses past the workers."

"IBP's lines have gone from kill speeds of 125 carcasses an hour to 400 an hour," the *Times* said.

As the competition heated up, working conditions, which have always been dangerous, deteriorated even more. Twenty thousand packinghouse workers were either permanently disabled or killed between 1977 and 1981.

Packinghouse union

In 1969 the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen merged with the United Packinghouse Workers of America.

The packinghouse union merged again in 1978-1979. This time it joined with the Retail Clerks International Union to form the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW).

The two mergers were projected as a way to build a stronger union. As has been the case with the other mergers, however, the local union, the basic fighting unit in industry, got weaker.

The union is no longer based on workers in a specific industry who share common problems.

Many large amalgamated locals have been established. They often encompass workers from many different types of jobs spread over large geographic areas.

All members of the UFCW are victimized by the amalgamation. The amalgamated locals meet sporadically, and their structure makes it equally difficult for retail clerks, meat-packers, or poultry workers to chart a course of action to counter the bosses' attacks.

The labor officialdom more and more propose union mergers as an answer to the declining number of unionized workers. They claim that an increase in the size of the federation will make it stronger. Yet they do nothing to mount the kind of fight necessary to organize the growing millions of workers in nonunion plants in basic industry. In reality, the officials' main con-

cern is protecting the dues money flowing into the union treasury.

Concessions demanded

In the early 1980s, the demand for beef and pork dropped. This trend was accelerated by the 1981-1982 recession and the continuing high cost of meat.

For many decades, the prevailing wage rates in packing plants were generally set through a master agreement. The meat-packing unions would negotiate with Cudahy, Armour, Swift, or Wilson, four of the largest companies. One company would sign a contract, and the other employers would follow suit.

But that practice has disappeared. Packing companies tried to streamline their operations to stay afloat, demanding wage cuts and sweeping changes in work rules. Plants were closed. Mergers and bankruptcies grew.

Swift closed eight of its plants in 1980. Cudahy, Wilson, Armour, and Hormel closed plants in 1981. The employers successfully used the threat of more closings to try to force many UFCW locals to reopen negotiations on wage cuts and work-rule changes in the middle of contracts.

In 1982 IBP used scabs, protected by National Guard troops and state police, to defeat a strike at its Dakota City plant.

A leaflet put out by workers on strike at the FDL plants in Dubuque, Iowa, and Rochelle, Illinois, last fall described the process that led to such devastating blows for packinghouse workers.

"In 1982 FDL workers in Dubuque, Iowa, had their American Dream and values shattered when the company closed the plant. Shortly thereafter, management reopened the plant but declared they were a new company. When the workers returned to work under the so-called new ownership, which was the same old people who had run it before, the workers' pension plan was terminated, health care benefits and sick leave benefits were slashed by 50 percent, and other benefits were eliminated altogether. Finally, wages were reduced by \$80 a week."

Wilson bankruptcy

The stakes rose in 1983. After Wilson Foods filed for bankruptcy under the Chapter 11 provisions of the federal bankruptcy law, a wage scale of \$6.50 an hour was arbitrarily imposed at its plants. After a brief strike, wages were raised to \$8.50 an hour, still far below the \$10.69 Wilson was paying before the bankruptcy proceedings began.

That same year, IBP cut wages \$1.07 an hour at the Dakota City plant. There has not been a pay raise there since.

Armour announced that it was going to close 13 plants. Armour was soon sold to ConAgra which reopened most of the plants as nonunion operations.

Swift Independent Packing demanded and got wage cuts at its operations in Sioux City and Glenwood, Iowa, and at National City, Illinois.

Hormel and Oscar Mayer, two of the industry's more profitable companies, also demanded givebacks. "What Wilson has done is push our timetable up a little bit in our continuing effort to get labor costs competitive," an Oscar Mayer spokesman said in 1983.

The UFCW top officials caved in to demands for concessions at Hormel's Ottumwa, Iowa, plant in 1984. Unknown to the workers at the Austin plant, the contract also contained provisions that gave the company the right to extend the cuts in wages and benefits to the Austin plant. After the changes went into effect, injuries skyrocketed.

Oscar Mayer also tried to arbitrarily cut wages and benefits at its Madison, Wisconsin, plant, although the cuts were later overturned by an arbitrator.

'Controlled retreat'

The UFCW's top leadership did little to resist the employers' onslaught. It claimed that because of the growing competition in

the industry, a temporary retreat was necessary to prepare for future advances in wages and working conditions. This was dubbed "controlled retreat."

But the "controlled retreat" was little more than an attempt to give a clever name to the officials' collaboration with the employers, who were in the process of organizing a rout of packinghouse workers.

What were the results of "controlled retreat?"

- Seventy-five packing plants were shut between 1980 and 1985.

- Average pay rates in meat-packing plants dropped from \$10.69 an hour in 1981 to \$8.24 an hour in 1984. The employers are now demanding even greater cuts at many plants.

- Thousands of meat-packers hired in recent years work under a two-tier or multi-tier wage system in which newly hired workers receive considerably less than \$8.00 an hour. New hires at the Mash's packing plant in Landover, Maryland, for example are paid an average of \$5.50 an hour. Often they are forced to work 10 hours a day, seven days a week. The turnover rate is so high that few workers are able to stick it out long enough to get up to full pay scale.

- Temporary work is increasing in the industry.

- Under the best of conditions in the past, joint bargaining at plants owned by the same company allowed the strongest union locals to fight for the weakest. Chain bargaining has been shattered. Now, contracts expire at different times.

Wide differentials in wages and working conditions have been instituted at different plants owned by the same company. What the employers can force on workers in the weakest position gets imposed on the others. The difference between plants that are exclusively slaughtering operations and those that process meat products is particularly noticeable. Wages in slaughtering plants have been driven considerably lower while accident rates are going up at murderous rates at many of them.

- The work force in the industry has also been reduced. There were 24,000 fewer meat-packers working in 1985 than there were in 1979. About 100,000 meat-packers are currently organized by the UFCW. Thirty percent of the industry is nonunion. Production in meat-packing, however, has risen 24 percent since 1979.

- The bosses' demands for concessions have not stopped at the border between Canada and the United States. Workers at Gainers in Edmonton, Alberta, were forced to accept a two-tier contract in 1984. They went on strike last year after the company's owner refused to pay wages equal to pork plants in other provinces. Production was restarted with scabs. The strikers, while unable to win wage parity, were able to force Gainers' management to rehire them.

No let-up in sight

In the January-February 1987 issue of *UFCW ACTION*, union President William Wynn claimed that the last 18 months have seen "uninterrupted progress toward restoring wage and benefit levels that existed before chaos hit the meat-packing industry."

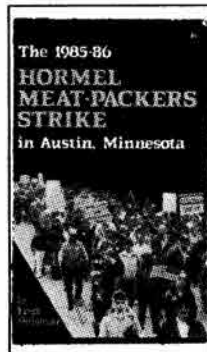
This assertion is based mainly on the wage and benefit settlements in the contracts at the John Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in 1985, and at a number of Oscar Mayer and Hormel plants in 1986.

These contracts included small pay increases spread over a several-year period. At eight Hormel plants in 1990, wages are scheduled to be restored to \$10.70 an hour, the same level they were at in 1981 (when inflation is taken into account, this amounts to a deep cut in real wage rates.)

But no letup from the attacks is in sight, and no united counteroffensive has been organized by the union.

That is the meaning of the contract settlement Hormel was able to force through at the Austin plant in September. None of the demands of Local P-9 workers who were on strike since August 1985 were

A pamphlet on meat-packers' struggle



The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota presents the facts about the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s union-busting attack on the workers at its Austin plant, and about how the Hormel workers have fought back and won support from unionists and farmers across the country.

Every unionist facing takeback demands and other attacks will want to read this story. 44 pp. \$1.00

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please add \$.75 handling.

it-packers

won, including their demand for improved safety.

Most importantly, more than 800 of the strikers were denied jobs under the terms of the sweetheart settlement signed by the rump local set up by the UFCW International leadership. The contract codifies practices the company instituted at the plant as soon as it began replacing strikers with scabs in January 1986. It has given packinghouse bosses renewed encouragement to try to take what they can from the workers.

At IBP's Dakota City plant, where wages have been frozen since 1983, the company simply locked its doors after 2,800 meat-packers voted down another four-year wage freeze last December.

UFCW members at the John Morrell plant in Sioux City, Iowa, are working without a contract after rejecting the one offered them at the beginning of February.

Industry competition continues to sharpen. Large beef companies, such as IBP and Excel, are trying to capture part of the pork market. IBP, which is owned by Occidental Petroleum, and Excel, which is owned by Cargill, one of the world's largest grain trading monopolies, have vast resources to throw into the battle with their competitors.

Workers who have already been pressed into granting large concessions are being told they have to give up even more.

That's the case at Smithfield Food's Patrick Cudahy packing plant outside Milwaukee. Some 850 members of UFCW Local P40 were forced on strike in January after rejecting the company's demand that they accept their third takeback contract in a row. Production has been resumed by scabs.

Closing cut-and-kills

Many of the pork processors are closing down their cut-and-kill operations, choosing to buy slaughtered meats from small packinghouses scattered throughout the South, Southwest, and Midwest.

Hormel, for example, has announced it is permanently closing its Ottumwa, Iowa, plant, which includes a cut-and-kill operation, in August. The company is trying to prevent the workers affected by the closing from transferring to its other plants. At the same time Hormel is using pork slaughtered in plants of its subsidiary FDL and from IBP. Workers in those plants are paid less than workers at Hormel plants.

Many older plants are being reopened with new management, reduced pay scales, and worse working conditions. A few years ago, Sunland Foods reopened a former Swift plant in Tolleson, Arizona. The plant now slaughters 1,000 head of cattle a day. Wages there begin at between \$4.50 and \$5 an hour.

Last year Swift shut down its National City, Illinois, plant after workers rejected concessions. UFCW members there had earlier agreed to a wage cut of \$10.69 an hour to \$8.25 an hour, but Swift wanted more.

State government officials announced in January that they are granting the company a \$1-million low-interest loan and other incentives to reopen the plant.

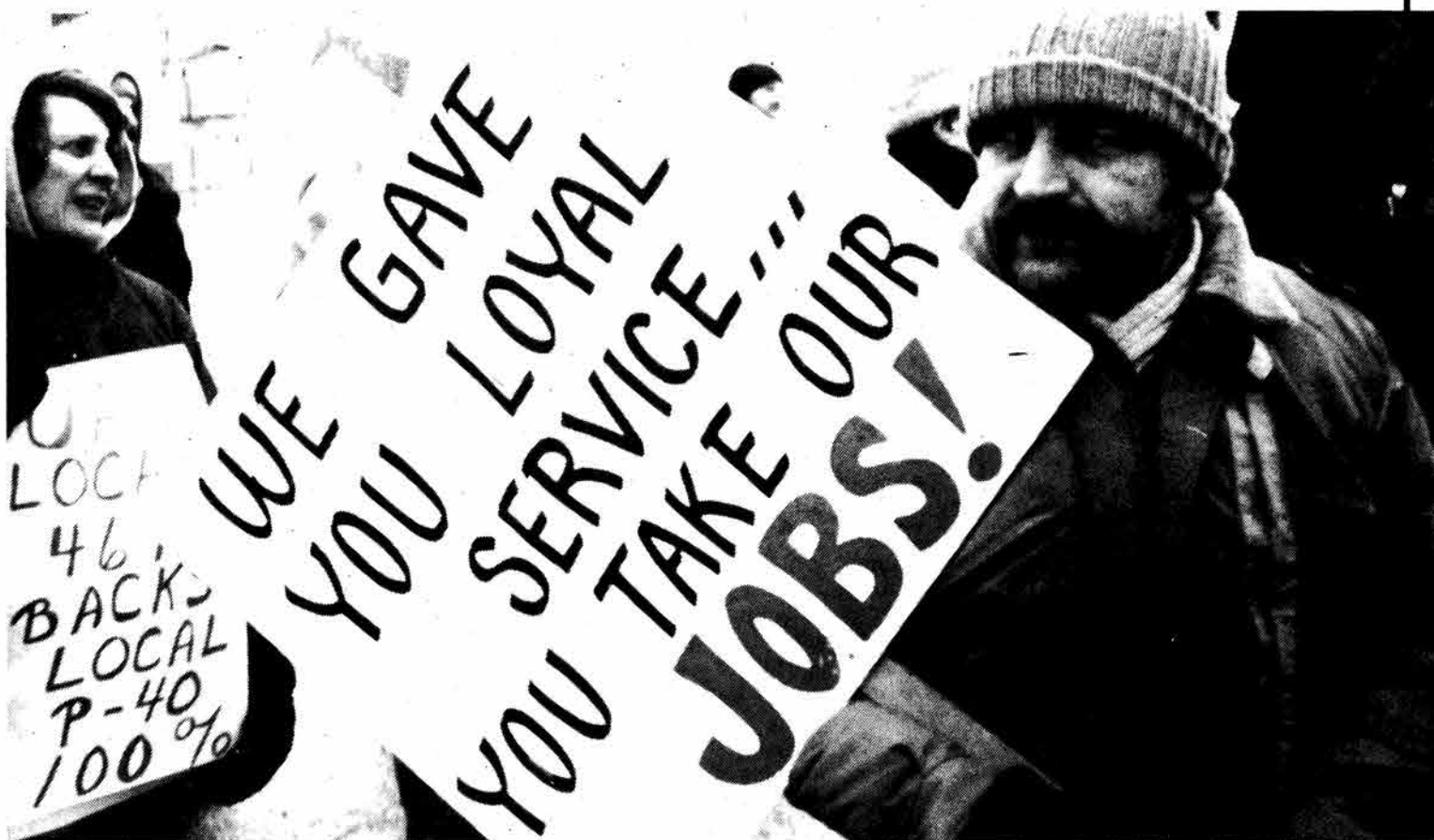
Johnny Holmes, the former president of UFCW Local 78, which organized the Swift plant, said union organizing efforts will have to start anew.

Hormel meat-packers fight

The 1985-1986 Hormel meat-packers' strike grew out of the conditions in the industry. Like most meat-packers, members of UFCW Local P-9 in Austin had been forced to accept concessions. But workers and their families saw no end to Hormel's demands and decided it was better to fight than give up more.

Local P-9's strike developed into a labor fight unlike any other in this country since the late 1930s.

P-9 members began by taking control of their union. They made their own decisions and used the resources at their disposal, from the union newspaper to the picket line, in the fight against the company.



Striking meat-packers at Cudahy plant near Milwaukee. The 1985-1986 Hormel strike has been a stimulus to other battles in the industry. Hormel meat-packers have much leadership and experience that can aid other packinghouse workers.

They prepared for each turning point by discussing things thoroughly and deciding what to do. When they moved into action, they moved together and with authority.

The example of workers taking control of their union from top to bottom to fight Hormel inspired other packinghouse workers as well as unionists in many other industries.

P-9 also received important help from the outside. Nearly a year before the strike began, Local P-9 hired Ray Rogers and his Corporate Campaign, Inc. as a consultant to counter Hormel's propaganda. He helped give the meat-packers, their spouses, and other relatives and supporters confidence that their talents could also be put to full use in the struggle and, even more importantly, that their efforts and ideas were necessary for any effective fight-back.

The Austin United Support Group, in existence since 1984, has been part of converting the Austin fight from a business-as-usual strike into a social struggle.

Meat-packers who were fired for honoring P-9 pickets at the Ottumwa and Fremont, Nebraska, Hormel plants also became important fighters in the battle.

This method of struggle posed a mortal threat to the narrow, compromising stance of the union's top officials. UFCW President William Wynn sharply attacked the Austin meat-packers, put Local P-9 in receivership, and negotiated a settlement with Hormel that excluded 850 of the strikers from their jobs.

Which way forward?

Which way forward under these conditions was the subject of a Militant Labor forum here on February 14.

Speaking at the meeting were Lynn Huston from Austin, Larry McClurg from Ottumwa, Bob Langemeier from Fremont, Rita Lewis from Marshalltown, a Cherokee, Iowa, meat-packer, and Mac Warren from the Socialist Workers Party.

One speaker described the experience an independent local had in attempting to stand up to the packinghouse bosses alone. The workers were eventually forced to give takebacks. Several speakers urged linking the struggles in meat-packing as a way of countering the employers' offensive.

Others described the treachery of the UFCW tops in collaborating with the employers' takeback demands.

One meat-packer proposed the perspective of an independent union as a way forward for workers trapped in an amalgamated local. Another said he had given up on trying to effect change inside the UFCW because of the resources and power of the officialdom.

The fact is that tens of thousands of meat-packers here and in Canada face a vicious attack by the packinghouse bosses. These workers are in the position Local P-9 was in when it first set out on its course. Many are becoming aware of the unwillingness of the UFCW tops to wage the militant fightback necessary to reverse the downward slide of packinghouse workers.

Under the impact of the blows, packinghouse workers will gain more experience, which will make it possible for them to understand what the fighters in Austin, Ottumwa, and Fremont have gone through.

Now is the time to reach out to these meat-packers, including those in UFCW organizing drives at IBP and Armour plants.

Axis of struggle shifts

Though the Austin strike was defeated, the ranks of P-9 are not. They have continued to demand that they be rehired at the Austin plant. They have also reorganized themselves into the North American Meat Packers Union in response to the officialdom's attempt to run them out of the labor movement.

The center of workers' struggles in the industry has now shifted from mobilizing support for the strike in Austin to using experience gained in the Austin battle to build solidarity with other meat-packers and to help unify in solidarity all workers and farmers engaged in struggles. This is key to transforming union organization in meat-packing.

The employers are watching these developments closely. The article in *Meat*

Processing mentioned earlier claims the main lesson to be learned from the Hormel struggle is that "although resentment is high among industry workers, most union members have little stomach for a strike these days — Hormel workers in Austin being an exception."

But the Hormel workers are not exceptional. Their struggle is a product of the conditions in the industry. Thousands of meat-packers are coming to the conclusion that it is better to fight than to give up more.

Nothing in meat-packing is the same after the Hormel strike. It has been a stimulus to the other battles that have been breaking out over the past six months.

The workers that have been through the Austin, Fremont, and Ottumwa fights have much experience and leadership to offer other packinghouse workers. As the attacks deepen, their experience and leadership will be a resource that growing numbers of packinghouse workers will look to. And they will learn even more in the process.

A challenge before the Hormel meat-packers is helping to lead other packinghouse workers in their struggles and gathering nationwide support from unionists for this effort. That's how a fighting North American meat-packers union can be constructed.

Floyd Leno: four decades in struggles of packing workers

BY GREG McCARTAN

AUSTIN, Minn. — Floyd Leno, a longtime participant in and leader of the struggles of packinghouse workers, died here February 21.

Leno was a member of the executive board of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) which organized the workers at the Hormel plant here in Austin. He worked at Hormel for four decades.

A crowd of 1,200 overflowed St. Augustine's Church for the funeral. At the request of Leno's family, P-9 members wore their blue and yellow "No retreat, no surrender" and "Union solidarity" jackets, "P-9 Proud" caps, and gold meat cleaver pins. Local P-9 was put into trusteeship by the top officialdom of the UFCW in 1986 as a way to force an end to the year-long strike at the Hormel plant.

Other members of the trustee executive board were honorary pall bearers. Former P-9 President Jim Guyette gave one of the eulogies. Guyette described Leno's contribution to the union, including his leadership role during the strike.

After a six-gun salute at the grave site, folksinger Larry Long led P-9 members and supporters in singing "Solidarity Forever."

Leno had held various union offices since the 1960s. They included serving on Region 13's Packinghouse Division and as P-9 president.

He had helped organize P-9's support to other packinghouse workers during several strikes over the years. Recently, he participated in a caravan that brought food to striking members of National Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers Local 50 in Marshalltown, Iowa.

Former P-9 Vice-president Lynn Huston said, "The most important thing to Floyd was people. He always put the rank and file before himself."

Huston pointed out that Leno "spent a lot of time on the road gathering support" for P-9 during and since the strike. This included being part of a delegation from Austin that attended the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting last month in Bal Harbour, Florida. Because of P-9's uncompromising struggle against Hormel, Huston said, "Leno was accused of taking P-9 out of the labor movement."

But Huston said that Leno "went on the road to further the labor movement and let people know that Local P-9's goal is to put the movement back in labor."

Philippines: hunger is weapon in army's war on guerrillas

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

BACOLOD, Philippines — Workers and peasants are the main targets of the renewed war carried out by the Corazon Aquino government against the New People's Army guerrilla movement. That became clear during a five-day visit by *Militant* correspondents to the sugar-growing areas of Negros Occidental province.

On February 16, a week after a ceasefire between the NPA and President Aquino's government ended, a delegation of more than 50 sugar workers from Binalagan and Isabela to the south of here came in trucks to the town of Moises Padilla to protest the confiscation of two truckloads of food aid. The Philippine military had seized the aid, which was destined for more than 1,000 undernourished families in the region.

The food had been purchased with donations from the Freedom From Hunger Campaign based in Bonn, West Germany, under a program launched in October by the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement. PRRM is a nongovernmental agency that aids thousands of people displaced by the collapse of the sugar industry on the island of Negros.

The PRRM is headed by Manuel Manahan, a former senator, and Horacio "Boy" Morales. Morales was a political prisoner under the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. He was accused of having once been chairman of the National Democratic Front, a coalition of 12 organizations that supports the NPA's struggle.

The PRRM has attracted the hostility of the military because, unlike other aid groups, it organizes its food aid program in cooperation with the sugar workers' union rather than the sugar planters' organizations.

The military confiscated the food, claiming that it was secretly being funneled to NPA fighters in the district. Shipments from the PRRM have been disrupted in the same manner at least twice before.

Heading up the delegation were two Marian sisters from a Catholic high school in Isabela. They run a feeding program for orphans that is also supported by the PRRM.

Meeting with Mayor

The delegation's first stop was the Moises Padilla municipal building where the food was being held. Mayor Damian Portillo denied any responsibility for the impoundment, adding that he did not dare release the food without orders from the

military. He offered to arrange a meeting with the military authorities at their camp where the delegation could press its case.

Speaking to the *Militant*, Portillo insisted that he opposed the confiscation of the food. He said his offices had been used on previous occasions for distribution of food under the PRRM program.

While the men waited in the trucks, the woman sugar workers walked with the nuns the few hundred yards to the camp of Delta Company of the 11th Infantry Battalion of the so-called New Armed Forces of the Philippines, situated in a field at the edge of town.

The 11th was one of two battalions assigned to reinforce the military presence in Negros Occidental since the overthrow of Marcos last year.

The *Militant* correspondents, along with the leaders of the sugar workers' delegation, were admitted into the camp to speak with company commander Capt. Pedro Mondares.

Only two armed uniformed soldiers were lounging in jeans and T-shirts around huts that they appeared to share with their families. One army truck driver proudly sported a Marcos-Tolentino T-shirt. (Arturo Tolentino was Marcos' vice-presidential candidate in the 1986 elections.)

Philippine army recruits receive only 1,500 pesos (\$75) monthly. This meager amount is often supplemented by payoffs from big landlords, plunder from the peasants, and other such methods.

Soldiers also get a bounty of one month's pay for killing an NPA fighter.

In the presence of nuns and foreign journalists, Mondares and his aides adopted a polite tone with the delegation. The nuns were promised that they would be informed the next day about whether the food would be released to them. The nuns expressed concern that the food, especially the dried fish, was already in danger of spoiling.

'Evidence' of food being diverted

The officers told the *Militant* that they had confiscated the food after finding evidence that the food was being diverted to the NPA. The evidence had resulted, they claimed, from the capture of an entire section committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, including a member of the NPA.

When we asked to see the NPA member who had reportedly given evidence, we were told that he was not in camp at the moment, even though he was under arrest.

I asked the officers what kind of aid had allegedly been diverted. Guns? Medical supplies?

No, the officers conceded. The only aid they had confiscated was food — rice, dried fish, and mungo beans.

"Wouldn't taking the food out of the mouths of the hungry just make the military more unpopular in the countryside?" they were asked.

Captain Mondares reminded us that Aquino had declared war on the insurgents. The confiscations were part of this policy.

The officers claimed that the diversion of aid had been corroborated that day by 39 sugar workers who had come to the camp to complain that they had not received any of the foodstuffs they had been promised.

But Mayor Portillo later indicated that the 39 came from one hacienda whose owner had compelled them to appear at the camp to back up the army's story.

Was the army saying, we asked, that the nuns, mayor, and others like them who were distributing the food were responsible for diverting aid to the NPA?

"Oh no," interjected a lieutenant. The problem was that the sugar workers and peasants themselves were the "organized mass base of the NPA" and were giving the food to the guerrillas.

After this admission that it was the peasants themselves that were the enemy, there seemed nothing more to be said. We left.

As we returned to the sugar workers' trucks, a member of the delegation commented, "You see, there's no constitution. The constitution says that the military is subordinate to the civilian authorities. But the mayor is powerless to release the food, even though the military had no legal basis to confiscate it."

"We may as well still be under martial law," he concluded.

Children starve to death

The desperate need for food shipments was brought home by a visit to the malnutrition section of the children's ward at Bacolod hospital.

All the patients were from sugar haciendas or from squatter areas (such as Murcia to the east of Bacolod, or Talisay to the north) where displaced sugar workers have gathered.

The emaciated and deformed figures of the children in the ward told a graphic story of slow starvation.

A six-year-old girl from Murcia weighed 14.5 pounds. At her age, hospital officials said, she should be 44 pounds.



Woman cuts cane on Negros island in Philippines. Collapse of sugar industry has deprived 250,000 sugar workers of their jobs. Many face starvation.

Her sister was also in the ward, a seven-year-old weighing 27 pounds. She should have been more than 50 pounds.

Some patients are recovering and can manage a smile. Most lie almost expressionless.

A chart on the wall sums up the situation. During 1985 there were 5,310 admissions for malnutrition and 648 deaths. During last year, 4,717 admissions and 590 deaths.

The figures include only the severely malnourished children who are placed in this section of the hospital. Many others suffering from malnutrition are placed in different sections.

The collapse of the sugar industry on Negros has displaced 250,000 sugar workers and their families. The National Federation of Sugar Workers demands that a portion of the fertile land now held by big sugar planters be given to the workers so that they can grow food to prevent their families from starving. The Aquino government has taken no step toward meeting this demand.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? FBI targets antiwar group

The FBI admitted it was investigating the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). This was a nationwide effort to infiltrate, discredit, and "break" this antiwar organization.

"Not once did I find, see, hear, or observe any illegal conduct of any nature," said Frank Varelli, the former undercover agent who revealed the operation.

The March issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes an article about the revelations by Varelli, which also connect the FBI to death squads in El Salvador.

"We will continue our work to change what is an unjust and immoral U.S. policy toward Central America," said CISPES national coordinator, Angela Sanbrano, as she demanded an end to FBI disruption.

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Hearings held on FBI attack

Continued from front page

regular reports on the group's activities to the FBI and prepared misleading literature to be distributed as CISPES materials.

He also testified that the FBI conducted a series of break-ins at the CISPES office and at the homes of individual members of the organization.

Testimony was also heard from Margaret and Michael Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights. That organization has monitored incidents of surveillance, harassment, and infiltration of groups opposing Washington's policies in Central America. The center has also been collecting information on some 58 burglaries directed against Central America solidarity organizations and activists.

One exhibit introduced as part of the testimony was an FBI document dated March 6, 1984, and classified "secret." Entitled "Salvadoran Leftist Activities In The United States," the document contains a note to FBI Director William Webster explaining that agents in Pittsburgh have identified a CISPES chapter in Pittsburgh that "calls itself Central American Mobilization Coalition (CAMC)."

The Pittsburgh snoop report that "the CAMC receives substantial support from the Thomas Merton Center (TMC), a 'store front' type organization" that "describes itself as a ministry for 'Peace and Justice.'"

The report also says that "supporting the CAMC is the Militant Book Store, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a propaganda outlet for the SWP."

It continues, "Frequently attending CAMC activities and making financial contributions to the CAMC are members of the Young Socialist Alliance of Pittsburgh (YSAP) and the Young Lawyers Guild (YLG)."

The secret FBI report added that "many CAMC members are ex-SWP and YSAP members."

The document indicates that it was routed to FBI offices in at least three cities other than Pittsburgh.

Michael Ratner pointed out in his testimony that the FBI and the Justice Department claim they halted the investigation of the SWP "a number of years ago."

"According to what the document in question shows, the SWP is of significant investigatory interest to the FBI. Why is it important for them to say the SWP is a supporter of CAMC? It indicates the FBI is still investigating the SWP," Ratner told the *Militant*.

FBI spokesperson Oliver Revell denied that the agency was involved "in any capacity" in the break-ins. He also claimed that the legal basis for determining when a warrantless search should be carried out is "classified" information.

White House exposed in Hasenfus cover-up

"We urgently need to find a high-powered lawyer and benefactor who can raise a legal defense for Hasenfus [sic] in Managua," wrote a frantic Oliver North on Oct. 12, 1986.

"If we can find such persons we can not only hold Gene and Sally Hasenfus together (i.e., on our side, not the pawns of the Sandinista propaganda machine) but can make some significant headway of our own in counter-attacking in the media."

The memo from National Security Council staffer North is one of several reprinted in the Tower commission report. They reveal that top White House aides — and President Reagan himself — began to cover up their links to Hasenfus right from the moment his plane went down.

Hasenfus' plane was shot down in Nicaragua by Sandinista troops on Oct. 5, 1986. It was bearing weapons for *contra* mercenaries of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). The very next morning, before the Sandinistas had even held a news conference, a memo from a colleague of North's was already on the desk of John Poindexter, Reagan's national security adviser at the time.

"[O]ne of the Democracy Inc aircraft apparently went down on a resupply mission to FDN forces," the memo reported. "... [third country] assets are discreetly organizing a SAR effort over international waters & friendly territory portions of the route. Three Americans and one Nicaraguan national aboard."

The cover-up

Another memo came to Poindexter the next day. By then the White House had learned that the Sandinistas had captured Hasenfus and realized that a cover-up story would have to be concocted rapidly. The memo outlined what the story would be for the moment: "... survivor of crash had no [U.S. government] connections according to CIA.... This tracks with Elliott [Abram's] denial.... FYI, and not for release, the flight originated in El Salvador and is probably tied in with private U.S. assistance to the Contras. Survivor could testify to this type of connection."

And testify he did. As Hasenfus revealed that the Corporate Air Services (CASI), which owned the plane, was actually a CIA front company, North desperately began trying to put together a "legal defense" aimed at shutting the mercenary up.

Reagan has always insisted he was completely ignorant of the Hasenfus matter. This is false. "RR was briefed that this plan was being contemplated," North said in his October 12 memo outlining the legal defense scheme.

Embarrassing questions

The memo was directed to one of Reagan's former national security advisers,



Eugene Hasenfus captured by Sandinista troops. "Unless we have an overt, competent legal defense," wrote Oliver North, "Hasenfus will become nothing but a tool in their hands."

ers, Robert McFarlane. In it, North reported that he had arranged for an attorney of Corporate Air Services to go to Managua. But he cautioned, "We should not rely on this person to represent the whole case since he is supported by covert means" and could be asked embarrassing questions.

Some other attorney would have to be found, North explained. He acknowledged that "many U.S. lawyers will not want to step up to this task, but... unless we have an overt, competent legal defense, Hasenfus will become nothing but a tool in their hands — none of which is in our interests, or his." North reported that he had already raised \$100,000 for legal fees from "a donor" who "has done things in the past to keep CASI in operation — a fact which need not become known."

Shortly thereafter, former U.S. attorney

general Griffin Bell announced he would take the case. He wound up advising Hasenfus' Nicaraguan lawyer. Throughout the trial, Bell insisted he was merely acting as a private attorney hired by the Hasenfus family.

U.S. directs 'contra' military moves

The appendices and footnotes to the Tower commission report also reveal the degree to which the White House directly participated in detailed tactical discussions of *contra* military moves.

In a Sept. 2, 1984, memo to McFarlane, North lamented that the FDN had gone ahead with an attempted air attack on Nicaragua over his objections. As a result, the FDN lost a helicopter. North asked McFarlane to approve asking a "private donor" to

buy a new one for the terrorists.

McFarlane wrote on the memo: "Let's wait a week or two." He later crossed that out and wrote: "I don't think this is legal."

Two months later, in another memo to McFarlane, North reported on discussions he was having with FDN chieftain Adolfo Calero about how to "take out" Sandinista helicopters at El Bluff, near the Nicaraguan port of Bluefields.

In a Feb. 6, 1985, memo to McFarlane, North raised the matter of a Nicaraguan ship believed to be bringing in North Korean weapons for the Sandinistas. North proposed that Calero "be approached on the matter of seizing or sinking the ship." A special unit from a "friendly nation" would be needed to actually pull off the operation, said North.

The project was subsequently agreed to by Poindexter, but according to the Tower commission it was "abandoned after the friendly government rejected involvement."

Another memo in the Tower report indicates that the White House directly intervened when *contra* forces kidnapped eight West German solidarity activists in south-central Nicaragua last spring. The kidnapping provoked an international outcry. Finally the mercenaries released the victims. The Sandinistas said at the time that the release must have been ordered by Washington.

This is strongly suggested by a June 10, 1986, memo from North to Poindexter. In it North gives a progress report on the kidnapping and the fate of "Franklin," one of the top mercenary commanders in the area:

"Hopefully you have by now been informed that UNO/FDN safely released the eight West Germans this evening just before dark at the religious commune at Presillas. Franklin is headed North in attempt to get across the Rama Rd before the Sandinistas can close in on him. At this point the only liability we still have is one of Democracy Inc.'s airplanes is mired in the mud (it is the rainy season down there) on the secret field in Costa Rica. They hope to have it out by dawn." — C.J.

More revealed on covert operations

Continued from front page

body is also authorized to deal with domestic policy questions. The fact is that the deep government crisis described in the report touches on both.

The bulk of the report discusses secret meetings and arms deals with members of the Iranian government, and the illegal operations to aid the *contra* terrorists waging war against Nicaragua.

Shift in Iran policy

What is generally called the "Iran arms deal" in the media actually began as a discussion in the NSC as early as 1984 about how the U.S. government could recoup some of its losses that came with the overthrow of the hated shah of Iran by a mass revolution in 1979.

According to memos printed in the report, a growing number of NSC staffers, as well as Reagan, CIA chief William Casey, and others, became increasingly convinced that Washington needed to open up political relations with at least a wing of the Iranian government. This reflected their recognition that the loss of the shah as a central U.S. ally and the new relationship of forces that had emerged in the region simply could not be reversed in the short term.

As a 1985 NSC draft proposal explained, Washington had no political contacts in the new Iranian regime. The proposal suggested developing such contacts "in the short-term while building our leverage in Iran and trying to restore the U.S. position which existed under the Shah over the long-term. This would require a sharp departure from ongoing... measures, most notably supply of Western military hardware, U.S. initiative to dialogue with Iranian leaders...."

Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger sharply disagreed with this view. Because of these divisions, and because the administration was publicly maintaining its line about "Islamic terrorists," the talks that

eventually took place with some Iranian officials — and the sales of arms — had to be very secretive.

Memos on the content of those talks, which took place in 1986 in Tehran, indicate that Washington placed on the agenda not only the trading of U.S. arms for the release of hostages in Lebanon, but also other matters, including ending the Iran-Iraq war, aid to Afghan rightists, the Soviet Union, and a proposal that Iran cease supplying oil to Nicaragua and change its stance toward the government of that country.

Secret funds to contras

With regard to the secret funding of the contras, the report describes the deepening crisis of the administration's Nicaragua policy as the mercenary war became more unpopular in the United States and the Sandinistas dealt bigger and bigger blows to the contras.

According to the report, when the U.S. Congress voted to cut off all U.S. funding for the contras in October 1984, the White House reorganized management of the war to remove the CIA from direct control of some aspects. NSC staff member Oliver North, operating from the White House basement, more and more took over direction of such matters as raising funds for the killers, supplying them with weapons, and advising them on some military operations. (see story above).

By July 1986, according to one memo, North had accumulated \$4.5 million in war matériel, including "six aircraft, warehouses, supplies, maintenance facilities, ships, boats, leased houses, vehicles, ordnance, munitions, communications equipment, and a 6250-foot runway [in Costa Rica]." In another memo, he reported having spent \$17 million on the war between July 1984 and April 1985.

The key point that emerges — particularly in the appendices and footnotes to the report — is the fact that the mercenaries are

and always have been a creature of the U.S. government. They could not survive if the U.S. aid were cut off.

'What went wrong'

While critical of Reagan's "management style," the report focuses blame instead on officials who have now all been ousted — North, national security advisers Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter, White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, and William Casey.

On the Iran matter, it concedes that Reagan agreed to all the major operations taking place, but claims he was simply not well informed by his subordinates as to the consequences. On the *contra* aid, the report tries to make the ludicrous claim that there is "no evidence to suggest that the President was aware of LtCol North's activities."

In the end, the report argues that "what went wrong" was simply unprofessional staff members who failed to consult broadly enough.

There is no challenge whatsoever to the policies that were involved. In fact, the greatest concern of the commission, expressed in its recommendations, is how to strengthen the ability of the government to carry out such policies in the future with greater chance of success and fewer leaks to the public.

The report upholds the National Security Council system, rejecting the idea that this body should be placed under congressional review.

It suggests tighter limits on the number of persons knowledgeable about "covert actions" to avoid "leaks," which it says are on the increase.

As for Congress, the report proposes that the current Senate and House intelligence committees be merged into one, smaller committee "with a restricted staff" because the currently larger number of persons in Congress informed of covert activity is a "cause for concern."

'Abort rescue operation'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — Further evidence of Washington's attempts to avert a major scandal in the Hasenfus affair was presented at a news conference here February 22.

Lt. Col. Roberto Calderón of the Sandinista People's Army reported that the Nicaraguans had recently captured copies of decoded messages broadcast to the *contras* from El Salvador and Honduras. All were signed "the advisors," whom Nicaraguan intelligence identifies as CIA agents working with the mercenaries.

One set of messages began Oct. 6, 1986, the day after Sandinista troops shot down Eugene Hasenfus' supply plane in southern Nicaragua.

"Possible downing of aircraft yesterday," one message read. "Please advise if you heard motors or anti-aircraft fire. Rescue of crew top priority."

Later that day, "the advisors" signaled: "Evacuate pilots of plane. This is essential."

The next day they radioed: "U.S. pilot in enemy hands. Abort rescue operation."

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Malcolm X Today. Speaker: Adjua Codjoe, Socialist Workers Party. Film showing of *Malcolm X: The Last Year*. Sun., March 8, 5 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Kick Off for Western States Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa. Speakers: Mario Obledo, co-chair, West Coast Mobilization for April 25, past president of League of United Latin American Citizens; Rev. James Lawson, president, L.A. Southern Christian Leadership Conference; speaker from Free South Africa Movement. Translation to Spanish. Mon., March 16, 7 p.m. Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Hall, 2501 S Hill St. For more information call Mobilization on Central America (213) 225-6136 or write P.O. Box 57337, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057.

Oakland

Socialist Campaign Rally: From Oakland to Forsyth County, the Fight for Freedom Continues. Speakers: Don Mackle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, Young Socialist Alliance and member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Abortion Rights Under Attack: What Is Needed to Defend a Woman's Right. Speakers: Linda Baker, representative of Planned Parenthood; Diana Cantú, chairperson of Oakland Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., March 15, 6 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Immigration Policy as Thought Control: The Immigration and Naturalization Service and FBI's Challenge to the Bill of Rights. A forum to oppose the deportation threat against Palestine supporters in Los Angeles. Speakers: representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee for Justice, American Civil Liberties Union, and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

The Philippines in Crisis. An eyewitness report by Joel Racamora, Philippines Resource Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

COLORADO

Denver

Rally for Democratic Rights. Speakers: Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, Chicano rights activist; Ann Hopfenbeck, National Lawyers Guild; Nancy Jackson, legislative chair, Colorado National Organization for Women; Joe Swanson, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., March 7, 7 p.m. Denver Area Labor Center, 360 Acoma. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

A Salute to Winnie Mandela on International Women's Day. Film: *Mandela: A Profile of Winnie and Nelson*. Speaker: Linda Joyce, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

Grenada: Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Caribbean. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Legacy of Maurice Bishop and the Grenada Revolution. Film: *Maurice*. Speaker: Elizabeth Wittaker, Socialist Workers Party, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 176, visited Grenada during second anniversary of the 1979 revolution. Sat., March 14, 7:30 p.m. Dinner, 6 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Where Does the Fight for Women's Rights Stand Today? Speaker: Ramona Olson, Young Socialist Alliance, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-409; others. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

We Say No to U.S. Intervention in Central America and No to Apartheid! Speakers: Steve Argue, Young Socialist Alliance, student at St. Paul Open School; others. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Freedom Struggle in Central America and the Caribbean. A panel of antiwar activists. Tape of a speech by Don Rojas, representative of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Speakers: Liz Stawyczynj, state coordinator of Nebraska National Organization for Women; Estelle DeBates, Young Socialist Alliance; member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile

Workers Union Local 2471; April Kimnach, high school student, YSA. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination. Speaker: Harry Ring, Militant staff writer. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

The Working Class Road to Peace. A class series.

March 7: "The Soviet Union: From the Bolsheviks in World War I to Defense of Workers States today."

March 14: "Cuba and Nicaragua: the Center of the Class Struggle Today: the Fight Against the U.S. War Drive in Central America and the Caribbean."

March 21: Socialist Educational Conference sponsored by the Mid-Hudson, Albany, and New York City chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance.

March 28: "Out Now: a Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War."

All classes 3 p.m., 114E Quail St. Sponsored by: YSA. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Fight to Keep Abortion Safe and Legal. Speakers: Sarabeth Eason, 11-year-old pro-choice activist, recipient of Ms. magazine Woman of the Year award; Michele Anderson, Cleveland National Organization for Women Reproductive Rights Council; Susan LaMont, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 122. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Nicaragua: Myth and Reality. Hear Nora As-

torga, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United Nations. Tue., March 17, 7:30 p.m. University of Pittsburgh, Moot Court Room, Law School, Forbes and Bouquet Streets. Sponsors: Pittsburgh-San Isidro Sister City Project, University of Pittsburgh Law School, Center for Latin American Studies.

TEXAS

Dallas

International Women's Day. Speakers: Roni Lerouge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member International Association of Machinists Local 776A; Hilda Cuzco, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 787. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Grenada: Struggle for Justice and Freedom. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 14, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Houston

Free Clarence Lee Brandley! A panel discussion on a racist frame-up and the death penalty. Speakers: representative of the Committee to Free Clarence Lee Brandley; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 14, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Labor in El Salvador. Eyewitness report and video. Speaker: Tony Harrah, Seattle Labor Committee on Central America and member Service Employees' International Union Local 6. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Violence Against Women: What Is the Cause? How Can We End It? A panel discussion. Sat., March 14, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Bob Hoch, socialist and garment worker, dies

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SAN FRANCISCO — Bob Hoch, a member of the San Francisco branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was killed in a traffic accident February 16.

Hoch was a maintenance worker at the Koret garment factory. He was a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 101.

Hoch was 43 years old when he died. He was in his late 30s when he joined the SWP. Prior to that, he had worked as a forester on the Northern California coast, then inland on a livestock ranch.

Before Hoch joined the SWP, he was already involved in supporting the Nicaraguan revolution and took his first of four trips to Nicaragua. He decided to learn Spanish and eventually learned to speak it fluently.

Hoch first met the SWP at a demonstration here in 1981. In the summer of 1983 he attended the SWP national conference in Oberlin, Ohio, and decided to move to the

Bay Area to join an SWP branch.

Hoch was active in his union, the ILGWU. He was always talking about struggles for social justice and was active in explaining socialist ideas and distributing the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Hoch was a real fighter for the rights of workers at Koret. Over the last year, as the company has been pushing to cut wages and speed up production, he became known all over the plant as a worker who was opposed to the takebacks and thought that if workers stuck together and fought back, they could stop the cuts.

Management went on a campaign against Hoch, threatening to fire him and putting him on alternating weeks — working one week and on layoff the next. One of the weeks he was laid off he sold the *Militant* outside the plant, partly to stay in touch with workers, but even more to show the company he wasn't intimidated.

The SWP sponsored a meeting on February 22 to celebrate Bob's contributions to

the revolutionary workers' movement. Matilde Zimmermann, member of the SWP and ILGWU; and Steven Fuchs, chairperson of the San Francisco SWP, spoke.

SWP congressional candidate Cathy Sedwick read some of the many messages to the meeting from members and friends around the country. Among those who sent messages were: Albert Lannon, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and a chairperson of the April 25 Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice; Thabo Ntweng, National Organization Secretary of the SWP; and Helen Grieco, president of the San Francisco National Organization for Women.

A memorial service was also held February 19. More than 100 coworkers attended.

Deborah Liatos is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 101 and works at Koret.

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

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

4065.

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

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

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

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

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

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

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

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

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

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409

Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

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

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Dept. of higher education — Arizona Gov. Evan Mecham (he revoked the Martin Luther King, Jr., birthday observance) appointed James Cooper an educa-



Harry Ring

tion adviser. Cooper says that if a student wants to say the world is flat, "the teacher doesn't have the right to try to prove otherwise. The schools don't have any business telling people what to be-

lieve."

He don't get paid to think — Asked how academic standards could be maintained under his flat-earth system, Cooper responded, "I don't worry about that part of it."

Holy See — The pope's coming visit will include a five-hour whistle-stop in Monterey, Calif. The diocese there will be billed \$2 million for its share of the tour. To meet that, diocese officials plan to auction the TV rights to the pope's slated mass at a local motor raceway.

Sense of humor? — A State Dept. official attributed the split among the *contra* honchos to

"growing pains."

We believe it — Since the deregulation of Ma Bell, New York phone bills have jumped 31 percent. But a *New York Times* editorial suggests forbearance, predicting that in a few years a coast-to-coast call may cost only pennies more than a local one. Sure. The local call is almost as expensive already.

Still turns her on — We were beginning to think Imelda Marcos was getting her kicks some other way, but then we read she went on a shoe-shopping spree in Honolulu, gathering up 42 pair for a fast \$6,300.

No frills — Braniff drew

chuckles in Miami's Latino community with its Spanish-language ads promoting planes with leather seats. Read idiomatically, the ads urge passengers to "sit naked." Huffed a Braniff exec, "Good, educated Spanish families will understand what we're saying."

Hollywood bound? — Harvey Pitt, lawyer for inside trader Ivan Boesky, says he's ruled out any deals by his client for an *Inside Wall Street* movie.

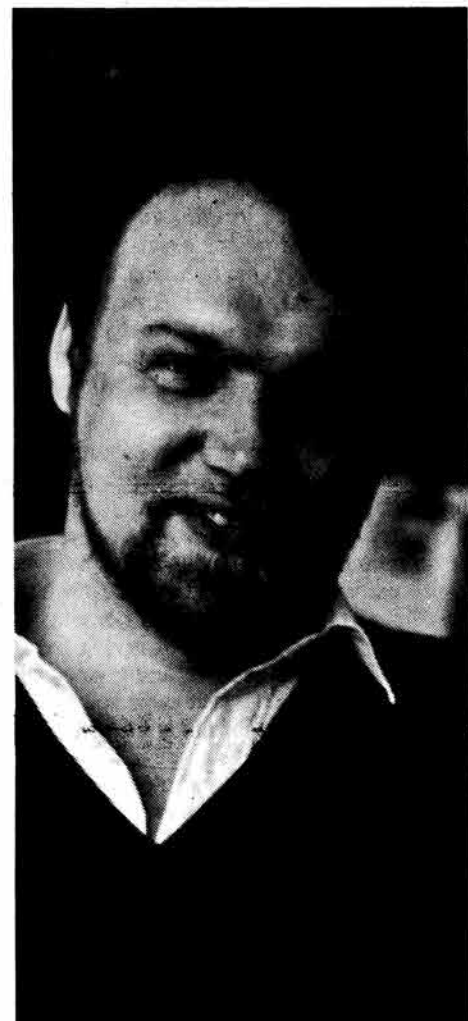
The law 'n order man — We reported that when Attorney General Meese was in Switzerland, the U.S. embassy there threw a dinner party for him with funds earmarked for foreign VIPs. And, in

Austria, the ambassador tapped a similar fund to buy \$317.28 worth of opera tickets for the Meese party. The expenditure was tagged, "to further U.S. interests."

The levelling process — Plutocratic Palm Beach still has a Cartier's offering \$35,000 bracelets, and a gourmet shop that sells 400 fresh quail eggs a week. But now there's a thrift store in town (currently featuring a \$12,000 sideboard) and even a shopping mall, albeit with valet parking.

March of culture — If you're into functional gadgets, there's the one that combines telephone, AM-FM radio, and toilet paper dispenser.

Meeting pays tribute to life of Swedish revolutionary



Tom Gustafsson was leader of Swedish Socialist Party and of Fourth International.

BY BETSEY STONE

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Some 200 members and friends of the Socialist Party of Sweden gathered here February 13 to pay tribute to the contributions and life of Tom Gustafsson, a leader of the Socialist Party and the Fourth International. Gustafsson, who would have been 40 in a few weeks, died unexpectedly February 7.

Those attending the meeting came from towns throughout Sweden and from many other countries, including Denmark, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Britain, and the United States.

The main speakers at the meeting were Ernest Mandel, longtime leader of the Fourth International and of the Belgian Socialist Workers Party, and Göte Kilden, a leader of the Swedish Socialist Party who worked closely with Tom for many years.

Mandel and Kilden emphasized the central role Tom played in helping to found and build a revolutionary workers party in Sweden. They described the difficulties of doing this in the face of the challenge presented by the Social Democrats and the Maoist currents, which were strong among Swedish youth in the late 1960s and 1970s.

"To identify with the most oppressed people of the Third World is an elementary step toward socialist consciousness," Mandel said, "and that's how Tom started out in the 1960s. . . . He joined with the many thousands who were struggling against the Vietnam War and for the victory of the Vietnam revolution."

"But Tom didn't stop at this first step. He started to study. He began to under-

stand the inadequacy of Stalinism and Maoism. And that's how he came to the Fourth International. . . . He became a party builder in Sweden and a party builder throughout the world."

Kilden spoke of Tom's enthusiasm for political activity and his enormous capacity and energy for work. "He took on tasks in every area," Kilden said. "He was secretary of the leading committee of the party, the political committee; he wrote for almost every issue of the paper; he was a candidate in the elections; and he helped with trade union tactics and participated directly in the trade unions in the North."

Pointing to Tom's support for international struggles "from Vietnam to Nicaragua," Kilden explained that Tom was often drawn to the scene of the action. He walked the picket lines in strike struggles in Denmark, and he participated actively in the historic revolutionary upsurge in France in 1968. "Tom was drawn to revolutionary events," Kilden said, "but he also was a patient party builder who understood the importance of everyday work."

"During our 20-year-long history," Kilden pointed out, "Tom was the only one who almost uninterruptedly worked as a political full timer." He noted the only exception was the short time Tom worked as

a metal worker at Atlas Copco.

Mandel and Kilden described Tom's generosity, love of nature and art, enjoyment of jokes and a good time, the hospitality he and his wife Birgitta offered to guests from around the world, and his ability to listen and to respect the opinions of others, including those he disagreed with.

"It was a privilege to know Tom," Kilden said, "to share the warmth, the happiness, with him, even the good food he often shared in his home with others."

Due to his extensive travels and role as a leader of the Fourth International, Tom was known personally by revolutionary activists throughout the world. Many messages were sent to the meeting from revolutionary workers parties in Europe, Africa, Latin America, Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia. Some of them were read. All of them were placed in a book where those in attendance could read them. The Nicaraguan embassy phoned to express sympathy.

Haakan Blomqvist, a member of the political committee of the Socialist Party, announced a memorial fund in Tom Gustafsson's name, which will be used to help send students to the international Marxist school sponsored by the Fourth International. Contributions can be sent to the fund, in care of the Socialist Party, Box 42 107, 126 12 Stockholm, Sweden.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
March 11, 1977

LOS ANGELES — The administration of President James Carter is planning a massive crackdown on Mexicans who have entered the United States without immigration permits, according to Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall.

The plan calls for barring undocumented workers — the so-called illegal aliens — from employment. To enforce this, Marshall said the administration intends to introduce a system of "counterfeitproof" identification cards for all working people.

Traditionally associated with police states, such compulsory identification — or internal passports — would constitute a heavy blow to civil liberties.

Marshall said that Carter had created a cabinet-level committee to deal with the issue. It is not just a study group, Marshall said. The crackdown on undocumented workers is a "high priority item for this administration and it doesn't need any more studies," he explained.

According to Marshall, the plan includes: "Making it illegal for employers to knowingly hire illegal aliens."

Marshall admitted that there were problems with issuing ID cards for all workers. "I agree with the civil libertarians and others who do not want a national identification card with everyone's picture on it so that people could be stopped and checked on the streets," he said.

"But," he added, "if they can make a card that gives me money at the bank at night when nobody is there, and I can buy goods in the store with the card . . . then I think we can make a noncounterfeitable

Social Security card for workers to use when they are getting jobs."

This argument simply overlooks the obvious fact that use of credit cards is voluntary, not obligatory.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
March 12, 1962 Price 10c

MARCH 7 — President John Kennedy's March 2 decree that the United States will resume polluting the atmosphere with atomic explosions evoked swift condemnation here and abroad from the growing anti-bomb forces.

Anticipation of the fateful announcement had sent an avalanche of protest mail to the White House. Nor could Kennedy's TV gimmick, cloaking his order to resume tests with a patently unacceptable "offer" to the Soviet Union to ban them on U.S. terms, confuse opponents of testing.

New York City was the scene of a major protest demonstration by 5,000 on March 3 marked by police violence and numerous arrests. Since then daily demonstrations, sit-downs, and arrests have been taking place before the New York office of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The mass protest rally in Times Square came less than 24 hours after Kennedy's speech. It was called by an ad hoc committee comprised of leaders of various peace and pacifist movements. By leaflet and word of mouth the committee had alerted people to convene at 4 p.m. on the day following any official U.S. announcement of the resumption of nuclear explosions in the atmosphere.

LTV and gov't gut pensions of retired Steelworkers

BY LOUISE HALVERSON

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — More than 3,000 retired LTV Steelworkers, their family members, and supporters demonstrated here January 31. In February, many retirees lost \$400 a month in pension benefits they had been promised for agreeing to retire early.

Last July, LTV, which includes the old Republic Steel and Jones and Loughlin Steel companies, declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy. Their underfunded pension plans were taken over by the federal government's Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp.

LTV had encouraged many workers to take early retirement by promising an extra \$400 a month until they began collecting Social Security. The pension benefit cor-

poration, however, will not pay the extra \$400. In addition, all pension health benefits expire in May.

The retirees and their wives formed two organizations to fight for their benefits. Solidarity, USA is based in Youngstown, Ohio, and Aliquippa, Pennsylvania.

Another organization is called RAGE (Retirees Against Greed and Exploitation), based in Canton, Ohio. These two groups, along with the Tri-State Conference on Steel and the Steelworkers Organization of Active Retirees, sponsored the march and rally.

The demonstrators consisted primarily of retirees and their families, but contingents from several area unions also participated.

Featured speakers at the rally included many elected public officials and union officers.

Family members gave personal accounts of the effects pension cuts are having on them. The wife of a disabled worker said she'd managed her husband's paychecks for 40 years, paying off the house, cars, and other debts. Now, with the high medical bills, she fears losing it all.

"LTV wants to break the unions, get rid of the higher-paid older men. I have two unemployed children. I want to live to see them get jobs," she said.

Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

Why Democrats hail Tower report

Continued from front page

people fighting Washington's policies to make significant gains in defense of our rights and those of our sisters and brothers around the world.

The response of the liberal leaders of the Democratic Party highlights the fact that they, as much as conservative Republicans, are aiming to block such advances.

They greeted the Tower commission report and its conclusions with enthusiasm. They hailed the appointment of Republican former senator Howard Baker to oversee the government as Reagan's chief of staff.

Former secretary of state Edmund Muskie, the liberal on the commission, agreed that "people whose performance was wrong" was the source of much of the problem.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, the most prominent liberal spokesman in Congress, declared, "The challenge now is for the president to reassert control of his presidency. For too long on too many vital issues, in foreign policy and national defense, we seem to have had a commander in chief who was AWOL." He hailed the selection of Baker as an "inspired choice."

Not one of the top liberals pointed to ending the U.S.-run war against Nicaragua and letting that country live in peace as a way to begin to end the crisis. Not one called for ending Washington's diplomatic, economic, and military moves and threats against Cuba, Libya, Vietnam, Iran, Syria, Angola, and other countries.

Not one proposed steps to reverse the government's attacks on working people in this country by restoring social services, stopping union busting, and taking effective measures to guarantee the constitutional rights of Blacks, women, and other oppressed people.

That is because these policies are not the brainchildren of a small band of right-wing extremists in the White House, but bipartisan policies supported by the bulk of the U.S. ruling class of billionaire families.

Kennedy and the other liberal leaders have not opposed the use of military and economic pressure to bring down the Sandinista government or force it to bring its policies in line with Washington's. Instead, they argue about how much aid to give the contras directly and how much to channel through Honduras or other U.S.-dominated regimes. They debate about who the leaders of the contras should be and what tactics they should carry out. Or they propose stressing diplomatic efforts as well as military operations against Nicaragua.

None of these liberals counters Reagan's domestic policies with calls for major new social programs. Instead, they propose cuts in welfare and other social services that are "fair" and "compassionate" in contrast to Reagan's "unfair" and "unrealistic" cuts. They favor "moderation" in attacking the unions, affirmative action, and abortion rights.

For six years, the liberal leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress have whined about the supposed strength and popularity of the Reagan administration as an excuse for voting for its basic policies. Now, with the Senate under Democratic control and the credibility of the administration plummeting, they call on the president to "reassert control."

As *New York Times* economic columnist Leonard Silk put it February 27, "there is little appetite among the Democrats to bring Reagan down." He described a "political consensus" that "it would do little good — and might do great harm — to put the nation through another Presidential crisis."

Despite their differences with Reagan's supporters, the liberal politicians join them in telling us that this is "our" presidency and "our" government, and that "we" have an interest in strengthening it. They say that "we" have a "national interest" in aggression against Nicaragua or

other countries. They say "we" must join together to accept wage cuts and fewer democratic rights.

But this government is not "ours" — it belongs to the class of billionaires who own the banks, industry, mines, and communications and transport systems. The government defends their interests against those of workers and working farmers all over the world.

There is no single "national interest" in the United States. There are clashing interests of conflicting social classes. If your family happens to own a bank, factory, or railroad, you have a great interest in overthrowing the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua and busting unions here in the United States. But if you are among the workers and working farmers who make up the great majority of the U.S. population, your interests are just the opposite.

The fact that the U.S. government's policies are against the interest of the great majority is the reason for the growing stress, emphasized in the Tower report, on the need to carry out "covert actions" and prevent "leaks."

The crimes committed to implement these policies must more than ever be hidden from the view of U.S. working people. Thus the Tower report's recommendations focus on making "covert action" operations ever more secret and reducing further congressional access to information about them.

Despite years of prowar and anti-Nicaragua propaganda from liberals as well as conservative politicians and the media, working people continue to oppose the contra war and resist the use of U.S. troops in Central America or anywhere else.

The rulers' effort to chip away at the rights won by Blacks in the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s has sparked an upturn in the fight for Black rights. Tens of thousands have dealt blows to racist violence and discrimination by joining actions against the Howard Beach lynching, segregation in Georgia's Forsyth County, and the gunning down of Blacks by cops in Tampa, New York, and elsewhere.

Antiabortion forces have lost momentum. Protests in defense of women's rights can further consolidate the gains represented by legal abortion and affirmative action programs.

The bleeding of the union movement by the employers' offensive has slowed down. Union membership dropped only slightly in 1986, in contrast to the sharp decline in the 1981-85 period. This reflected stiffer resistance to union busting and takeback demands in industries such as meatpacking.

The national antiwar, anti-apartheid marches in Washington and San Francisco on April 25 are taking on ever greater urgency. The U.S. rulers are under growing pressure to retreat from their war against Nicaragua, but that war continues. Contra terrorists kill Nicaraguans every day.

Washington is also probing for other ways to attack the Nicaraguan revolution, including by strengthening the massive U.S. military presence in Honduras.

Successful protests on April 25 will be a further big setback to the U.S. war, and will step up the pressure on Washington to back off.

These opportunities for action are accompanied by another — the growing discussion among U.S. working people of the crisis in the government and what it means for us. That discussion will deepen knowledge of the nature of the bipartisan government and the policies it executes.

Participation in these struggles and discussions is the way for working-class and other fighters against injustice to further weaken the billionaires' government and win gains for working people.

Malcolm X's views on struggle for women's equality

BY MARGARET JAYKO

March 8 is International Women's Day.

Malcolm X, the greatest revolutionary leader in modern U.S. history, is not someone who might immediately spring to mind as a person who had something important to say on the fight for women's equality.

Most people who like what Malcolm X did and said tend to think of him as a great Black revolutionary, an outstanding fighter against racism, and a champion of the African struggle against colonialism.

But it was precisely because Malcolm was all those things that he also became an uncompromising opponent of the capitalist system itself, especially in the last year of his life after he split with the Nation of Islam led by Elijah Muhammad.

It was through participation in the struggles of the Black masses here, as well as what he learned on his trips to Africa and the Middle East, that Malcolm concluded that the struggle of women for their liberation is an im-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

portant part of the fight to end all exploitation and oppression that are part of the private-profit system.

In an interview Malcolm gave in Paris in November 1964 — just a few months before his assassination on Feb. 21, 1965 — he explained, "One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive."

"If you're in a country that reflects the consciousness toward the importance of education, it's because the woman is aware of the importance of education. But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward, and in every country where education is not stressed it's because the women don't have education."

"So one of the things I became thoroughly convinced of in my recent travels is the importance of giving freedom to the woman, giving her education, and giving her the incentive to get out there and put that same spirit and understanding in her children. And I frankly am proud of the contributions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men."

(Quoted from *By Any Means Necessary*, a collection of Malcolm X speeches published by Pathfinder Press. To get a copy, drop by one of the bookstores listed on page 12, or send \$5.95 plus \$.75 postage and handling to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.)

There are two important things to note about this quote from Malcolm.

One is how he came to this view about women. He didn't take Islamic religious beliefs, or preconceived moral notions about the family, or sexual stereotypes, as his starting point. Rather he approached the question of women's equality politically.

That is, by observing the status of women in other countries and its connection to the overall level of social development, Malcolm saw that the fight to liberate women is part of the fight against colonialism, capitalism, and racism. He looked at the question as a revolutionary, as someone who is fighting to change the world and judges everyone on where they fit into that political struggle.

The second thing to note is that Malcolm's view of the connection between the status of women and the overall level of development of a given country was more than an accurate observation about what exists. He became convinced of the importance of "giving freedom to the woman" as an integral part of the fight for social, economic, and political progress.

Every real social revolution, from Cuba to Burkina Faso, has had to confront precisely this question. And one measure of the progress of any revolutionary process is its ability to come to grips with, and make progress on, clearing away obstacles to women's equality as part of advancing and strengthening the revolution.

The views that Malcolm X developed on the place of the fight for women's equality in the revolutionary struggle is another proof of Malcolm's capacities as a leader. And, even more importantly, they're proof of the relevance of his ideas for fighters against imperialism, capitalism, racism, and sexism today.

Doug Jenness, who's been writing this column for the last several months, is on vacation.

Cancel Brazil's debt now!

The Brazilian government's move to suspend interest payments on its \$108 billion debt to Citicorp, Chase Manhattan, and other big-time loan sharks is completely justified.

The February 20 move came as U.S. and other bankers pressed the government of José Sarney for exorbitant interest rates and an austerity program as the price of renegotiating the debt. Austerity means slashes in living standards and jobs in a country where millions of workers and peasants now live in desperate poverty.

The interest collection racket has helped the big bankers and other U.S. and European billionaires to rip \$44 billion out of Brazil's economy since 1982 alone, while they have put back only \$11 billion in loans and other in-

vestments.

This \$33 billion gap is only the tip of the real debt — the one the U.S. and other imperialist rulers owe to the countries they plunder in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Other South American governments are also finding the cycle of ever-mounting debt and interest payments to be an unbearable burden. Ecuador's government suspended interest payments a few weeks ago, while the Peruvian government has limited interest payments to 10 percent of that country's exports since July 1985.

The Brazilian move is a new confirmation that Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke for tens of millions when he said, "The Latin American debt is unpayable and should be cancelled."

Long Island machinists build April 25 action

BY CAPPY KIDD

How deep is opposition to war in this country? How has the recent wave of exposures about illegal government misconduct influenced the thinking of working people? A group of machinists working at the Fairchild Republic plant in Farmingdale, New York, have begun to find answers to these questions.

National demonstrations will take place April 25 to oppose Washington's war against the people of Central

UNION TALK

America and U.S. government backing of apartheid in South Africa. Inspired by the call for these actions, a dozen workers here have begun a campaign to build them in our union. The outreach effort is being led by Black and women workers.

The heart of the initiative is a petition urging International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 1987 to throw its weight into building the demonstrations. The petition makes reference to the fact that our union partici-

pated in the 100,000-strong anti-apartheid march in New York last summer.

In three days, we had discussions with some 200 of our coworkers, 107 of whom signed the petition.

In thinking about the campaign, we decided not to limit discussions to workers we thought would agree with the effort. Instead, we talked to everyone we came in contact with about the demonstration. After their efforts, the petitioners held a meeting to talk about the results.

A young woman who got the highest number of signatures said the majority who signed did so because they opposed apartheid.

She said that many workers thought the military conflict in Nicaragua did not affect them directly; it was not a war their sons might be sent to die in. Others feared it would turn into another Vietnam. Most people she talked to agreed the U.S. government should never have been involved in Vietnam.

Some of our coworkers are backers of the Nicaraguan revolution. One, who was born in Central America, told a petitioner the U.S. government backed the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza before the Nicaraguan revolution and that the *contra* troops the U.S. government is now

backing are led by members of Somoza's National Guard.

All the petitioners had discussions with workers who said the government is dishonest about the *contra* war. The words "crooks," "liars," and "deceptive" were used to describe government officials, including Ronald Reagan.

An assistant shop steward was outraged by revelations that offices of groups opposed to Washington's policy in Central America had been burglarized. This worker thought the White House was behind the burglaries.

One worker said that he had been following the news about South Africa on television and hoped there would be a revolution in that country.

Not everybody signed. The majority who declined said they were opposed to apartheid but disagreed with references to the war against Nicaragua.

In one instance, a petitioner was threatened by a foreman and ordered not to circulate the petition. This angered her coworkers, who responded by stepping up circulation of the statement.

Cappy Kidd is a member of IAM Lodge 1987 at the Fairchild Republic plant in Farmingdale, New York.

LETTERS

Beating back the Klan

Since the antiracist march of 30,000 in Cumming, Georgia, on January 24, local and national media and politicians have criticized the march for being a "waste of taxpayers' money" and for "accomplishing nothing."

The Saturday two weeks after the Cumming march, Ku Klux Klansmen rallied in College Park, next to Atlanta. They had touted their rally as a national mobilization and claimed they would bring out 1,000 to 2,000 Klanners from across the country. In fact their action drew only 200 demonstrators, 20 in hoods and sheets and the rest decked out in camouflage.

The Cumming march had taken the wind out of the Klanners' sails, proved the majority sentiment of white people against racism, and cut the KKK's ability to attract racist youth to "come out and march."

Public mobilizations are the only way to beat back racists, be they in bedsheets or in government.

E.Z.
Atlanta, Georgia

Ownership of land

Here's a thought on your excellent article, "The curse of private ownership of the land," in the January 9 *Militant*.

You call for a decree making all land public property and for an order to halt buying, selling, or the use of land for collateral. The prohibition of the use of land for collateral is interesting to me.

Some years ago when I read the autobiography of the Oklahoma socialist Oscar Ameringer, I recall Ameringer writing he believed a big mistake had been made when the Homestead Act allowed title to land to be passed to homesteaders without such a restriction.

Ameringer saw the use of the land for collateral as a way for the banks and capitalists to get control of the land. He was correct in this regard, but he and the other socialists of the day did not go far enough and advocate complete abolition of private ownership of the land.

Erling Sannes
Bismarck, North Dakota

Howard Beach

Please find enclosed my subscription for the *Militant*. It's an invaluable source of information and inspiration.

Passed a recent copy on to a West Indian lad at work who wanted to read about the Howard Beach murder and protest campaign. He's been reading up on Malcolm X, so was very interested to read coverage of the struggles

of Black people in the United States.
P.B.
Sheffield, England

Censorship

The institution has discontinued letting us receive the *Militant*. So until we find some way of making them relent, I'll have to cancel my subscription.

A prisoner
Lima, Ohio

Baby M

Once again, the right of a woman to choose what to do with her own body is endangered.

Mary Beth Whitehead is now in superior court in Hackensack, New Jersey, fighting for the custody of a daughter she bore 11 months ago.

Whitehead signed a contract to be a surrogate mother, artificially inseminated by William Stern. She became the fourth of some 500 surrogate mothers who decided she could not go through with the deal.

The court will rule both on the legality of the surrogacy contract and the granting of custody to the child, known in the courtroom as "Baby M."

While one *New York Times* headline writer euphemistically termed the discussion around the case as "Designing an Ethical Frame for Motherhood by Contract," it's more like "Wombs to rent — only \$25,000."

As you'd expect, where there's money to be made you hear all kinds of irrelevant arguments designed to make you think this case has nothing to do with women's rights.

The most prominent is that Whitehead signed the contract — now she's got to deliver.

That's because today even babies have become commodities, and with the relatively new discovery of surrogacy, women have become breeders. Both adoption agencies and infertility centers are getting rich off this fact of life.

A recent legislative recommendation from the New York State Senate Judiciary Committee would deny the surrogate mother's right to change her mind — critical to the Baby M case.

That's because it's more profitable for the future of the fertility business if women are legalized as breeders with no rights.

Surrogate motherhood should not be opposed on theological grounds as the Catholic Church and Right-to-Life would have us believe. It should not be opposed in principle — only if and when it violates a woman's right to choose what to do with her own body.

And choosing, as a recent Wayne State University study

points out, is oftentimes between lesser evils when women are trying to make ends meet. While the study showed that surrogates were motivated by a strong urge to help others, it found that 89 percent of the would-be surrogates would not do it without being paid — \$10,000 is the going rate.

The women bearing the children should be the ones to decide freely, change their minds freely — and not some contract. And never because they are bound to any decision because of dependency on money.

Jane Harris
Jersey City, New Jersey

More on Baby M

An example of new and ingenious ways technology can be used to exploit women is the case of Baby M. Baby M was born of a surrogate mother, a woman who, in essence, is paid to be an oven for the wealthy's genetic material.

The woman entered into the contract because she and her husband (she an office clerk and he a sanitation worker) already had two children, and they wanted to use the money to help provide a college education for both of them.

The couple who contracted to pay all the "expenses" and a "fee" to the woman (notice this is not "baby selling") are both doctors.

Poor and working-class women have always nurtured and reared the children of the wealthy as nannies and maids, but now, with advances in technology, they can even bear them — with the correct genetic material. Having the correct "bloodline" is important to the rich in deciding who will inherit their fortunes and reinforces the racist idea that certain people are better than others.

Another interesting aspect of surrogate motherhood is that an embryo, fertilized outside the womb, can also be implanted in a surrogate mother. This now means that wealthy women no longer have to suffer the discomfort of pregnancy. They can merely hire other women to do this.

The surrogate mother will almost always be a poor or working woman motivated by her own or her family's economic needs to accept this "job."

Dee Scalera
New York, New York

News that's hard to find

I have been introduced to the *Militant* by a friend here and would like very much to start receiving it. It covers a lot of items you can't find in the local newspaper.

A prisoner
Westville, Indiana

Q What is the difference between a wall street broker who steals \$50 million by insider trading — and a burglar who steals a \$500 TV set?



A One will wear pin stripes — the other, prison stripes!



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Welcome relief

Thank you for allowing me to waive the subscription costs of the *Militant*. I just received my first issue. After being confined to prison darkness for so long, it was a welcome relief to finally see a little light. Your hard-hitting journalism and "tell it like it is" articles are the best.

A prisoner
Lovely, Texas

Should be free

Your moderately educational (if not repetitive) publication the *Militant* should be provided to workers gratis. Then your subtitle — "A socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people" — would be less amusing.

Patti Salas
Austin, Texas

Sudden layoff

It was Friday about 4 p.m. We were cleaning out our benches and getting ready to go home after a week of hard work.

Envelopes were handed out to some. I asked a coworker who got one if he had been given a raise. After a pause he replied, with tears in his eyes, "I was laid off."

The SMI plant in Queens, New York, laid off 45 people that day, one-quarter of the work force. SMI is a military subcontractor, manufacturing power supplies and missile parts. Production workers, members of United Steelworkers Local 13462, are almost all immigrants, mostly middle-aged women.

Wages and benefits are very low at SMI. But for those just laid off, finding another job may even

be harder — especially under the restrictions of the new immigration "amnesty" law.

Technicians were among those laid off, including a Chinese couple, both engineers who had just come to the United States.

A few weeks earlier I had asked the man about living conditions in China. He said they used to pay \$3 a month for a small house. Health care and education are free, and everybody is guaranteed a job.

At the same time, however, he denounced the Chinese government for abolishing democracy and praised the United States for being so "democratic and promising."

After the layoff, when I asked again about his feelings, he said he did not think he could stay here very long.

A reader
Queens, New York

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

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

Tampa Blacks rebel over killing Cops chokehold youth to death in pattern of racist attacks

BY LINDA JOYCE

TAMPA, Florida — "I'm tired of going to my friends' funerals," 19-year-old Blair Bass said in the aftermath of two days of rebellions February 19 and 20 touched off by a cop murder of a Black youth in the Black community. "Seems like every time I turn around," Bass continued, "another friend gets killed."

Bass was one of many young people in the Tampa housing projects of College Hill who witnessed the murder of their friend Melvin Hair, 23, at the hands of Tampa police February 18.

"I heard screaming and ran out and saw two white cops on top of Melvin," Bass explained. "He was already handcuffed and his mother was begging them not to hurt him. Everyone shouted, 'You're choking him! You're killing him!'"

"One of the cops shouted back, 'I ain't killing no Black son of a bitch!'"

Bass went on: "Melvin lay motionless at least 12 minutes. Then they threw him in the cop car like a sack of potatoes."

Chokehold

Tampa police officer David D'Agresta killed Melvin Hair with the "carotid artery restraint" — better known as the chokehold. This cuts off the blood supply to the brain and has already been banned in several cities in Florida. Police claimed that Hair, who weighed 120 pounds, had a knife. But no knife was ever produced.

Neighbors explained what really happened. Hair, an epileptic, had acted strangely that afternoon and threatened to kill himself. His mother, Velma Brown, called the police for help.

But the "help" turned to terror when the cops jumped Hair and began to apply the chokehold. A gun-waving cop threatened Brown when she tried to stop them from killing her son. Witnesses reported that the cop acted crazed and continued choking him long after Hair had gone limp.

Nights of outrage

The killing touched off two nights of outrage, in which up to 400 people from the community gathered, some taking to the streets, rebelling against the cold-blooded cop violence by fighting back with bottles, bricks and rocks.

The mayor of Tampa, Black leaders, and community officials fanned out during the day in an attempt to keep people off the streets, especially targeting youth.

One result of the unrest was that the Tampa Police Department indefinitely suspended use of the chokehold.

NAACP spokesperson Bob Gilder said longstanding social ills in the Black community were the root cause of the rebellion. The 48 percent unemployment among Black youth, poor housing conditions, and bleak prospects all contributed. He predicted more unrest if real changes were not carried out to better Blacks' standard of living.

The protest coincided with the release of a report by the city on the arrest two months ago of Dwight Gooden, 22-year-old star pitcher for the New York Mets. Tampa police also made national headlines then.

Cops attack Gooden

In that incident, Gooden was stopped for an alleged traffic violation. Eventually 22 police officers, all white, responded. Police tried unsuccessfully to administer the chokehold, and Gooden sustained at least 13 blows at the hands of the cops.

Despite this, the report cleared the police of racial motives in the arrest. Gooden received three years' probation last month on charges of assaulting a policeman and resisting arrest with violence.

Black leaders pointed to the fact that at

the time, Florida State Attorney Bill James publicly encouraged police brutality in a statement he made referring to the Gooden case. James said, "I think that any time someone resists arrest with violence the chances are they can plan to go to the hospital."

In the two nights of protest following Melvin Hair's murder, police came out in full force with helicopters, riot gear, SWAT teams, and dogs. They surrounded the neighborhood in an effort to subdue the reaction to the brutal murder. Cops roughed up and arrested about two dozen people, mostly teenagers.

Twenty-year-old Todd Richardson was picked up when he tried to stop police from harassing his younger sister and brother. Upon his release from jail February 22, Richardson said, "I told the police not to mess with my sister. Five policemen jumped me. They slammed me on my face and took me to jail and locked me up. I asked them what I went to jail for."

Pattern of cop brutality

Noting a pattern of cop brutality against Black youth, Richardson explained how he had witnessed Tampa police gun down his friend Franklin Lewis on December 1: "I was standing right beside the cop when he did it. He didn't say anything — like 'Halt!' — he just pumped him two times."

Richardson shook his head, "I'm trying to cool down. I'll be glad when there's justice. Everybody's upset. Police can get away with killing Black people. They always get away with it!"

Angry residents in the neighborhood where Hair's murder took place echoed Richardson's anger. Many questioned why the cop got suspended with pay. They explained that among Tampa cops there's a saying: "If you want a vacation — shoot a nigger."

Referring to the city officials' "solution" of hiring more Black cops, Henry Jackson, College Hill resident, said, "The police department comes out here and starts it. And that goes not only for white cops — it goes



Residents of Tampa's College Hill where Melvin Hair was killed. Eddie Richardson (right, with his mother and younger sister) says cops "come in here fighting, beating, and killing the kids." Henry Jackson, far left, feels adding Blacks to police force won't change things.

for all cops. We don't have guns like they do — we only have rocks and stones."

Eddie Richardson elaborated on the racist nature of the attack: "The cops will be right back on the force. It pays him to shoot us. They mess with the Black community more than any other. And the way they handle it! Come in here fighting and beating and killing the kids. In the white neighborhood it would be handled differently."

Many of the children in the projects expressed their hatred of the cops after they saw what happened to Melvin. Thirteen-year-old Lisa Smith said, "Melvin was a real close friend. He never bothered any-

body. He was too quiet to hurt anybody. I think it was wrong. The police lied. He died right out there."

The NAACP plans to ask the governor for a special prosecutor to investigate the case.

The same night that outraged residents took to the Tampa streets a similar scenario occurred in nearby Sarasota, Florida. On February 20 angry crowds of Blacks protested the slaying of an unarmed Black teenager, Howard James Young, by a 41-year-old white man. Fourteen people were arrested in the seven hours of street rebellion, according to the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*.

With Bumpurs' killer acquitted, cops gun down man in Harlem

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Two days after a judge acquitted the policeman who killed Eleanor Bumpurs, a squad of trigger-happy cops gunned down a Black man in Harlem.

The latest victim was Nicholas Bartlett, father of two young children.

According to the police, on February 28, Bartlett attacked a cop without provocation, hitting him with a lead pipe. Police reinforcement quickly responded, and a squad of eight pursued Bartlett, surrounded him, and brought him down with a volley of shots.

Initially, a deputy police commissioner asserted Bartlett was shot because he "was coming at the police officers with the pipe raised."

Then, apparently taking into account that there may be a dozen witnesses, the police issued a "clarifying" statement that when surrounded, Bartlett raised the pipe above his head.

The killing evoked sharp denunciations of police conduct and demands for a complete probe.

"They snuffed him out like a cigarette," Bartlett's aunt, Lillie Mae Robinson, bitterly declared. "It seems like open season on Blacks."

The city's ranking Black elected official, Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins branded the shooting a summary execution.

Rev. Calvin Butts of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church said several witnesses told him they saw the shooting and that Bartlett was not holding a pipe or otherwise menacing the cops.

C. Vernon Mason, attorney for one of the survivors of the Howard Beach racist attack, has been retained by Bartlett's family. Mason said he has witnesses who contend that Bartlett was not even the one who attacked the cop and other witnesses who contend he had no pipe in his hand when he was shot down.

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau quickly promised a "thorough" investigation of the case and said a grand jury would soon hear evidence.

Morgenthau expressed concern about rising "racial tension" since the Howard Beach assault and the clearing of the cop in the Bumpurs case.

Surely, the shameful verdict in the Bumpurs case has deepened the anger evoked by the lynching in New York's Howard Beach.

The crime against Eleanor Bumpurs

began when city officials called on the cops to forcibly evict the 66-year-old Black woman from her public housing apartment. She was four months behind on her \$98.65 rent.

The cops who responded were members of the Emergency Service Unit and supposedly trained in dealing with emotionally disturbed people, as Bumpurs was considered.

When she refused to come out, they broke down her door. They came in heavily armed and bearing plastic shields and a six-foot, y-shaped bar designed to hold people at bay. Bumpurs stood against them with a kitchen knife.

Officer Stephen Sullivan shot her with a 12-gauge shotgun, ripping three fingers off the hand in which she had held the knife.

He then fired again, killing her. At the trial, Sullivan testified he fired the second shot because Bumpurs was continuing to slash at Officer John Elter.

But Elter had testified earlier that he was holding Bumpurs off with the six-foot y-bar at her midsection.

With the judge's verdict in the nonjury trial, Sullivan was given back his gun and restored to full duty. He said, if need be, he would do the same thing again.