

Linders rip contra war before House committee

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "I consider the United States government and its effectors — the contras — guilty of this crime," David Linder told a packed congressional hearing here May 13.

The contras' murder of his son Ben in Nicaragua "was not an accidental result of U.S. policy," Linder said. "It is the essence of U.S. policy."

Linder was testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. The hearing room was entirely filled, with dozens of people waiting outside to get in, as he described how U.S.-paid mercenaries gunned Ben Linder down in northern Nicaragua, where he had been a volunteer engineer for hydroelectric projects.

The contra attack took place April 28. David Linder told the congressional panel what he had learned when he and his family went to Nicaragua to bury their son and join the protests there against his murder.

"The killings took place in an isolated ravine one mile from any settlements," said Linder. "Nothing was there to destroy other than the lives of Ben and his coworkers."

The contras first attacked with grenades, then moved in and shot Ben Linder "at point-blank range as he lay wounded," said his father. Two Nicaraguan workers were also murdered.



David and Elisabeth Linder at May 13 congressional hearing

"Ben and the others had been [in the region] long enough for the contras to know who they were and what they were doing. This was an ambush, not a chance encounter. This is murder."

Mary Risacher, a U.S. nurse who had lived in Nicaragua for three and a half years, also testified about how Ben Linder

had been killed. She was one of four medical personnel who received and dressed his body after the autopsy.

Ben Linder's mother, Elisabeth, appeared at the hearing as well. At one point, Rep. Connie Mack, Republican from Florida, burst out, "Your son, he kind of

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Conragate hearings close in on Reagan

BY FRED FELDMAN

In the face of testimony by a former top Reagan aide to a congressional committee, the president denied May 12 that he encouraged the Saudi Arabian monarchy to give \$2 million per month to the contras in 1985 — shortly after Congress banned U.S. efforts to finance or raise funds for the U.S.-organized bands.

Just as implausibly, Reagan continues to deny having any notion that his CIA director and National Security Council appointees had organized a network of allegedly private fundraisers to purchase and ship arms for the mercenary army. Reagan claims that he knew only of efforts to raise money for television advertisements in support of the contra war.

Presidential news secretary Marlin Fitzwater conceded May 11 that Reagan had told "anyone who would listen," including his subordinates, that he wanted the contras supported.

Reagan's credibility took another blow when Robert McFarlane testified at congressional committee hearings on the Iran contra scandals May 11 and 12. McFarlane was appointed by Reagan to be his national security adviser in October 1983 and resigned the post in December 1985. He was the second witness to come before the committee, following retired air force general Richard Secord.

Secord described being recruited by National Security Council official Oliver North to set up "the enterprise" — an elaborate network for funding and arming the contras after Congress in October 1984 barred the government from "directly or indirectly" providing such assistance. He testified that top U.S. officials like the late CIA director William Casey collaborated with him, and that Vice-president George Bush had been informed of the operation.

Secord said that Rear Adm. John Pindexter, then serving as Reagan's national security adviser, had told him that Reagan appreciated Secord's efforts and knew that proceeds from the arms sales to Iran had been sent to the contras.

McFarlane provided further evidence of Reagan's involvement in the operations.

"The president repeatedly made it clear in public and in private that he did not intend to break faith with the contras" after Congress cut off funding, he said. "He directed that we make continued efforts to bring the movement into the good graces of Congress and the American people, and that we assure the contras of continuing administration support to help them hold body and soul together until the time when

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2,500 back S. Dakota meat-packers

BY TED LEONARD

SIoux FALLS, S.D. — Protesting the violence of John Morrell & Co., 2,500 meat-packers, unionists, and supporters rallied here May 11 to support striking United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 304A.

The rally was called on three days' notice to respond to the big-business media's portrayal of the strike as violent. The strike is being carried out in solidarity with Morrell strikers in Iowa. The rally drew unionists from South Dakota, Iowa, and Nebraska, including from locals of the United Electrical Workers, Allied Industrial Workers International Union, United Paperworkers, UFCW, and others.

Local 304A President Dennis Foster explained that the violent party in the conflict was the John Morrell company. This included, he said, its health and safety violations, which have resulted in scores of injuries.

Bob Kingsley, an official of the United

Electrical Workers, made the same point. "We need to begin by condemning the violence of the bomb threat against the Labor Temple," he said, "the police smashing windshields, the violence of the scabs and company agents, the violence of Morrell."

Kingsley continued, "If the Morrell execs in Chicago have decided to take on the working people of Sioux Falls, they have made a mistake. We are not going to take it anymore."

This sentiment was displayed by many signs reading, "Victory through solidarity," "John Morrell, go to hell," "Scabs go home," "Nothing to lose by fighting," and "An injury to one is an injury to all." Many workers wore T-shirts that read, "Scab-buster."

Jerome Jackson, president of the South Dakota American Agriculture Movement, responded to attempts to pit farmers and workers against each other. "The AAM has always been for workers," he said. "Corporate greed has put us where we are today.

We have to stand together."

A 70-car caravan had come up from Sioux City, Iowa, for the rally, composed mainly of UFCW Local 1142 members who are on strike against the Morrell plant there. It was in response to 1142's roving pickets that the Sioux Falls workers went out.

Local 304A President Foster pledged that "304A is respecting and honoring 1142's picket line until they receive a decent and honorable contract."

The president of UFCW Local 1142 spoke briefly, thanking the members of 304A and telling them that it was "unbelievable" how much 304A had done for them.

Other speakers included Lewie Anderson, head of the UFCW Packinghouse Division, and representatives from the Peace and Justice Center, Family Farm Group, teachers' association, Allied Industrial Workers, and some Democratic Party politicians.

Ted Leonard is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Terry, Iowa.



May 11 rally in solidarity with members of United Food and Commercial Workers on strike against John Morrell & Co. For more coverage of strike, see page 4.

Contras torch civilian barge

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A group of U.S.-sponsored mercenaries captured and destroyed a tugboat and barge traveling on the Escondido River in southeastern Nicaragua on May 1. The barge was carrying seven truckloads of food, medicines, and other goods to the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields.

There are no roads connecting Bluefields with the rest of Nicaragua, so cargo is trucked to the town of Rama and then put on boats for the trip down the Escondido River. The river flows through a sparsely populated jungle where mercenary

bands have ambushed civilian boats in the past.

Teófilo Martínez, one of the tugboat's crew members, told the May 8 Sandinista daily *Barricada* that the contras first fired shots and ordered the boat to stop alongside the riverbank.

The mercenaries then ordered the crew off the boat and doused the barge and its contents with gasoline. The captain pleaded with the contras, asking them not to burn the boat and explaining that the cargo was just food, medicine, and soap, most belonging to private merchants in

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Testimony points to Reagan's guilt

Continued from front page

Congress would again agree to support them."

McFarlane described Reagan's part in raising funds from the Saudi Arabian monarchy for the contras.

McFarlane said that in 1984 he had told a top official of what he called "Country 2" (Saudi Arabia) that the impending congressional defeat of contra aid "would represent a substantial loss for the president." The official "said he would like to think about it," and a couple of days later told McFarlane that the Saudi government would give the contras \$1 million a month until the end of the year. McFarlane then informed Reagan of this in a written note, and Reagan expressed "satisfaction and pleasure."

In early 1985 King Fahd of Saudi Arabia visited Washington and met privately with Reagan in the White House. "Within a day or so," testified McFarlane, Saudi Arabian officials stated that they were doubling their monthly contribution to the contra war. When McFarlane told Reagan of this, the president's response was one "of gratitude and satisfaction, not of surprise."

When the Honduran military held up an arms shipment destined for the contras, McFarlane testified, President Reagan successfully pressed the Honduran head of state to release it.

A few months after McFarlane left his post, he admitted that he wrote to North about finding "a way to get 10 Blowpipe launchers and 20 missiles" for the contras.

McFarlane claimed that while he was national security adviser he repeatedly warned North against violating the law. Yet when North told him about such violations, McFarlane made no objections. He testified that North had told him of the diversion to the contras of proceeds from the sale of arms to Iran and that North had told

him that there would have to be a "shredding party" to destroy incriminating documents as the scandal began to break.

Under questioning, McFarlane conceded he had participated in producing a fake chronology of the Iran arms deals. The committee counsel also indicated McFarlane had falsely testified to Congress about North's activities. These actions were part of an attempted government cover-up.

No 'public support'

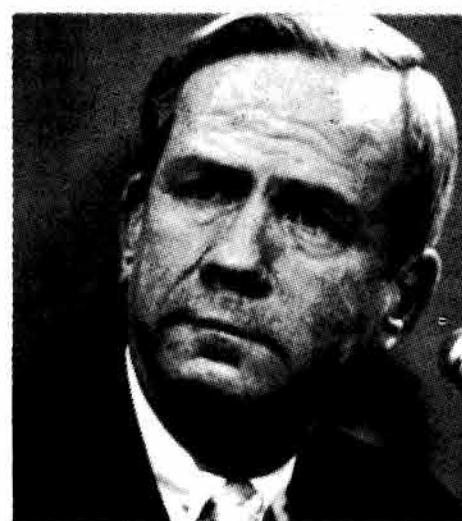
McFarlane introduced his testimony with a statement that sheds light on some causes of the crisis rocking the government. He pointed to the war against Nicaragua as an example of "our recurring troubles in foreign policy decision-making." A key problem, he said, was the failure of the executive branch and Congress "to stimulate public support for deliberately chosen policies."

Lacking public support for its war on Nicaragua, McFarlane said, the adminis-

tration resorted to secret operations. "People turned to covert action because they thought they could not get congressional support for overt activities. But they were not forced to think systematically about the fatal risks they were running."

"Waging war with a Soviet proxy," as McFarlane slanderously described Nicaragua in his remarks, requires having "the American people and the U.S. Congress solidly behind you. Yet it's virtually impossible ... to rally the public behind a policy you cannot even talk about."

McFarlane failed to note an even deeper problem, indicated by the response of U.S. working people as some of the truth is revealed about the dirty war Washington has waged against Nicaragua, especially with the murder of the first U.S. citizen, Ben Linder, at the hands of the contras. It is even harder to "rally public support" for such a war when it is forced into the open, facts become known, and the issues can be debated openly.



Robert McFarlane

That is one reason why Reagan is refusing to come clean about his own role in Washington's crimes — past and present — against Nicaragua.

Bishop hits contra aid at Casey's funeral

The unpopularity of Washington's contra war against Nicaragua was highlighted when Roman Catholic Bishop John McGann spoke out against it at the funeral of former CIA Director William Casey. He died May 6.

Casey was deeply involved in the government's secret operations to organize and arm the contras. A confidante of President Ronald Reagan, he was appointed to head the spy agency after having headed Reagan's presidential election campaign in 1980. Casey was the first CIA chief to serve in the president's cabinet.

At Casey's May 9 funeral at a Catholic

church on Long Island — and with President Reagan sitting in a front-row pew — McGann took issue with Casey's role in the war against Nicaragua.

According to McGann, Casey's views "made incomprehensible to him the ethical questions raised by me as his bishop about our nation's defense policies since the dawn of the nuclear age."

"I'm equally sure," the bishop continued, "that Bill must have thought us bishops blind to the potential for a Communist threat to this hemisphere as we opposed and continue to oppose the violence

wrought in Central America by support of the contras.

"These are not light matters on which to disagree. They are matters of life and death. And I cannot conceal or disguise my fundamental disagreement on these matters with a man I knew and respected."

Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, responded by eulogizing Casey for his support to the "freedom fighters." And members of his family called for donations to the William J. Casey Fund for the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters — yet another front for funneling arms and supplies to the terrorists.

Crisis in Grenada?

Threat of massive layoffs of public employees in Grenada has fueled growing discontent.

Hear

Terry Marryshow

General secretary of the Maurice Bishop Youth Organisation of Grenada

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Atlantic Coast supply ship torched

Continued from front page

Bluefields. The contras replied that they would carry out their mission, and set the boat afire.

Eight of the boat's crew were later released, but one young man is still in their hands, reported *Barricada*.

In another terrorist action, a few minutes after midnight May 10, mercenaries attacked chemical storage tanks belonging to the plastics manufacturing company POLYCASA, less than two miles west of Rama. People living near the plant had to be evacuated because the tanks contained highly toxic and flammable chemicals. They later returned to their homes as the situation was brought under control.

In another attack, on May 4, contras kidnapped 10 people from the town of Ciudad Antigua, near the Honduran border in northern Nicaragua. The victims included two teachers, Sonia Albir, aged 17, and Sandra Velázquez, aged 18.

The mothers of the two kidnapped teachers, along with a delegation from the Ciudad Antigua region, delivered a letter to the Honduran ambassador in Managua May 9. The letter asks President José Azcona of Honduras to guarantee the lives of the kidnapped and assure their safe return to Nicaragua. It also demands that Honduras cease being a base for the contras. "I ask the government of Honduras to enable my daughter's return to Nicaragua. I ask them to save my daughter's life, she's a minor, and I am very worried for her," one of the mothers explained.

Haideé Siles González, a young teacher who volunteered to replace one of the kidnapped teachers in Ciudad Antigua, was also part of the delegation. Asked what she thought of her new assignment, she said that her aim is to continue her colleague's work, "giving the bread of education, which is what they were doing, teaching those who do not know how to read."

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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 events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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Protest actions across U.S. denounce murder of Ben Linder

BY HARRY RING

Meetings, marches, pickets, and vigils have been held in many cities protesting the murder of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer slain by contras in Nicaragua.

Almost 1,000 people participated in a march and memorial service for Linder in Seattle. The march assembled at the University of Washington, where Linder had gone to school.

In a procession through the city's University District to the University Christian Church, marchers chanted "CIA out of Nicaragua" and "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua." Placards with Linder's picture that said "Ben Linder presente" filled the rally. Various groups that organize aid projects in Nicaragua carried banners in the march.

Mariano Fiallos, director of the Nicaraguan Supreme Electoral Council, told the gathering that it was "Reagan's proxies" who killed Linder.

John Linder described some of the development projects his brother had worked on. He said that the hydroelectric project where his brother was killed was one of many targets specifically selected by the CIA and contras.

Linder called on people to help raise funds to send more volunteers to finish the project his brother was working on and for other projects.

Hal Thackery of TechNica, the organization sponsoring Linder's work on the project, told the gathering that since the news of the killing, the group's phone had not stopped ringing, with calls from people volunteering to help.

Other speakers included state representative Jesse Wineberry; Philip Boreano, a professor of Linder's; and James Mirel, a local rabbi.

A message from Congressman Michael Lowry said he was calling for a congressional probe of Linder's death.

The city of Seattle, which is a sister city to Managua, declared May 10 Ben Linder Day. The state government of Washington did the same.

Portland

At Chapman Elementary School in Portland, which Linder had attended, 500 people gathered for a tribute to him May 10. Earlier, on the day after his murder, 1,500 people had rallied in Portland for a protest vigil.

The school meeting was sponsored by the Portland Central America Solidarity Committee and the Portland-Corinto Sister City Association. Both of Linder's parents spoke at the meeting.

Activists announced plans to send more volunteers to Nicaragua.

The meeting closed a week of mourning declared by the Portland City Council, which also called for halting aid to the contras.

Eight hundred people joined in a New York tribute to Ben Linder May 13. They heard Julio Icaza, Nicaragua's deputy am-

bassador to the United Nations; three prominent clergy members; and a number of Linder's friends, most of whom had shared the Nicaragua experience with him.

Icaza said Linder was the first North American to join thousands of Nicaraguans who have been tortured, kidnapped, and killed by the contra "freedom fighters."

Nicaragua, he said, has been pushed deeper into poverty and has suffered much hardship as the result of a war "organized, funded, and directed" by the U.S. government. But, he emphasized, "we know very well that this is not a policy supported by the American people."

To applause from the audience, he declared, "We know there are many Ben Linders in this country!"

Noting that Linder had worked in Nicaragua for some \$13 a month, Icaza said, "He became one of us. He shared our hardships."

And, he added, Linder knew very well he was on the contra death list, but he was not deterred.

The U.S.-run war against Nicaragua was scored by Balfour Brickner, senior rabbi of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue; Paul Moore, Episcopal bishop; and William Sloan Coffin, minister of Riverside Church.

Ben Linder, Brickner declared, "was the freedom fighter, not Reagan's contras."

A "deep rage" is growing among the people of this country over the war against Nicaragua, he continued, and there is the feeling that "we've had enough."

The audience was deeply moved by what



Jim Levitt

Memorial march for Ben Linder in Seattle drew a thousand people. Nicaraguan speaker denounced contra killers as "Reagan's proxies."

Linder's friends had to say about him. They conveyed a picture of a person of warmth and conviction who identified with Nicaragua's revolutionary process and had greatly influenced them.

All of the speakers urged people to emulate Ben's example in aiding Nicaragua and in opposing the aggression against it.

It was announced that veterans of the Spanish Civil War, members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, were now sending their eleventh ambulance to Nicaragua.

And it was also announced that the New Jewish Agenda is organizing a Ben Linder work brigade to go to Nicaragua.

In Chicago, Elisabeth and John Linder both addressed a May 9 meeting of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity).

Introduced by Jesse Jackson, Elisabeth Linder declared, "Ben was murdered on April 28. You know who's responsible for that? Your government. My government.

We paid for the bullets that killed my son."

"We must demand," she continued, "we must insist that Nicaragua be allowed to live free. We must stop all aid to the contras now. We must stop the embargo against Nicaragua now. The United States has no business dictating to a free and sovereign country, and Nicaragua is a free and sovereign country."

John Linder said his brother was the victim of a crime and declared Washington the criminal.

In Denver, 120 people gathered at the Federal Building May 6 to protest Linder's death.

And in New Orleans, 50 people picketed the Federal Building May 2, responding to a call by the Movement for Peace in Central America, a local coalition.

This article is based on reports from Omari Musa, Karen Ray, Lisa Hickler, Michael Chamberlain, and Nels J'Anthony.

Young fighters to meet at YSA convention

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"This is an exciting political period that offers many opportunities for young fighters." For that reason, says Sarah Button, young activists should attend the 25th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which will be held in Chicago May 23-25.

Button is a member of a special YSA team building participation in the convention in the Midwest.

In Chicago, Button says, "workers, students, and farmers will be gathering from all over the country." Roni Lerouge, another YSA team member, stresses the wide range of discussions those attending the convention will be able to participate in, including "on the importance of joining work brigades to Nicaragua, how to fight back against racist attacks, labor movement struggles, and the way forward for women's equality."

Similar convention-building activities are under way in other parts of the country. As well, branches of the Socialist Workers Party are reaching out to at-large members of the YSA and to other young activists to encourage them to go to the convention.

For example, the Des Moines, Iowa, SWP has organized activities in the campus towns of Ames and Grinnell to get out the word about the YSA convention. This has included a barbecue to raise funds for transportation.

The New York City SWP has sent its organizer, James Harris, to Annandale-on-Hudson to speak at a forum organized by the Mid-Hudson YSA. This branch is also reaching out to students at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York.

The YSA convention will be held at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in downtown Chicago. Registration begins Friday, May 22. There will also be a YSA open house reception from 7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. that evening at the hotel. The actual convention sessions will start at 9:00 a.m. Saturday morning and last through 4:00 p.m. Monday, May 25.

National leaders of the YSA will give several major reports, which will be discussed and voted on by the elected delegates of YSA chapters. The delegates will

likewise elect a new National Committee.

In addition, there will be a wide range of special presentations and classes.

On Saturday evening, the Political Rights Defense Fund is sponsoring a public rally to focus on defense of political and democratic rights. Featured speakers include Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting against government efforts to deport him for his political views, and David Linder, father of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer murdered by the Nicaraguan contras.

One prominent theme of the convention will be to urge young workers and students to emulate the example of Ben Linder by participating in work brigades to Nicaragua in the coming months.

A panel discussion will be held on the

struggles of working farmers in the United States. Among those taking part will be Merle Hansen, a leader of the North American Farm Alliance.

Tomas Villanueva, a leader of striking farm workers in the Yakima Valley region of Washington state, will be among the invited guests at the convention. So will a representative of the Youth Section of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The YSA convention is open to all those interested in revolutionary politics, especially to youths interested in a socialist youth organization.

For more information, write to: YSA, 64 Watts St., New York, N.Y. 10013, or contact the YSA chapter nearest you. (See directory on page 12.)

Linders rip contras at House hearing

Continued from front page

asked for it, didn't he?"

There were hisses and gasps from the audience.

As Elisabeth Linder began to reply, Mack interrupted her, saying, "You came here to blame this government, the president, and those fighting for freedom...."

"Sir, contras are not fighting for freedom," Elisabeth Linder replied.

Rep. George Crockett, Democrat of Michigan, said he had called the hearing because he expected many young people and college students to go to Nicaragua this summer. "I see a direct parallel with the volunteers that went into the state of Mississippi," he said. "I remember the three young men who were murdered."

He was referring to the 1964 murder in Mississippi of three civil rights fighters, which provoked national protests.

Come to a Rally for Political Rights Chicago

Saturday, May 23, 8:00 p.m.

Hear:

John Studer, executive director, Political Rights Defense Fund, which is backing landmark lawsuit against illegal political spying by FBI and other government agencies

Héctor Marroquín, fighting against government efforts to deport him

David Linder, father of Ben Linder, U.S. engineer murdered by Nicaraguan contras and others

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For more information, call: Political Rights Defense Fund, (212) 691-3270 or (312) 326-5853

South Dakota meat-packers resist scabs, cops

BY DIANE SHUR

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — The governor of South Dakota, state troopers, city police, and the circuit court here have joined John Morrell & Co. in attacking the rights of union meat-packers.

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 304A went on strike May 1 after honoring a picket line set up outside Morrell's plant here by their union brothers and sisters from Local 1142 in Sioux City, Iowa. Local 1142 has been on strike at the Iowa plant since March 9.

At issue in the Iowa strike is a demand by the company that Local 1142 members take a \$1.25-an-hour pay cut. When negotiations stalled on April 29, Local 1142 extended its pickets to the South Dakota plant.

Morrell ranks seventh in sales among U.S. packinghouses. It kills the second-largest number of hogs per year. Like the other packers, Morrell is attempting to increase its profits by driving down wages.

The company also has a criminal safety record. On April 24 the Occupational Safety and Health Administration proposed that the company be fined \$690,000 for falsifying injury reports.

When Local 1142 members from Iowa set up their pickets at the South Dakota plant on May 1, at least 3 million pounds of fresh and processed meat were waiting in the loading area ready for shipping. Members of Local 304A honored the lines, and by 10:00 a.m., the company was advertising on radio and TV for scabs.

Turning back scabs

The following Monday, May 4, unionists began lining the street leading to the plant at 4:00 a.m. They crowded in front of the gate to block traffic and formed a human wall around replacement workers, convincing them not to enter. Each time a scab was turned back, the Morrell workers cheered.

The same day, circuit Judge R.D. Hurd issued a 10-day temporary restraining order against the union, limiting pickets to 25.

On Monday afternoon, Gov. George Mickelson responded to the city's request for support from the state troopers. He ac-

cused the strikers of "ignoring the courts, ignoring the police, and ignoring the rights of other people."

The next morning, hundreds of strikers gathered again at the plant gate to prevent scabs from taking their jobs. That evening, police went on a rampage, arresting strikers and injuring a passing motorist.

Company lawyer Jeremiah Murphy complained, "The streets are not a place where a person can come and go from his job. You have got to run the gauntlet when you come out of the plant. Civil authority doesn't have control of the situation."

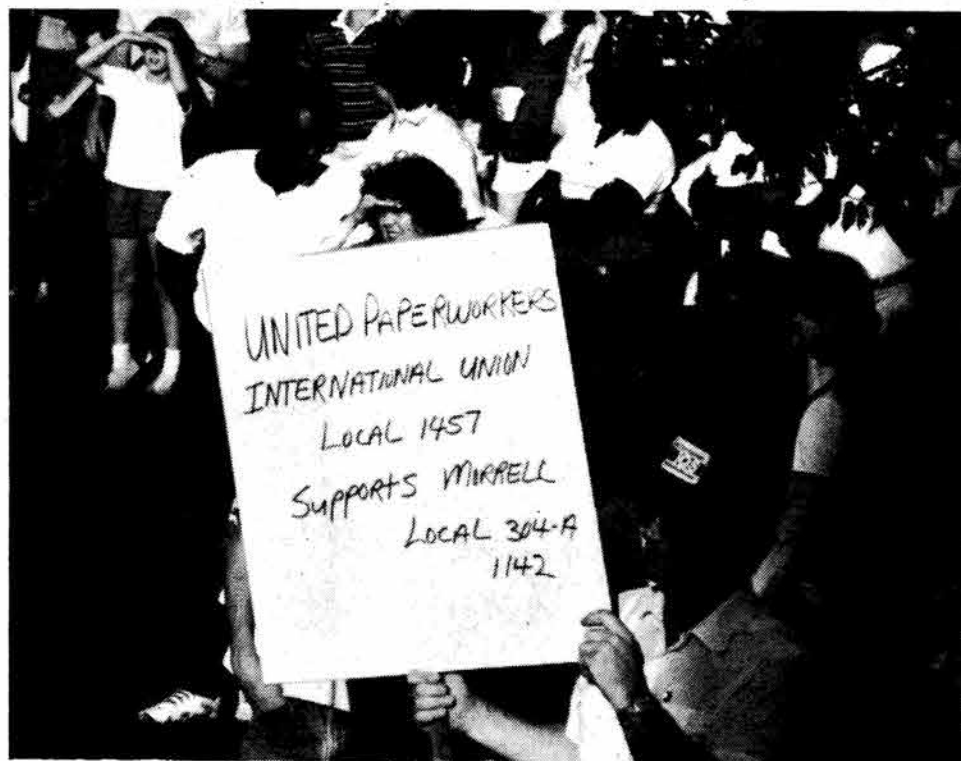
'The buck stops here'

The strikers are fed up with unsafe working conditions and concession contracts. The "buck stops here" is a frequently heard expression from Local 304A members who see themselves as standing up for their brothers and sisters in Sioux City as well as themselves.

On May 6, Governor Mickelson told a news conference that he had ordered police to "restrict access to the plant to maintain peace." That night, cops hurled tear gas into a crowd of strikers protesting the arrest of a fellow union member.

On May 7, company lawyers demanded that Judge Hurd hold both Local 1142 and Local 304A in contempt of his restraining order.

In a courtroom packed with strikers, Morrell's lawyers grilled Local 304A President Dennis Foster and chastised him for



Militant/Phil Norris

Striking Iowa Morrell workers sent flying pickets to South Dakota plant, where workers refused to cross line. This militancy has inspired solidarity from other unionists.

failing to control the union membership.

Union members and officers were found in contempt of court. Hurd ordered a \$25,000-a-day fine for the UFCW if the "violence" is not ended. He also ordered a fine of \$100 a day against Local 304A President Foster and the Local's business agent if his order is violated. This ruling is a serious legal attack on the union and its right to function without outside interference.

Union leaders were instructed to call a meeting of the Local 304A membership to inform them of the judge's ruling. The judge also ordered union officers to establish a schedule of patrols on major streets, ranging up to a mile from the plant, to break up crowds.

During this important battle to protect their jobs, Local 304A members have been joined on the line by other area unionists. Contingents of electrical workers from the Litton plant, as well as paper workers, have participated in strike support demonstrations. Nonunion workers at Citibank's national headquarters here have also expressed solidarity.

The union has contacted some farm organizations in South Dakota to make sure they understand that the pickets have no quarrel with farmers. And strikers have allowed the stockyards across the street from the plant to remain open so that farmers can auction their hogs. But the tunnel from the stockyard to the plant has been closed off. Stockyard workers are also members of Local 304A.

A day with Sioux Falls strikers

BY PHIL NORRIS

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — On May 4, I spent the day here with striking meat-packers from John Morrell & Co. plants in Sioux City, Iowa, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Workers at the South Dakota plant went on strike May 1, honoring roving pickets set up by striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 1142 from the Morrell plant in Iowa.

I began the day visiting with some of the

roving pickets on duty outside the South Dakota plant. They described how they had been tear-gassed by cops the previous evening.

While we were there, the company successfully ran about 10 trucks out of the plant under the protection of riot-clad police. These were the first trucks to leave the plant in several days. Since the plant processes 1,100 hogs an hour, these trucks represented very little production.

I made my way to the Sioux Falls Labor Temple where the 2,700-member UFCW Local 304A has its offices. Between 400 and 500 Local 304A members are women.

I spoke with two meat-packers in the parking lot outside the Labor Temple. Larry explained that he also farms 200 acres. He said he was getting paid \$11.82 an hour at Morrell in 1982. Now he gets paid \$9.25 an hour and takes home \$100 less a week than he did five years ago.

Doc told me he had been president of a UFCW local in Memphis, Tennessee, but had been forced to move to South Dakota when Morrell shut down the Memphis plant.

Local 304A meat-packers at the information table in the union hall explained that this was their fourth strike in a year and half. They struck in the fall of 1985 when their contract expired. And twice last summer Local 304A honored roving pickets set up outside the Sioux Falls plant by striking meat-packers from Morrell's Arkansas City, Kansas, plant.

Greg described what it is like working on a line slaughtering hogs. Your hands have to go through exactly the same motion every few seconds, which is the source of repetitive-motion injuries such as carpal tunnel syndrome.

Pam is a secretary at the Morrell plant. After the strike began, she was forced to work on the line without training. When she refused to work alongside scabs, the company put her on indefinite suspension. She then came to the union hall to help with the strike.

Lewie Anderson, head of the UFCW's Packinghouse Division, described the extremely hazardous working conditions at Morrell's Sioux Falls plant, where there were 24 amputations between 1981 and

1986.

Anderson went over the history of Morrell's attempt to win concessions from the union. In the face of resistance by union members, the company started closing, reopening, and reclosing plants like "turning a light switch on and off," said Anderson.

I asked what unions had to do to protect themselves. Anderson pointed to the education of the membership and the importance of building coalitions between unions and other community groups.

Court upholds trusteeship over Austin, Minn. meat-packers' union

BY GREG McCARTAN

AUSTIN, Minn. — A recent federal appeals court ruling has upheld the trusteeship that top officials of the United Food and Commercial Workers union imposed on UFCW Local P-9 in 1986.

The trusteeship was imposed after Local P-9 refused to call off its militant strike at the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant here.

Local P-9 challenged the action at the time but federal Judge Edward Devitt approved the trusteeship. The appeals court has now upheld Devitt's ruling.

In a separate ruling, Devitt recently approved the UFCW officials' seizure of the Austin Labor Center where Local P-9 and other unions have offices. He ordered all "books, records, and assets" of the Labor Center handed over to UFCW-appointed trustee Joseph Hansen.

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.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Cuban youth speak

Tens of thousands of Cuban youth take part in missions of international solidarity around the world. "If there is a country that needs our technical or medical skills, or ... our help to defend their sovereignty, it's a moral obligation, even a privilege for us to do this," said Raúl Castellanos Lage, outgoing member of the National Bureau of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) in Cuba.

For its May issue, *Perspectiva Mundial* did an exclusive interview with Castellanos and another Cuban youth leader, Juan Contino Aslañ, at the end of the recent UJC convention in Havana.

Contino had just come back from an internationalist mission in Angola, which is under attack by South Africa's apartheid regime. Castellanos served as a doctor in Nicaragua for 26 months.

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Cuban Young Communists discuss challenges

Examine role of political leadership in solving economic problems

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA, Cuba — "At this meeting, one feels the future," Armando Hart told the delegates to the Fifth Congress of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) here in early April. Hart is the Cuban minister of culture and has been one of the leading figures of the Cuban revolution for nearly 35 years.

At other gatherings, Hart continued, he often felt that he was hearing the voice of the past. "Here it is the future calling and demanding that we listen."

Hart's remarks captured the most important aspect of the congress, which took place April 1-5. Originally scheduled for four days, the delegates voted during the congress itself to extend their deliberations another 24 hours. The discussion, during which more than 140 delegates took the floor, was sometimes intensely serious and sometimes humorous. More than anything, however, it was a searching examination of the successes, problems, and challenges facing socialist Cuba today.

The 1,500 communist leaders gathered at Havana's modern conference center were young. Their average age was 25. There was deep pride among them in what the workers and farmers of Cuba have accomplished in their 27 short years of governing — advances in health, education, industrial and technological development, defense, sports, the arts; the historic progress in combating the legacies of racism and women's oppression; and the contributions of Cuban men and women of all ages as internationalist volunteers in countries such as Angola and Nicaragua.

The delegates were deeply aware that such achievements have been possible only because the previous generation of Cuban working people took the road of socialist revolution. They knew their gains had been won only by standing up to the mightiest imperialist power in the world and unflinchingly defending their independence and sovereignty through years of economic blockade, military aggression, and diplomatic isolation. The years of unbroken imperialist hostility to Cuba are unprecedented in the 20th century.

Focus on future

The attention of the Cuban youth gathered at the congress was not on the past, however, nor on the goals already achieved. It was on the future, on challenges still to be met. They seemed confident and eager to shoulder more responsibility for addressing and correcting existing weaknesses, errors, and problems.

The political report presented to the delegates summarized the tasks before the 600,000 members of the organization, who range in age from 16 to 30. It was unanimously adopted on the final day of the congress.

The report itself was the product of months of discussion, both within the UJC and in broad assemblies of young Cubans. It was published in *Juventud Rebelde*, the daily newspaper of the UJC, a couple of weeks prior to the opening of the congress, enabling delegates (as well as the entire Cuban population) to read and study it in

advance.

The congress was opened by Roberto Robaina González, first secretary of the UJC, and 30 minutes later, the delegates were already well into their first working session. Over the next five days, they systematically took up the main themes of the report. Afternoon sessions were often extended several hours beyond their scheduled adjournment to allow more time for discussion. The daily press carried extensive excerpts and summaries of the debate and Cuban television and radio broadcast hours of the proceedings.

Members of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party were present for the entire congress, often joining the discussion as they asked or answered questions. Fidel Castro, president of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, participated in all working sessions of the congress.

There were also several hundred international guests representing youth organizations around the world. A number of them brought greetings to the delegates.

Discussion focused on one central theme — how can Cuban working people make better use of their government, their state apparatus, their educational system, their mass organizations, and their industry to accomplish more.

How can they develop and bring into their day-to-day work in Cuba the same kind of revolutionary consciousness and spirit that has prompted millions of Cuban men and women to join the voluntary Territorial Troop Militia, and has led hundreds of thousands to participate in internationalist brigades of doctors, teachers, engineers, military personnel, and construction workers in Africa, Central America, and elsewhere in the underdeveloped world?

How can they improve the quality of life for all today, contribute more to the aid of struggling peoples elsewhere, and prepare for the future by making better use of available technology and more efficient use of scarce human and material resources?

Correction process

A deepening discussion of these questions has been taking place on all levels of Cuban society for more than a year now, as the leadership of the country has promoted what has come to be called the rectification or correction process. In a serious, ongoing educational campaign, Cubans at every workplace, in every industry, have been discussing the interrelated reasons why labor productivity has not risen faster, so many shoddy goods are produced, services working people count on are so poor, construction projects are begun but not finished, absenteeism is high, and virtually all enterprises are overstaffed.

Cuba's critics in Washington and elsewhere have pointed to such well-known problems as proof of the failure of socialism. But the Cubans themselves have pointed to a different source. The mistakes and weaknesses they are now correcting, Castro has explained on repeated occasions, stem from a default in political leadership. Since the system of economic management and centralized planning was



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

April congress of Union of Young Communists in Havana. Fidel Castro told delegates that socialism, unlike capitalism, is based on "conscience, solidarity, cooperation, and conscious discipline."

established in the mid-1970s, there has been a growing tendency to rely on the planning mechanism as such to automatically solve all problems.

No 'mechanism' to build socialism

As Castro put it at one recent meeting, however, there is no "mechanism" that automatically builds socialism. Socialism, unlike capitalism, "is not built by virtue of blind laws." Socialism has its laws, he said, "but the subjective factor, the role of the party, the role of the human being, is fundamental." Only free men and women can make the conscious decisions necessary to lead others and to achieve the goals they have decided upon.

Since the mid-1970s the emphasis in Cuba has been to rely on material incentives to increase productivity. Bonuses earned by producing more than a plant's production quota often became an important part of anticipated wages.

Both workers and management would develop a stake in keeping production goals artificially low in order to assure bonuses for "overproduction." While this happened unevenly, the planning and management system didn't solve the problem. To the contrary, under these conditions, it operated to depress productivity, increase inefficiency and waste, and give little or no impetus to workers to improve quality. It fostered all kinds of scams and petty frauds as social acceptance of maximizing bonuses while minimizing productivity became more generalized.

Through a process of political discussion with workers, management, trade union representatives, and party and youth leaders in virtually every work center, production norms are now being adjusted, quality of work controlled more carefully, and unwarranted bonuses eliminated. Needless to say, there is not always unanimous agreement.

The "errors and negative tendencies" being broadly discussed and corrected today in Cuba are the product of underestimating the necessity for political leadership and developing communist consciousness.

When the end result of production is no longer to put profits in a boss's pocket but to advance the well-being of society as a whole, the rules change. Socialism, Fidel told the youth congress in his closing remarks, unlike capitalism, "is based fundamentally on conscience, on solidarity, cooperation among men and women, conscious discipline, the struggle against individualism and selfishness. . . . It involves a tireless struggle against negligence, irresponsibility, insensitivity."

Challenge to lead young workers

Delegates to the youth congress took up some of the challenges posed in leading young workers especially.

One is the fact that a significant number of young people in Cuba are neither in school, nor in the armed forces, nor working. In most cases, delegates explained, it is not because jobs are unavailable, but because the preferred job in the preferred location is not available. If some other family

member is working, it is not hard to get by for an extended period of time without a job. Basic foods are guaranteed at subsidized prices, education and medical care are free, public transportation is virtually free, and rent is generally no more than 10 percent of the income of the head of the family.

The fact that large numbers of young people prefer not to work at all constitutes a collective loss to the entire society.

A related problem raised by delegates is a frequent discrepancy between jobs available and the skills or professions for which a young person has been trained. Too often, young people graduate from technical schools, or even return from training courses overseas, only to discover that there are already too many other workers with the same skills, or that the equipment they were trained to operate is not yet in use in Cuba. Consequently, they cannot find employment in the field for which they trained. Working to reduce the frequency of such errors in planning, and to eliminate overspecialized training, which produces needless frustration and unhappiness, was seen as a real priority.

Transition in generations

One of the most important challenges facing working people in Cuba — older and younger alike — is a transition in leadership and responsibility. Thirty-five percent of the work force is now under 30 years of age, up from 30 percent five years ago. A new generation is pushing forward, one that is better-educated, better-trained, and with the energy and impatience of youth. As the discussion at the congress clearly showed, the young generation that has grown up within the revolution takes the gains that have been made if not for granted, at least as its starting point. And it refuses, at the same time, to accept the current weaknesses and errors. The youth are more and more taking leadership in acting to correct these errors and weaknesses.

One of the most concrete discussions was around retirement provisions of the Social Security Law and seniority policies. In Cuba, retirement age — when one can retire with full social security benefits — is 55 for women and 60 for men, but it is not obligatory. Workers who are physically able and want to continue working are encouraged to do so. Law and social policy are based on the fact that continuing to be a productive human being contributes to the health and happiness of older people.

At the same time, delegates expressed the frustrations of young people at finding no easy solution to the fact that many jobs and positions of responsibility are filled by older workers who are often less qualified.

One delegate's humorous contribution to this problem won him the title of "most popular delegate." But the bottom line of the discussion was the recognition that such transitions can only be solved by conscious, political, communist leadership.

Delegates rejected the idea that mandatory retirement or eliminating seniority provisions was an acceptable social policy. They concluded that no "blind law," no au-

Continued on Page 13

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Southern Illinois team talks politics with miners

BY JIM ALTENBERG

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. — "Things aren't bad here, but they're not good either," said a miner as he bought a *Militant* at the portal to Consolidation Coal's

main out of work. The coal operators hold the threat of layoffs over those still working as the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) opens national contract negotiations with the operators.

weakened the union's power. As one miner put it, "We need to go back to the old way" when nationwide strikes were conducted.

At some mines serious attacks on the union have recently taken place. At the Freeman-United Orient No. 6 mine near Sesser, Illinois, workers staged a wildcat strike in March when the company stopped paying workers' medical insurance bills.

Another wildcat took place at the Ziegler mine near Coulterville. When an injured miner was taken to the hospital the company demanded that he take a drug test before allowing him to be treated. He refused and was fired. Four others were fired when they walked out in protest. The whole shift followed. The five miners

won their jobs back, though the injured man was suspended for a month.

The sales team sold 121 *Militants* at six mine portals. An additional 23 copies and 10 subscriptions were sold in nearby mining communities.

Southern Illinois has large, unionized manufacturing plants as well as coal mines. We sold five *Militants* to members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union at Bridal Originals in DuQuoin, while the boss stood outside and screamed at us not to talk to "my girls."

Across the street, 10 more were sold to Teamsters at a wire-rope plant.

At the giant Norge washing

machine plant in Herrin, members of the International Association of Machinists have been hit hard by layoffs. They make as little as \$4.77 per hour. Their contract expires in May, but many didn't think Norge would demand further concessions since it was making a lot of money and is soon to merge with Maytag. But, as one said, "It's very quiet in here, maybe too quiet." Twenty-eight workers bought the *Militant*.

The Laborers' union waged a strike three years ago at Tuck Tape in Carbondale. This time around there was no strike, but workers won a small wage increase and gave no concessions. "The 1984 strike showed that if we unite we can make some progress," one worker explained. Seven people bought *Militants* at Tuck Tape.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Rend Lake mine. He aptly summed up the mood many other miners and workers expressed to members of a *Militant* team that was selling in southern Illinois recently.

Many coal mines and factories here have been closed down. Despite some callbacks at a few mines, thousands of miners re-

The sales team held many discussions with miners about the upcoming contract. Workers were already saving up for a strike. Some miners supported the UMWA's selective strike strategy, whereby certain companies are targeted for a strike when the contract expires, while the rest go on working. Many more opposed it, and felt it

Detroit supporters gear up to make sales goal

BY MALIK MIAH

DETROIT — Supporters of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* in this city are mapping out plans to make their spring sales goal of 190 *Militant* and 20 *PM* subscriptions.

The national target is to win 6,700 *Militant* and 1,800 *PM* new readers as subscribers. As of this scoreboard (see below), 3,778 *Militant* and 1,242 *PM* subscriptions have been sold, or 59 percent of the goal. The drive ends June 6.

I came to Detroit May 8-10 to learn firsthand about supporters' sales experiences, and to discuss with them plans both to make the subscription drive and to broaden their ongoing sales at industrial work sites.

Mark Friedman, a baggage handler at Northwest Airlines and a member of the International Association of Machinists, is sales organizer in this area. We began our discussion on our way to sell at the gate of McClouth Steel in Trenton, which is downriver from Detroit.

"We'll do the best we can to reach the goal," Mark said, "but it will be a challenge because many of our people have recently moved to other parts of the country to build the socialist movement." There are some 15 people in Detroit who regularly sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Part of the weekly effort here is distributing the *Militant* and *PM* at important industrial sites. The McClouth Steel sale is one of six such sales supporters try to or-

ganize. Normally four come off each week. These include a sale at a meat-packing plant, two auto plants, and at the metro airport.

"Although we are behind in the subscription campaign," Mark said, "making sure we have four regular plant-gate sales is a priority for us."

The next day I joined a four-person team at Belle Isle — an island park on the east side of town that sits between Detroit and Windsor, Canada.

We sold at a "Legs Against Arms" Walkathon, sponsored by the Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Three of us sold *Militants* and *Pathfinder* literature, and a fourth person talked to participants about signing up as sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund. (Four people did so.)

Some 25 *Militants* and 1 subscription were sold. The beautiful day helped, as did the *Militant*'s front-page article on the contra assassination of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer who was working on a Nicaraguan rural electrification project.

At a discussion with sales supporters on May 10, everyone was optimistic about selling dozens more *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions — coming close if not making the goal — especially in light of the new stage in the deepening government crisis around the Iran-contra revelations.

"We are going to make the goal," said one warehouse worker, "because by doing this we'll be able to get more coworkers to go to Nicaragua and meet other interna-



Washington, D.C., April 25 antiwar march. Across the country, *Militant* supporters are mapping out plans to meet subscription goal.

tional volunteers. What Ben Linder did is what human beings should be doing."

Subscription teams

This positive attitude toward making the 8,500 goal has been bolstered by the response *Militant* and *PM* subscription teams have been getting around the country.

After one week, the Yakima Valley sales team in Washington state sold 28 *PM* and 16 *Militant* subscriptions. Most were to

farm workers, reports team captain Frank Forrestal.

Highlights include three very successful workplace sales. At a Del Monte food processing plant in Toppenish, Washington, the three-person team sold at two shift changes. Eleven *Militants*, 26 *PMs*, and 2 *PM* subscriptions were sold.

At the Iowa Beef Processing (IBP) plant in the same town, 7 *Militants*, 33 *PMs*, and 1 *PM* subscription were sold.

"What people have been most interested in," Frank said, "was the *Militant* and *PM* coverage of the Ben Linder murder and articles on the recent victorious strike by canner workers in Watsonville, California."

Ninety-nine *Militants* and 2 *PMs* were sold to students at Washington State University in Pullman. Eleven students bought *Militant* subscriptions.

Another three-person sales team is getting a good response from miners and their families in the Arizona and New Mexico coalfields. In two days the team sold 126 *Militants*, 10 *PMs*, and 2 *Young Socialists*, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, as well as 10 *Militant* and 2 *PM* subscriptions.

According to team member Susan LaMont, the team sold 26 singles and 8 *Militant* subscriptions to miners and their families in Kayenta, Arizona. Most were sold door-to-door and at the mine entrances of the Black Mesa and Kayenta mines. Both mines are in the Navajo Nation, with most miners being Navajo.

At the P&M McKinley mine in an area between Gallup, New Mexico, and Window Rock, Arizona, the team sold 76 *Militants* at a shift change. The mine has about 360 workers.

The biggest challenge before us is to use the remaining weeks of the campaign — particularly the target 12 days following the end of the Young Socialist Alliance national convention May 23-25 — to mobilize all supporters to join subscription teams two or more times per week, as well as to talk up the *Militant* and *PM* to workers on the job.

Through such efforts, we can meet our local and national goals on time.

Spring Subscription Scoreboard

| Area | Goals | | Sold | | % Sold |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------|
| | <i>Militant</i> | <i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> | <i>Militant</i> | <i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> | |
| New York | 550 | 300 | 413 | 241 | 77 |
| Phoenix | 80 | 100 | 52 | 85 | 76 |
| Milwaukee | 100 | 25 | 86 | 7 | 74 |
| Baltimore | 150 | 8 | 98 | 17 | 73 |
| New Paltz, N.Y. | 10 | - | 7 | - | 70 |
| Los Angeles | 325 | 200 | 224 | 134 | 68 |
| Pittsburgh | 90 | 10 | 58 | 8 | 66 |
| Chicago | 250 | 100 | 171 | 58 | 65 |
| Seattle | 180 | 50 | 119 | 30 | 65 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | 100 | 10 | 54 | 17 | 65 |
| Atlanta | 110 | 10 | 69 | 7 | 63 |
| Twin Cities, Minn. | 200 | 15 | 117 | 18 | 63 |
| San Jose, Calif. | 180 | 100 | 102 | 73 | 63 |
| Portland, Ore. | 125 | 25 | 70 | 23 | 62 |
| Boston | 240 | 60 | 124 | 60 | 61 |
| Stony Brook, N.Y. | 10 | - | 6 | - | 60 |
| Newark, N.J. | 375 | 175 | 220 | 93 | 57 |
| Detroit | 190 | 20 | 105 | 14 | 57 |
| San Diego | 85 | 55 | 51 | 25 | 54 |
| Denver | 100 | 15 | 57 | 5 | 54 |
| San Francisco | 100 | 60 | 56 | 30 | 54 |
| Charleston, W. Va. | 100 | - | 51 | 2 | 53 |
| Morgantown, W. Va. | 95 | 5 | 48 | 4 | 52 |
| St. Louis | 250 | 12 | 127 | 7 | 51 |
| Amherst, Mass. | 10 | - | 4 | 1 | 50 |
| Greensboro, N.C. | 115 | 10 | 60 | 2 | 50 |
| Austin, Minn. | 80 | 10 | 42 | 2 | 49 |
| Miami | 110 | 40 | 58 | 14 | 48 |
| Totals | 6,700 | 1,800 | 3,778 | 1,242 | 59 |
| To be on schedule | | | 4,087 | 1,098 | 61 |

Death penalty: Supreme Court sanctions more legalized murder

BY ERNEST HARSCH

With two back-to-back rulings, the U.S. Supreme Court has cleared the way for a broader and more frequent use of the death penalty. In doing so it has not only sent a chill through many prisons, but has also served notice on all working people that the rulers of this country intend to safeguard their system and laws through the most barbaric methods.

Nearly 2,000 prisoners are now sitting on death row. In the past couple years, about 20 a year have been electrocuted or injected with poisons.

With the new Supreme Court rulings, the pace of these legalized murders is expected to jump. In Florida, where no one has been executed for the past year, state officials estimate that the electric chair will be back in action by the fall. "Things are going to move much faster," commented Larry Spaulding, director of a state-financed agency that represents death-row prisoners.

'Barbaric and outrageous'

The first of the Supreme Court rulings came on April 21.

By a 5-to-4 majority, the court greatly expanded the scope of the death penalty, extending it to accomplices in crimes leading to homicides, even if the accomplice did not participate in the killing or intend to kill anyone. This ruling cut back an earlier, 1982 decision that was widely viewed as outlawing the imposition of the death penalty against such accomplices.

Henry Schwarzschild, head of the American Civil Liberties Union's capital punishment project, called the ruling "ominous" because "it once again makes the death penalty available for homicides for which the defendant had no direct responsibility." He said the Supreme Court decision is "barbaric and outrageous."

NAACP suit rejected

The very next day the court rejected a major constitutional challenge to the death penalty.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had filed a suit on behalf of Warren McClesky, a death-row inmate in Georgia who is Black, arguing that the state's capital punishment system was unconstitutional because it was racially discriminatory.

In support of its argument, the NAACP lawyers submitted a statistical study of death sentences in Georgia showing that prisoners convicted of killing whites were four times more likely to be sentenced to death than those convicted of killing Blacks. And this disparity is even more pronounced if the accused killers are themselves Black.

McClesky was found guilty of shooting a white policeman to death during a store robbery and was given the death penalty by a jury of 11 whites and one Black.

The Supreme Court majority (the same five who voted to extend the death penalty to accomplices the day before) basically accepted the Georgia statistical study as valid. But they ruled that the existence of such racial discrimination was no grounds to overturn the death penalty as unconstitutional.

The justices argued that for Black death-row prisoners to escape execution, they must prove that they were discriminated against in their individual case, not on the basis of a general statistical survey.

As Jack Boger of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund pointed out, such direct and specific proof "is beyond the power of lawyers to present," since it would require "breaking the sanctity of the jury room and entering the minds of the jurors to see if they were motivated by race."

Justice Lewis Powell's majority ruling also reflected how committed this country's rulers are to the death penalty. McClesky's arguments, Powell wrote, "basically challenge the validity of capital punishment in our multiracial society" and "the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system." If McClesky were upheld, the majority argued, the door would be opened to further constitutional

challenges to the death penalty.

In other words, forget constitutional niceties, the death penalty must remain at all costs.

'Cruel and unusual punishment'

Four of the Supreme Court justices disagreed. In a dissenting opinion, William Brennan, supported by Thurgood Marshall, reaffirmed his general opposition to the death penalty, arguing that it is "in all circumstances cruel and unusual punishment forbidden by the Eighth and 14th Amendments."

Justices Harry Blackmun and John Stevens also dissented. But they did so on the narrower grounds of the racially discriminatory way the death penalty is being implemented.

It was such objections to the specific application of the death penalty that underlay the Supreme Court's 1972 decision striking down all existing state death penalty laws at the time. It found that death penalties were being meted out in a "freakish," "arbitrary," and "capricious" manner.

This then spurred many state legislatures to simply rewrite their death penalty laws. To lessen the appearance of arbitrariness, most made death penalties mandatory for certain crimes (with some degree of discretion still allowed to judges and jurors).

This satisfied a majority of the Supreme Court justices, and in 1976 they once again approved use of the death penalty.

Thirty-seven states have now adopted death penalty laws. And the Justice Department is pressing for restoration of the death penalty for certain federal crimes.

Linna's extradition

Another form that capital punishment can take was shown by the U.S. government's decision to extradite accused Nazi war criminal Karl Linna to the Soviet Union, where he had been sentenced to death a quarter of a century ago.

Linna, now 67 years old, had been living in the United States since 1951. He was charged with heading a Nazi concentration camp in Estonia (now part of the Soviet Union) during World War II. The evidence is extensive that he participated in atrocities and mass murders.

Extraditing someone to a country where they are already under a death sentence is little different than if Washington carried out the execution itself. That was the grounds on which Amnesty International, which rejects all use of the death penalty, opposed Linna's April 20 extradition.

The Linna case also sets a dangerous precedent that the U.S. government could use against others who have sought refuge in the United States from death sentences imposed by various right-wing dictatorships around the world.

And by choosing a mass murderer like Linna, who would obviously win little public sympathy, the rulers have sought to reinforce acceptance of the death penalty. For the same reason, the first prisoner executed after the Supreme Court's 1976 decision was Gary Gilmore, who publicly proclaimed that he wanted to be executed.

Who sits on death row?

Government officials, legislators, and judges try to make it appear that the death penalty is part of a system of "justice" operating in the interests of society as a whole. In fact, it is a weapon aimed at terrorizing the exploited and oppressed.

The entire legal system in this country is an instrument of the capitalist rulers. The cops, the courts, the prisons, and the electric chairs are all designed to uphold the power and privileges of those few who own the productive wealth of this country. There are no bankers, landlords, or industrialists on death row — and hardly any in prison. Yet their class has carried out murderous wars and lives on profits stolen from working people.

As former Los Angeles mayor Sam Yorty quipped around the time of the Supreme Court's 1976 ruling, "If you have enough money, you'll be able to avoid the death penalty."

The vast majority of those in prison, and on death row, are working people or un-

employed. Of the 158 Californians who were sent to the gas chambers between 1943 and 1963, half were unskilled workers. A 1974 government study found that those prisoners working full-time before their arrests had a median annual income of only \$4,639.

And as in every other aspect of racist U.S. society, those working people who are Black or Latino get the worst deal of all. Of the 1,874 prisoners on death row as of March 1, fully one-half were people of color. In addition, commented Tanya Coke of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, "Ninety-nine percent of death row inmates are indigent and receive lousy legal representation."

In the decade since the Supreme Court's 1976 decision, nearly 70 prisoners have been put to death.

In September 1985, Charles Rumbaugh became the first juvenile offender to be executed in the United States since 1964, having been convicted on charges of murdering someone when he was 17.

There are now some 35 juvenile offenders on death row in 16 states. In Indiana, someone can be sentenced to death if they were at least 10 years old at the time of the alleged crime. A few states have no minimum age restrictions whatsoever. (The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a case in which it will decide whether states may execute prisoners who were under 18 when they committed the acts for which they were sentenced to death.)

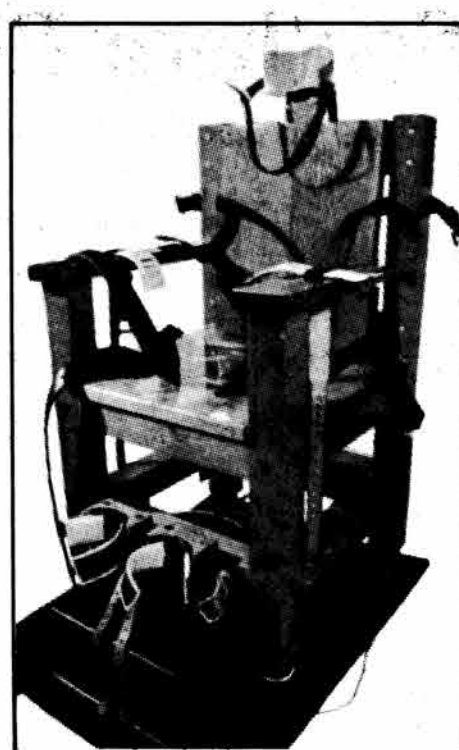
The use of the death penalty is both a reflection of the barbarism of capitalist society and an instrument of repression and terror in the hands of the capitalist rulers. It is in the interests of all working people to fight to abolish the death penalty completely.

In the words of Amnesty International, which has launched a campaign against capital punishment in the United States, "There is no place in civilized society for the gas chamber, the gallows, or the electric chair."

Nicaragua shows the way

Nicaragua provides an example of the kind of legal system, established in the interests of working people, that seeks to do away with such barbarous practices.

The death penalty was abolished in Nicaragua from the first days of the revolution



Electric chair at Georgia state prison. In two rulings, Supreme Court has broadened scope of death penalty, which is directed overwhelmingly against working people.

in July 1979.

This was the case for all Nicaraguans, including the former National Guardsmen who murdered, tortured, and raped under the old Somoza dictatorship.

In the days right after the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, some Nicaraguans tried to exact revenge against members of the National Guard. Sandinista leaders immediately stepped in to explain to the people why such summary executions would be counterproductive and harmful.

"We were able to convince them not to do it," Sandinista leader Tomás Borge said in a 1980 speech. "We were able to convince them by saying that we could not kill them because we had made this revolution in order to put a stop to killings."

This policy has been maintained ever since, even throughout the course of the brutal contra war imposed by Washington. Though it is an impoverished country victimized by murder gangs who consciously target civilians, Nicaragua has not budged from its rejection of the death penalty. In fact, it has proclaimed a policy of granting amnesty to those contras who turn themselves in.

Opposition to the use of the death penalty has been constitutionally codified. In the Nicaraguan constitution ratified earlier this year, the very first article of the section

Continued on Page 11

Daniel Ortega reaffirms amnesty policy toward Nicaraguan contras

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — At an April 25 news conference here, Gen. Humberto Ortega, head of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS), called for "harsh measures" against the U.S.-backed contras who carry out terrorism against Nicaragua.

According to the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, "He reported that the EPS and all the people have been directed to carry out revolutionary justice against all those who are caught carrying out terrorist acts against civilians and economic targets."

Speaking the same day as General Ortega, however, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega strongly reaffirmed the Sandinistas' policy of amnesty for contras and opposition to the death penalty.

The death penalty has been abolished in Nicaragua. Physical abuse of prisoners, including contras, is prohibited. Contras who lay down their weapons and turn themselves in to authorities are given amnesty and allowed to return to their communities.

Daniel Ortega was meeting with some 200 local church leaders here. A woman whose two sons had been murdered by the contras questioned the amnesty policy. She asked Ortega "not to take a soft hand with such thugs."

Ortega explained that under the government amnesty program, a contra who turns in his rifle and asks for amnesty "immediately receives it and then enjoys equal rights and duties with any Nicaraguan citizen."

This policy "is difficult to understand,"

he continued. "Most likely that guy murdered a relative, a son, a brother, or other family member of someone who is a neighbor of his." When the ex-contra is returned to his community, those family members will "see him there every day."

But the Sandinista National Liberation Front rejects a policy of revenge, said Ortega.

"What effect would it have," he asked the meeting, "if today we said that from now on, everyone who is directly or indirectly linked to the counterrevolution is going to die? Would it have a positive or negative effect?"

"Negative," replied several people in the audience.

"It would mean that all those who were ready to give themselves up, to surrender in combat, would not give themselves up. They would fight to the death, since they knew they were going to die anyway," Ortega said.

On the other hand, what if we offer these criminals a pardon, and 20, 30, 50, or 100 accept it? What if we manage to have the five or six thousand criminals that are out there organized by the CIA turn themselves in? Would this be good or bad for the Nicaraguan people?"

"Good," replied many in the meeting.

"That is why the policy of pardon is worthwhile," Ortega concluded. "We share the pain and the feelings of the mothers. But with this policy, we are trying to save more mothers from the pain of seeing their children die."

'Revolution opens door to women's equality'

Sandinista statement on fight for women's rights in Nicaragua

The following is the declaration presented by the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua to the Third National Assembly of the Nicaraguan Women's Association — Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE). The document is the first programmatic statement on women's rights by the Sandinistas since the July 19, 1979, revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Thousands of women — including industrial and farm workers, peasants, market vendors, students, soldiers, and professionals — participated in the AMNLAE gathering, held March 8 in Managua. The translation is by the *Militant*.

I. Situation of women before the triumph of the revolution

1. In examining the conditions facing women before the revolution, particularly working women, we must begin with the exploitation, exclusion, and political oppression that the immense majority of our people were subjected to for many years.

Our workers, poor Nicaraguans in general, men and women, suffered the systematic violation of their most elemental rights. The right to a job, to education and culture, to a dignified and healthy life, to organize politically and in unions, and the right to be treated as human beings were brutally denied by the regime of exploitation that was imposed on our country beginning in 1821.

Imperialist domination, dependent capitalism, the Liberal-Conservative oligarchy, and the Somozaist military dictatorship were the pillars of the system that condemned our people to these conditions. This oppressive system was destroyed forever on July 19, 1979, but it left us deformations that we must eradicate.

2. Nicaraguan women were, in addition, victims of other forms of exploitation and oppression, due to their subordinate position in society as women. In fact, women, particularly working-class women, bore a double burden of social discrimination that oppressed them even more.

Women were relegated to housework and the care of the children; limited in opportunities for cultural and social improvement; denied access to certain posts and jobs; and restricted in their potential as human beings. Those who worked, both in the city and countryside, had to add to their workday outside the home the burden of domestic tasks. In short, women were treated and educated as second-class citizens.

Women's greater cultural backwardness compared to men, their concentration in menial jobs, their limited participation in political and social activities, their scant representation in leading posts of any type, among other things, were just the visible expressions of the social discrimination they were subjected to.

In addition to this discrimination, women faced physical and moral abuse, without society condemning or punishing those responsible for such conduct.

3. The subordinate social position of Nicaraguan women was reinforced in the ideological, legal, and political arenas. Machismo, the most relevant ideological expression in this sense, tried to legitimize and perpetuate discrimination against women and to make the unfavorable situation women found themselves in "acceptable" to society.

Machismo exalts a supposed male superiority. It excludes women from activities and jobs that are considered "for men only." It claims the right of men to abuse women, and establishes prerogatives and rights that women cannot enjoy. What machismo tries to pass off as immutable principles are the result of the deformations imposed on our society by the system of exploitation of man by man.

As an ideological phenomenon, machismo affects men and women equally and has been perpetuated historically through different ideological vehicles. The

family, schools, the church, and commercial propaganda are among the most important. Many aspects of discrimination against women were also incorporated in the laws and legal and political institutions of the country, such as laws on divorce and *patria potestad* [paternal authority within the family].

4. The revolution is radically transforming social relations and creating political conditions that make it possible to wipe out the ideological, legal, and social expressions of these relations, which were aimed at perpetuating discrimination against women. Progress in both aspects is an indispensable condition for achieving the full emancipation of women and guaranteeing true equality of opportunity.

5. Since 1969 the FSLN has taken a categorical stand opposed to discrimination against women. In its program, the FSLN wrote the following:

"The Sandinista People's Revolution will abolish the odious discrimination that women have been subjected to compared with men; it will establish economic, political, and cultural equality between women and men.

"a. It will pay special attention to the mother and child.

"b. It will eliminate prostitution and other social scourges, through which the dignity of women will be raised.

"c. It will put an end to the system of servitude women are subjected to, which is reflected in the tragedy of the abandoned working mother.

"d. It will establish for children born out of wedlock the right to equal protection by the revolutionary institutions.

"e. It will establish day-care centers for the care and attention of the children of working women.

"f. It will establish a two-month mater-

incorporation into the people's struggles.

2. Women participated in all the social and political struggles of our people in this century. This participation grew until it reached massive levels in the final stage of popular fighting against the Somozaist dictatorship. Despite the adverse historical and cultural conditions — politics was precisely one of those arenas reserved for men — women of all ages broke taboos, left their homes, at times rebelling against their families or companions, and left to take their positions in the battle. Their contribution was decisive for the cause of national liberation, and through this struggle they helped advance the fight to win their own demands.

Women participated in the Sandinista resistance against the Yankee invaders [1927-1933]. They were strikers and fighters for the rights of the working class. As peasants, they were leading participants in the struggles for land. They were student activists and demonstrators against the Somozaist oppression. They were members of the FSLN, collaborators, messengers, organizers of safe houses, underground fighters, guerrillas in the mountains. They were political leaders and military commanders. There was practically not a single battlefield where our women were not active.

As mothers, they became symbols of courage and integrity, representatives of the spirit and dignity of our people. Mothers of political prisoners, mothers of the disappeared, mothers of those tortured, mothers who carried their sorrow with dignity, struggling in the streets, denouncing the genocide committed by the National Guard in the mountains, launching hunger strikes, or sheltering underground fighters as their own children.

Many women were also victims of the

tensive agitation and political mobilizations that strengthened the general struggle of all the people and encouraged the participation of a great many sisters who until then had not participated. Thus, the Patriotic Alliance and AMPRONAC clearly showed the great potential for mobilizing women in revolutionary tasks.

4. One reflection of the outstanding participation of women in the revolutionary struggle is the fact that 38 percent of the militants of the Second Promotion [1981 membership campaign] of the FSLN are women.

III. Women after the revolutionary triumph

1. After so many years of oppression, the revolutionary victory provoked a real explosion of activity among the people and freed energies that had been repressed for centuries. With the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, all sectors of the people organized and mobilized actively to win the fulfillment of their demands, which had been postponed for so long: workers for their union and labor rights, poor peasants demanding land, and the entire people for the right to education and health care.

2. Women participated and are participating as workers, peasants, students, neighborhood activists, intellectuals, and so on in the creative work of the people, in the revolution, which for the first time in our history opens up the real possibility of resolving the discrimination against and subordination of women.

In participating in all tasks, joining the social and union organizations, and in joining AMNLAE, Nicaraguan women begin to raise and advance the solutions to their specific problems. The revolution, led by the FSLN, created the conditions in which that struggle could advance.

3. The revolutionary conquests of women and the people in general are already significant. These include:

a. The discussion and enactment of laws to abolish discrimination against women and to generate new relations within the family, ones based on equality, respect, and solidarity.

b. The creation of a Women's Legal Office, which has energetically defended women's legal rights.

c. The multiple opportunities for women's participation in all aspects of political, economic, and social life, in which women have begun to fill posts and positions from which they were excluded until recently.

d. Education about the problems and struggles of women has been unprecedented, forging a greater consciousness about this question in society in general.

e. The government has promoted the creation of Child Development Centers and Rural Childcare Services, achieving better conditions for the active incorporation of women with young children in all types of work in the countryside and city.

f. Nicaraguan women are becoming more aware of their potential, and they are beginning to achieve their full capacities as human beings, with a renewed sense of dignity.

The following are some statistics that reflect these advances to some extent:

- Women occupy 31.4 percent of the leadership positions in the government.

- Women make up 26.8 percent of the members of the Regional Committees of the FSLN, as well as 24.3 percent of the total membership.

- Women were 43 percent of the literacy brigade members.

- Between 55 and 70 percent of the brigade members of the People's Health Days are women.

- Women make up 40 percent of the members of the unions of agricultural workers and hold 15 percent of the local leadership positions. Women make up 67 percent of the members of the Sandinista Defense Committees.

These figures, which reflect historic advances in the struggle to abolish discrimination against women and signify revolu-



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Members of an army antiaircraft unit. Incorporation of women into all revolutionary tasks, including military defense, is decisive for constructing new society, Sandinistas explain.

nity leave before and after birth for women who work.

"g. It will raise women's political, cultural, and vocational levels through their participation in the revolutionary process."

This statement shows that from then on, the FSLN not only recognized the existence of unjust conditions faced by women, but also took on the struggle for women's full emancipation as an integral part of its political program and of the great social and ideological transformations that the Sandinista People's Revolution would have to carry out.

II. Women and the people's struggles

1. Despite the subordinate situation described above, it must be recognized that Nicaraguan women took on their responsibilities as mothers and heads of families, working selflessly to feed, clothe, educate, and raise their children, even though they were abandoned in many cases by both their husbands and by society.

It is undeniable that the courage and dignity with which they met their family responsibilities laid the basis for their gradual

repression against the people: raped, tortured, murdered, or falling in combat against the Somozaist National Guard. Lidia Maradiaga, Maria Castil, Luisa Amanda Espinoza, the tortured women of El Cuá, Arlen Siú, Mildred Abaunza, Silvia Ferrufino, Julia de Pomares, and Esperanza Medina are only some of the innumerable heroines who, with their selflessness and sacrifice, brought the people's victory closer.

3. It is also a historical fact that Nicaraguan women joined the revolutionary struggle, not only as individuals or through neighborhood, student, or union organizations, but also through forming their own organizations.

In the 1960s, the FSLN promoted the creation of the Patriotic Alliance of Nicaraguan Women to mobilize women in the anti-Somozaist struggle. In 1977, the Association of Nicaraguan Women Confronting the National Problem (AMPRONAC) emerged under the leadership of the FSLN as a public, anti-Somozaist organization with broad participation. AMPRONAC achieved national scope and developed ex-



Militant/Roberto Kopeck



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Left, Miskito woman from Atlantic Coast addresses Third National Assembly of Nicaragua Women's Association in Managua. (Translator on left.) Above, tobacco factory workers. Sandinista document notes that growing participation of women in work force in countryside and cities produces deep ideological and social changes.

tionary conquests of the Nicaraguan people, also point to a situation that in many ways is still far from just.

4. Our people, however, have not had one moment of peace since the triumph. After the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, Yankee imperialist aggression imposed new challenges on us, which women have once again responded to with determination and firmness. They have not hesitated to take up arms when it was necessary. They have participated in fulfilling all tasks. In city and countryside, they have readily taken over the jobs of men bilized in the war. They have courageously given their sons to carry out the SMP [Patriotic Military Service, Nicaragua's military draft]. In short, they have been a principal force in the defense of the revolution.

The war and the necessities it imposes have forced an accelerated abandoning of the prejudices, and women have had the opportunity of taking, under equal conditions, jobs previously reserved for men. Because of this, there is a growing participation of women in the work force in the countryside and in the cities, which, even though imposed by the objective situation the country faces, produces deep ideological and social changes.

To the degree that women participate in the tasks of the revolution, they advance the struggle for their own demands and help raise the consciousness of men and women.

5. Despite important gains, negative conditions prevail in our society with respect to women, conditions that are reinforced by the underdevelopment and economic limitations of the country. Laws and labor or social practices that discriminate against women still exist. Criticism of machismo and its consequences is barely beginning. Prostitution has not been eradicated.

For the FSLN, therefore, the struggle for the specific demands of women is a battle that we must continue to wage even in the difficult conditions we are living through. This means energetically fighting discriminatory laws and policies, the subordinate position of women in society and the family, paternal irresponsibility, physical and moral abuse, and machismo. All of these obstacles and attitudes must be overcome by men and women.

IV. The position of the FSLN on conditions faced by women

1. Historically, Nicaraguan women have been subjected to social discrimination, which has placed them in a subordinate position in society. In addition to this discrimination, the majority of them also suffer discrimination as a part of the exploited and oppressed classes of the people.

2. The triumph of the Sandinista revolution and the establishment of people's dem-

ocratic power has opened up the real possibility of overcoming this unjust situation for the first time in Nicaragua's history. The deep socioeconomic transformations promoted by the FSLN create the basis for eradicating all forms of oppression and discrimination and for establishing new types of social and personal relations.

3. As part of the goals of our revolution, the FSLN has fought and will continue to fight to eliminate discrimination against women and achieve their full integration into the social life of the country.

The special interests of Nicaraguan women are promoted principally through defending and consolidating the revolution. In turn, the defense of the revolution will be strengthened with new contingents of fighters, workers, teachers, professionals, etc., to the degree that we are able to continue eliminating the obstacles of all types that impede the integration of women and keep them in a discriminatory position.

4. On the other hand, the struggle against discrimination against women cannot be separated from the struggle for the defense of the revolution, which constitutes the fundamental task for all our people in this historic moment.

The massive incorporation of women into all the tasks of the revolution is decisive for sustaining the people's power and constructing a new society.

5. The solution to the specific problems of women; the struggle against discriminatory political ideas; and the social and economic conditions that guarantee women real equality of opportunity are questions that concern not only women but all of society. Therefore, it is society's responsibility to struggle to overcome these problems once and for all, in accordance with the principles we have established in the new Constitution of the Republic.

We reject tendencies that propose the emancipation of women as the result of a struggle against men and as an action exclusively by women, since this type of position divides and distracts the people from their fundamental tasks. It is the task of the FSLN, of all revolutionaries, of all the most advanced sectors of society, men and women together, to wage the ideological, political, and socioeconomic battles that lead to the elimination of any form of discrimination in Nicaragua, including that suffered by women.

6. The definitive eradication of all forms of discrimination against women is a historical objective tied to our long-term economic and cultural development. But the battle we began with the revolutionary struggle must continue, consciously aiming our efforts at this objective and advancing each day in the struggle against the ideological, legal, and social factors that discriminate against women.

All the bodies and members of the FSLN, all the social, union, and mass organizations, are obligated to promote the massive incorporation of women into the

various tasks of the revolution, respond to their specific demands, and struggle against all forms of oppression and discrimination.

7. The family is the basic unit of society and guarantees social reproduction, not only from the biological point of view, but also of the principles and values of society. Women have been the fundamental pillar of the Nicaraguan family, defending and sustaining it even in the most difficult circumstances, for which they deserve the highest respect and admiration.

8. The FSLN reaffirms its determination to continue struggling to abolish all those laws and institutional policies that still maintain some forms of discrimination against women. We will continue to struggle against all forms of machismo, which constitute backward ideological survivals that are unacceptable for revolutionaries.

We are going to continue investing efforts and resources into supporting the family in the care of children, especially for abandoned mothers, and to create conditions that facilitate their incorporation into social and productive tasks.

We are going to struggle so that women can fulfill their maternal function and family responsibilities in even better conditions, and without these responsibilities becoming insuperable obstacles to their own development and personal fulfillment.

We are going to continue struggling against irresponsible fatherhood and the physical and moral abuse of women and children, promoting a firmer attitude by society and by government institutions toward those responsible for such conduct.

We are going to promote real solidarity between couples, with respect to domestic tasks and family responsibilities.

We are going to continue to call for and encourage the mobilization and participation of women in all revolutionary tasks.

9. The mobilization of women has been strengthened since July 19, 1979. We must step up that mobilization today to add new strength to the defense and consolidation of the revolution. The Sandinista National Liberation Front must lead the struggle, the education, and the consciousness-raising of men and women and of society as a whole in opposition to discrimination against women, which blocks their full incorporation into the revolutionary process.

To carry this struggle forward, we also need specific vehicles through which revolutionary women can help mobilize all women, identify women's most pressing problems, the obstacles to their emancipation, and propose practical actions to overcome such problems. The Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza is this specific vehicle and therefore must promote a series of activities to identify women's specific problems, so that these are taken up as questions facing the revolution.

As its fundamental goal, AMNLAE

must promote the incorporation of women into the tasks of the revolution; advance the struggle of women and all society against sexual discrimination through all institutions and organizations; educate about the gains and problems of Nicaraguan women; and represent them internationally.

However, AMNLAE should not try to become a mass organization of women counterposed to or parallel to existing mass organizations. On the contrary, it should promote the incorporation of women into the unions, [farm] cooperatives, Sandinista Defense Committees, professional and students associations, and so on, so that as workers, peasants, neighborhood residents, professionals, and students they can participate in the great tasks of the revolution, educate about their problems, and promote action by all society to win full equality.

In sketching these reflections and positions about the conditions of women in the revolution, the FSLN reaffirms its confidence that Nicaraguan women will continue to dedicate their best efforts and energies to the defense and consolidation of the revolutionary process that has created and guarantees the conditions for the complete attainment of their human potential.

The FSLN is convinced that this perspective will be adopted by men and women, by all Nicaraguans, with the same determination with which working people and youth have taken up the tasks of military defense and production.

Carrying out this perspective will strengthen our moral and material forces in the battle that we are waging against foreign occupation today.

Long live Nicaraguan women!
Here, no one will surrender!
Free homeland or death!

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Gov't can't prove 'need' to use spy files

Socialists' memorandum replies to agencies' arguments in court case

On Aug. 25, 1986, federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI's decades-long spying and disruption operation against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance was unconstitutional and illegal. This decision came in response to a lawsuit the SWP and YSA filed against the FBI and other government defendants in 1973.

Griesa stated that a further hearing would decide the scope of an injunction barring the government from using material obtained by such methods. The SWP and YSA presented the judge with their proposal, which would forbid any use of the files by the government.

The Justice Department and 11 other government agencies filed affidavits arguing that barring the use of illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA would seriously hamper their work.

On April 21 Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP and YSA, filed a memorandum replying to the affidavits. The memorandum dissects the Justice Department's argument that the use of illegally obtained materials on the SWP and YSA is vital to national security. Government lawyers say that these materials are necessary for "loyalty" investigations of individuals and for the protection of the president, other government officials, and foreign dignitaries.

Two weeks ago the *Militant* began serializing the memorandum. The introduction and Part A of the first section, which argued that the spy files were obtained illegally, appeared in the May 8 issue. Part B of the first section, which refuted the Justice Department's claim that it needs the files for "national security" reasons, appeared in last week's issue. This week we are publishing Part C of section one.

* * *

C. The Defendants' Claim of Need Is Contradicted by the Record in This Case.

The [government] defendants' claims of need fall into three categories. First, they assert a need to use the illegal records in "loyalty security" programs. Thus, the affidavits submitted on behalf of the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), the FBI, the Secret Service, and the National Security Agency all claim a need to utilize the records illegally obtained in their loyalty security programs.

Try as they might to use generalities and sweeping strokes in their memorandum

and supporting materials, the defendants cannot avoid the record in this case. Thus, contrary to the assertions of the OPM today, at trial [in 1981 of the SWP suit] Joseph Knazik testified that information at least 11 years old is considered stale, that the OPM does not consider that even active current membership in the SWP poses a "loyalty issue," that information concerning SWP or YSA membership would not prompt even a request from the OPM for a full field investigation by the FBI even if the job opening was a "sensitive position," and that as far as he knew the situation was no different with respect to any other agency.

Equally damaging to the defendants' argument is the testimony and judicial finding that the asserted need rarely arises. Joseph Knazik from OPM testified at trial that between June 1974 and September 1976 he could not recall a single security clearance case involving SWP membership. Indeed, the court noted that only once since 1976 has another agency requested the FBI to conduct a full field investigation of a member of the SWP or YSA, a request which was rejected by the Department of Justice.

Disingenuous presentation

The disingenuous nature of the defendants' presentation is apparent in the affidavit of Thomas O'Brien of the DIS. Mr. O'Brien rests his claim of need on the disqualifying organizational membership criteria of Executive Order 10450 which he quotes in paragraph 4. However, he quotes an *outdated* version of the order.* He ignores the current amended definition of potentially disqualifying organizational membership which [was quoted] in this court's opinion [Judge Griesa's August 1986 ruling]:

Knowing membership with the specific intent of furthering the aims of, or adherence to and active participation in, any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons (hereinafter referred to as organizations) which unlawfully advocates or practices the commission of acts of force or violence to prevent others from exercising their rights under the Constitution or laws of the United States or of any State, or which seeks to overthrow the Government of the United States or any State or subdivision thereof by unlawful means.

In light of the record, and the amended version of Executive Order 10450, this court forcefully reaffirmed "well-established

*The Executive Order was amended in 1974 when the "Attorney General's List" was abolished.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

INS official Glenn Bertness testifying at 1981 trial of socialist lawsuit

legal principles which obviously must be applied in dealing with loyalty-security problems in the context of the issues in this case," including the careful holding that "where information about the SWP or YSA is considered relevant there must be a rigorous regard for the facts about these organizations. Any indication that the SWP or YSA has a current program of carrying out violent revolution or acts of violence or terrorism would not reflect the presently known facts."

Moreover, the defendants' attempt to assert some overreaching interest in using the illegally obtained information is weakened by the FBI's own willingness to circulate to federal departments and agencies a statement including the declaration that "receipt of an allegation that an individual is a member of the YSA/SWP would no longer warrant an FBI investigation." Perhaps the defendants expect the court to believe that the government draws a line between past affiliation — which warrants investigation — and current affiliation — which does not.

In addition, the Department of Justice has "informally" instructed the FBI to perform "a full field investigation on a member of the SWP or YSA only if requested by another agency, and then only after consultation with the Department." The Attorney General was evidently satisfied that information that an employment applicant was a member of the SWP or YSA created no need for an investigation.

The second claimed need to use illegally obtained documents relating to the SWP or YSA is asserted by the defendants Secret Service and Department of State. They assert their need with respect to their mission of protecting various government officials and/or foreign dignitaries.

The Secret Service claims a need for the files to anticipate the actions of those who "on the basis of their past history, ideology, or avowed goals, may constitute a possible threat to the physical safety of the individuals receiving Secret Service protection."

The Department of State asserts that prohibiting its access to information about "any hostile organization which has consistently posed a threat to free governments" would inhibit the State Department from fulfilling its assigned role.

Refuted by court

The claim that members or supporters of the SWP or YSA pose a threat to the physical safety of government officials or foreign dignitaries is refuted by the court's findings. The FBI's files gathered over a 35-year span do not reflect a single item of evidence supporting such a proposition. The government, at trial, submitted no evidence supporting such a proposition.

The defendant INS asserts a third type of need. Acting Assistant Commissioner Edwin W. Dornell of the INS asserts that "an inability to receive information from the FBI regarding membership in the

Socialist Workers Party during the proposed time period could adversely affect the ability of INS to make informed decisions about an individual's political views." Mr. Dornell offers no explanation of the relevance of such information to whether an individual will be deported, excluded, or naturalized.

As the court noted, "The record shows only one instance of an adverse action by the INS based on SWP membership, and that was the Scythes deportation order 25 years ago. That matter was resolved by the Seventh Circuit in Scythes' favor in 1962. There is no indication of any present or contemplated adverse action by the INS against any SWP member."

Further, at trial, Glenn A. Bertness, Acting Associate Commissioner of Enforcement and Acting Commissioner for Investigation in the central office of the INS, testified that the INS does not consider SWP membership or affiliation to be relevant to deportation or exclusion, and that it is not relevant to discretionary relief such as the granting of political asylum.

Mr. Bertness was further asked by the court if a negative answer by an SWP member to the question of whether he or she is "connected with an organization which is dedicated to the overthrow of the government by force or violence or whether he is a member of an international communist organization" would be considered false. Mr. Bertness testified that it would not. Hence, the claim that affiliation with the SWP is relevant to the INS is flatly contradicted by the trial testimony.

The remaining affidavits make no claim at all of any need to use the illegally obtained records. The declaration submitted by Lee E. Carle, on behalf of the CIA, makes no claim of any need to use records obtained by the FBI, and no claim of need to use any information which was gathered unlawfully. Mr. Carle asserts only an "administrative hardship" in identifying which records fall within the scope of the proposed injunction.

Somewhat similarly the declaration of Colonel Anthony J. Gallo, Jr., of the Department of the Army makes no claim of any need to use any information or records on the SWP or YSA or their members, regardless of whether the information is in the possession of the FBI or the Army. In much the same manner, both Cathal Flynn, Rear Admiral (lower half) of the United States Navy and Robert McCormick of the Air Force make no claim of any need to use information illegally obtained by the FBI whether the records are in the possession of the FBI or the Navy or Air Force.

No affidavits were submitted by the Department of Justice (as distinct from the FBI), the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, or the President of the United States, or anyone on their behalf.

In sum, the government has not shown a need to use the records and its present protestations are contradicted by the trial record.

Court orders Seattle group to turn over internal minutes

BY MICHELLE FIELDS

SEATTLE — A serious blow to democratic rights was dealt by the courts here. On April 10, King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan ordered the Freedom Socialist Party to turn over internal minutes of its meetings to the court within 20 days or pay a default penalty of more than \$22,500.

Party spokespeople declared that as a matter of principle they would not comply with the judge's order.

At the same time, the party filed a motion asking for reconsideration of the decision. This was denied. The judge is expected to award damages to former member Richard Snedigar on the basis of default, that is, the refusal of the Freedom Socialist Party to turn over its minutes.

FSP attorney Valerie Carlson charged that Chan's ruling would "grievously impair the ability of all political minorities and labor organizations to function privately, effectively, and without fear of harassment."

The order to turn over the minutes stems from a suit filed against the FSP by Snedigar.

In 1979, Snedigar donated \$22,500 to an

FSP emergency relocation headquarters fund. Three years after resigning from the party, he filed suit against it, demanding the donation back, plus interest and attorney fees.

Snedigar claimed the money was misused. He charged the party with fraud, undue influence, violation of charitable solicitation laws, unjust enrichment, and abuse of trust. He claims that in order to establish his case he needs extensive FSP internal records, including the minutes.

In the three years since the case began, this fight to defend the right to voluntary political association has won broad, significant support. This includes both the Washington State and Seattle area labor councils of the AFL-CIO, several locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Communications Workers of America, and the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council.

Other endorsers include the Seattle NAACP, Northwest Chapter of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, Seattle Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights, Seattle and Everett chapters of the National Organization for Women, Socialist Workers Party, and Leonard Pel-tier Defense Committee.

PLO groups unify at council meeting

BY HARRY RING

The meeting of the Palestine National Council held in Algeria April 20-26, marked a unification of the contending groups within the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Delegates to the 18th session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) included various groupings, among them the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). Led respectively by George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh, these had been the principal base of opposition within the PLO to the movement's major force, al Fatah, led by PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat. Both the Popular Front and the Democratic Front had boycotted the 1984 session of the PNC.

At the recent meeting, Arafat told a cheering crowd of 1,200 delegates and guests, "We now all stand together, united until the final liberation of Palestine."

Dissolution of rival group

At a press conference, Habash announced the dismantling of the Palestine National Salvation Front formed in 1985 by political opponents of Arafat. It included the PFLP, Palestinian Communist Party, Saiqa, PFLP-General Command, Popular Struggle Front, and dissidents within Fatah. (At the PNC session, for the first time, a representative of the Palestinian Communist Party was elected to the executive committee.)

Jamil Hilal of the DFLP told reporters, "There is unity here because of political realism — the failure of alternatives in the past three years. The major groups realized more clearly that the PLO's position and standing were being eroded and the split among us being used to weaken the PLO."

Arafat told reporters that the unity achieved within the PLO was a reflection of unity built among the Palestinian people in the besieged refugee camps of Lebanon and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The deep divisions that wracked the PLO stemmed mainly from events relating

to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the accompanying genocidal assaults on Palestinian refugee camps by Lebanese right-wing forces aligned with the Israeli invaders.

Along with Lebanese independence fighters, PLO guerrillas engaged the Israeli forces for 88 days. But finally overwhelmed, the PLO acted to end the bloodshed by agreeing to leave Lebanon for other Arab countries.

It was during this period that the factional struggle reached explosive heights, including armed attacks against Arafat's Fatah forces. These attacks were promoted to a great extent by the regime of Hafez al-Assad of Syria.

In addition, other currents within the PLO, like the PFLP and DFLP, raised sharp criticisms of aspects of the Arafat leadership's political course.

In the period since, many PLO guerrillas made their way back to Lebanon and began reassembling their forces in the refugee camps.

In response, Amal, a Syrian-backed Lebanese militia force, carried out a bloody siege against the camps.

Responding to that savage attack, which took an estimated 800 Palestinian lives, the various PLO forces in Lebanon — including some that had been pro-Assad — united to resist the assault. That armed unity in action paved the way for the reknitting of the movement.

PLO-Jordan pact scrapped

Reunification negotiations included agreement to scrap a pact between the PLO and the government of Jordan. That pact had provided that Jordan and the PLO would seek joint negotiations for a peace settlement with Israel. The pact had already been frozen by Jordan.

In another unity concession, Arafat agreed to a resolution, which was approved, redefining the PLO's stand toward the government of Egypt. In 1979, Egypt broke ranks with the other Arab states and the PLO by signing a separate peace agreement with Israel. Since then, however, Egypt allowed the PLO to set up offices in that country and the Arafat leadership sought to maintain a working relationship with the Egyptian government.

The PNC resolution referred to the PLO Executive Committee "the task of redefining the basis for Palestine-Egyptian relations," with the governing criteria being the extent to which Egypt moves away from the agreement with Israel.

The Egyptian government responded by shutting down the PLO offices in Cairo.

The government of Morocco also closed down PLO offices in that country after the PNC heard an address by Mohamed Abdelaziz, general secretary of Polisario.

Polisario, a guerrilla movement, is fighting for the liberation of the Western Sahara, which was annexed by Morocco after Spanish colonial troops withdrew from the territory in 1975.

A focus of the council meeting was the current proposals for an international conference to explore a Mideast peace settlement. Those involved in the discussion and debate surrounding this include the governments of Israel, the Soviet Union, the



PLO leaders Yassir Arafat, George Habash, and Nayef Hawatmeh. "We now all stand together, united until final liberation of Palestine," Arafat said.

United States, and Jordan.

The PLO approach to this was outlined in a closing PNC statement. It said:

"At a time when the National Council stressed our people's right to exercise the armed struggle in confronting the hated Zionist, racist occupation of the Palestinian homeland, the National Council would like to reaffirm the Palestinian people's desire to reach a just and permanent peace that depends on its firm national and unnegotiable rights, including the right to return, self-determination, and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state on its national soil within the framework of an effective international conference in which the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the concerned parties, in-

cluding the PLO, will participate on equal footing with the other parties."

Numerous resolutions solidarized the PLO with liberation struggles internationally, including one, "Supporting peoples struggling against imperialism and racism... especially in southern and southwest Africa, Central America, and Latin America."

The resolution condemned the "aggressive alliance between the racist regimes in Tel Aviv and South Africa."

Another resolution called for "developing relations with Israeli democratic forces supporting the Palestine people's struggle against Israeli occupation and expansion, and the inalienable national rights of our people."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

El Salvador guerrillas hit key army base

Several hundred Salvadoran guerrillas attacked the main army base in the northeast May 2, killing 34 government troops and wounding 42 others.

Participating in the attack were three regular battalions of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and one irregular militia unit. Using artillery and mortars, they shelled the army base and police station in the center of San Francisco Gotera, the capital of Morazan Province.

Gen. Adolfo Blandón, the Salvadoran army chief of staff, acknowledged the attack. But Salvadoran officers claimed casualties were lower than those cited by the FMLN's Radio Venceremos.

This assault came in the midst of a major army counterinsurgency drive in Morazan. It also came just a little more than a month after FMLN fighters killed 70 troops, including a U.S. military adviser, in an attack on an army base in Chalatenango Province.

Dominican-Cuban trade ties may resume

President Joaquín Balaguer of the Dominican Republic declared in an interview in late April that his government was seriously considering reopening trade ties with Cuba.

The Dominican Republic broke diplomatic and most other ties with Cuba in June 1959, just a few months after the victory of the Cuban revolution. And except for some cultural and sports exchanges in the mid-1960s, there have been few contacts between the two countries since then, despite their proximity.

This move by the Dominican government comes in the wake of Washington's decision to slash by 40 percent the amount of Dominican sugar that can enter the United States, a move that is expected to cost the Dominican Republic \$60 million in lost income this year.

Balaguer indicated that his government was interested in exchanging Dominican coffee for Cuban cement. "If this barter deal can be made," he said, "we would do it with great pleasure, just

as we would with any other country."

Sports and cultural exchanges with Cuba have recently increased. And Cuba has agreed to help build a high school in the Dominican city of Baní, the birthplace of Cuban independence leader Máximo Gómez.

Balaguer stated that there were no plans to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba. "We are conscious that our destiny is linked to that of the United States," he said, "and we follow U.S. policies to the letter."

Nevertheless, U.S. officials have expressed some displeasure with the expansion of unofficial Cuban-Dominican relations.

U.S. troops in Zaire on military exercise

Reflecting an overall increase in U.S. military ties with the Zairian dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko, nearly 150 U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel took part in joint military maneuvers in that Central African country during the last two weeks of April.

Code-named Flintlock-87, the exercise was centered on the Kamina air base in Zaire's Shaba Province. That is the same base that the CIA has been using to transship some of the Reagan administration's \$15 million in covert assistance to the UNITA terrorist group operating against neighboring Angola.

The Pentagon is also considering a plan to refurbish the base, as a possible staging area for U.S. military operations in southern Africa.

Israeli jets raid southern Lebanon

As part of a series of ongoing attacks against Palestinian sites in southern Lebanon, Israeli fighter jets bombed the Ain el-Hilweh refugee camp outside Sidon May 6.

The camp houses 50,000 Palestinians. Ten people were killed in the attack — all of them civilians — and as many as 15 buildings were destroyed or damaged.

Just a few days earlier a similar Israeli assault killed 15 Palestinians.



The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Factional divisions in PLO followed that setback.

Death penalty and Supreme Ct.

Continued from Page 7

on the rights and duties of the Nicaraguan people declares, "The right to life is inviolable and inherent to all persons. In Nicaragua there is no death penalty."

This approach is linked to the Nicaraguan government's overall stance of seeking to rehabilitate those who commit social infractions. The prison system's goal is to show prisoners why their behavior was harmful and to teach them new skills and a new outlook on life so that they can return to the outside world as productive members of society.

Many prisoners in Nicaragua are paroled early, as they make progress in their social rehabilitation. The elderly and infirm are not kept in prison, and constitutionally no

one can be sentenced to more than 30 years. Of the 7,000 members of the National Guard jailed right after the revolution, 5,000 have since been freed.

Speaking in September 1986, Borge proclaimed, "We, Nicaraguan revolutionaries, make a real and sustained effort to be deeply human, respectful of life, and of the natural pride that a human being feels in being human. This is expressed through every aspect of the revolution, and in particular in the philosophy and practice of the Nicaraguan penal system."

Explaining again why the death penalty is outlawed in Nicaragua, Borge said, "A society that shows contempt for and harms a human being is only showing contempt for and harming itself."

And the end is not yet — "I can't remember a time when young people driving trucks, talking on CBs and sitting in restaurants were having such a heyday ridiculing all that is Christian. Na-



Harry Ring

tional credibility for the cause of Christ, in my opinion, is at an all-time low." — Rev. Jerry Falwell.

No finer example — "That's

the American way. If little kids don't aspire to make money like I did, what the hell good is this country? You gotta give them a role model, right?" — Lee Iacocca on why it was justified for him to draw \$20.6 million last year while Chrysler was cutting wages and benefits.

Even worse than that — A Republican Party survey, mailed to an Oakland socialist, wants to know how Ron is doing in California. In addition to the usual categories of choice — excellent, good, fair, and poor — it now includes "terrible."

Must think they have some rights — Mexico mobilized four

naval vessels, two planes, and a helicopter to insure that a U.S. barge didn't dump 3,000 tons of garbage in its waters. The barge had headed for Mexico after being turned down by North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

No respect — A Phoenix rug company advertises, "We've been involved in more coverups than the CIA and FBI combined."

Hey, hey — Rev. Jim Bakker denies indulging in homosexual activity, being involved with prostitutes, or engaging in spouse-swapping. He also says he's thinking about writing a book.

Porous? — WASHINGTON (AP) — The Army acknowledged that 12 Bradley Fighting Vehicles have sunk during amphibious testing, nearly double the number previously reported, but it denied a congressman's assertion that the combat carrier "leaked like a sieve."

Just reporting the facts — We've never been into trying to scare people into kicking the coffin-nail habit, but Canadian researchers say preliminary evidence indicates smoking may contribute to male impotence.

Capitalism makes things work — "Americans spend 1.2 billion hours a year delayed in

traffic, wasting 1.4 billion gallons of gasoline, according to a new study. And, according to the first nationwide study... things will only get worse." — News item.

The march of science — A patent has been issued for a robot with which a race horse can be driven by remote control, eliminating the jockey.

Thought for the week — "I haven't thrown my money away. My equipment is old. I haven't partied. All I do is stay here and work. And what good has it done me?" — Herbert Gill Jacobs, winner of three Georgia corn-growing championships, who just filed for bankruptcy.

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Who Killed Ben Linder? Speakers: Kurt Johnson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 16, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Protest the Murder of Ben Linder: Join the Brigades to Nicaragua. Speakers: Dave Brown, Southern California coordinator for brigades to Nicaragua; others to be announced. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

The New Immigration Law: Why It Is an Attack on All Working People. Speakers: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party; Alejandro Molina Lara, representative, United Electrical Workers Union; Eduardo Estevez, representative, Guatemalan organizations. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Jose

Watsonville: How the Strikers Won. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Youth Say No to U.S. War in Central America and Support to Apartheid. Translation to Spanish. Class: "Malcolm X: Lessons for Revolutionaries Today." Wed., May 20, 5:30 p.m. Youth Speak Out: Young Socialist Alliance Forum. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. All events sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. Rides provided. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Eyewitness Report from El Salvador. Speaker: Steve Schaeffer, regional and

Alabama director of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

Eyewitness Report from Nicaragua. George Paris, land development chief of Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Burkina Faso: Eyewitness Account of an African Revolution. Speakers: Jean Diasso, charge d'affaires, Burkina Faso embassy. Ernest Harsch, staff writer for the *Militant*, recently returned from three-week trip to Burkina Faso. Sat., May 16, reception and dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2, dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Clouded Land. Celebrate Minnesota Indian month. Film by Minnesota filmmaker Randy Croce on Indian land rights. Speaker: John Morin of Anishinabe Akeeng of White Earth Reservation. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Protest Attack on Immigrant Workers: Government's Phony "Amnesty" Bill. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party member fighting deportation for his political views; others to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Issues in the "Baby M" Court Case. Speaker: Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (1 block from Broad). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Youth Speak-out Against the War in Central America and Against Apartheid in South Africa. Speakers: Mojaki Thulo and Bongu Maseko, students from Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, members of African National Congress Youth Section; Maria Cruz, member, Project Sister University of El Salvador; Bill Spencer, national youth organizer of Democratic Socialists of America; Rob Jones, project director, American Committee on Africa; Eric Sheflin, representative, Anti-Nuclear Group Representing the Young, Long Island High School Students (ANGRY); Tricia Feely, member, Hunter College Central America Solidarity Committee; Lisa Ahlberg, garment worker, National Committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 15. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; speak-out, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: N.Y. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

From the African National Congress: How to Win Democracy in South Africa. Speaker: Fred Dube, spokesperson for African National Congress, professor at Stony Brook campus of State University of New York denied tenure because of his political views. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 29. Dinner, 6:30; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

How to Fight Racism: Protesting the Klan March in Greensboro. Speakers: to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 17, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Fair Housing and Racist Discrimination. Speakers: Clarence Bolden, overcame racist attempt to deny him housing in Lakewood; Dominic Ozanne, chairperson, National Association for the Advancement of Colored

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Contragate-Vietnam: What's the Connection? Speakers: Bui Xuan Nhat, ambassador to United Nations, Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Barry Romo, national coordinator, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Eddie Demmings, National Conference of Black Lawyers. Sun., May 17, 2 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. For more information call (718) 643-0201.

People's Fair Housing Committee; Susie Rivers, associate director, Cuyahoga Plan of Ohio; Nick Gruenberg, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

TEXAS

Houston

Issues in the "Baby M" Case: What Positions Should Working People Take? Speakers: Tom Kincaid, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 83; others to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Imperialism and Revolution in the Middle East. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 16, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Eyewitness Reports and Slideshow from El Salvador. Speakers: Dave Evans, Vietnam veteran and director of the prosthetics program of Medical Aid for El Salvador; Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers of America. Sat., May 16. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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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.

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip: 16412. Tel: (814) 398-2574. 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.

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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.

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Cuban Young Communists discuss challenges

Continued from Page 5

tomatic mechanism would eliminate the need for leaders to lead, in each factory, farm, workplace, and industry to find the best, most productive use of all available human resources. There is no substitute for different generations of conscious workers collaborating to solve these problems.

One of the interesting contributions to the discussion on this point was made by Roberto Veiga, secretary-general of the Cuban Workers Confederation (CTC) and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. He noted that since the CTC began taking up the questions posed by the correction process a year ago, there has been a significant change in the composition of the CTC leadership. Today, he said, more than half of the trade union leaders around the country are under 30; 46,000 union leaders are members of the UJC.

Other issues

Other questions discussed at length by the delegates included:

- The new program of family doctors being established throughout the country, and how to improve medical services, as well as the quality of medical education.
- Health and social problems posed by pregnancies among very young adolescent women and the need for expanded and improved sex education programs in the schools.
- The need for more rigorous standards in passing students from one grade to another and selecting students for special educational opportunities.
- The importance of improving teacher training, with emphasis on the need for teachers to have greater practical work experience in their field before beginning to teach.
- The challenge of leading young people to volunteer for resettlement projects in rural areas where the population decline has threatened important agricultural production, such as coffee.
- The responsibilities of the UJC to improve the quality, quantity, and accessibility of leisure time activities, from discos and video clubs to sports, art centers, and camping facilities.
- The material problems limiting the quality of and facilities available for art students in all fields, but especially music and dance.

Of all the issues taken up, however, none received more sober and serious consideration than the proposal adopted by the delegates to make military service universal for all young men. The delegates were also favorable to the idea of expanding voluntary military service for women. (One of the women newly elected to the UJC Political Bureau is the 22-year-old UJC organizer in the First Female Artillery Regiment.)

Currently, a significant proportion of young men are exempt from military service, including all medical students and those studying to be teachers.

In the past such exemptions were justified on the basis of the urgent need to accelerate the education of more teachers and medical personnel. Those who did not do active military service were organized into the reserves and the Territorial Troop Militia, however, and received military training. The fact that military service does not include all young men equally, however, has a negative impact.

As the political report explained, "For many youth, military service is synonymous with falling behind academically or at work. Fostered to a great extent by families and institutions, there is a growing opinion that only those with educational or social problems do military service."

The importance of eliminating the growing social inequality between those who are drafted and those who are exempt was strongly emphasized by the delegates, who also recognized that not all Cubans would be happy about the change. They mandated the incoming leadership of the UJC to work together with the Revolutionary Armed Forces to implement a system of universal military service for all young men.

New leadership

The congress also elected a new National Committee composed of 192 full and alternate members, of whom 38.5 percent

are women and 32.3 percent are Black and *mestizo*. Fifty-four percent are members of the party, or are in the process of becoming members.

The National Committee also elected a new Political Bureau of 18 members, of whom one-third are Black and *mestizo* and one-third are women. The number of Blacks and women on the new bureau is double that of the outgoing leadership. The average age of Political Bureau members is 28.

Roberto Robaina González and Pedro Sáez Montejo were reelected first and second secretary of the UJC, respectively.

The significance of the advances registered in the social and sex composition of the new national leadership bodies is best judged in comparison with the party leadership and the discussions that took place at the third party congress a year ago.

There, the delegates decided on and implemented a policy of affirmative action. In addition to the conscious attention given to advancing workers to leadership responsibilities, the party congress sharply increased the numbers of Blacks and *mestizos*, women, and youth on the new leadership bodies.

The renewal of the party leadership with younger members, and the affirmative action policies, Castro emphasized in his report on the election of the Central Committee, were decisive for the advance of the revolution. Eliminating the legacy of race and sex discrimination, he told the delegates, does not occur spontaneously; that effort has to be consciously led.

Of the Central Committee elected by the third party congress, however, 18.2 percent are women. That represents a significant increase over the 12.4 percent women on the previous Central Committee elected in 1980.

Women are 40.3 percent of the UJC membership and 28.4 percent of its leadership cadres. They are 21.5 percent of the party membership.

The difference clearly represents the profound changes in consciousness among young women who have grown up with all the educational advantages opened to them by the revolution. There has been a massive incorporation of young women into the work force in a range of occupations unthinkable in any other underdeveloped country. Child-care facilities are increasingly available. Life expectations and personal relations have been profoundly changed, and women have developed greater leadership confidence.

Blacks and *mestizos* make up 28.4 percent of the Central Committee elected by the third party congress, a figure which is close to the proportion in the party membership as a whole.

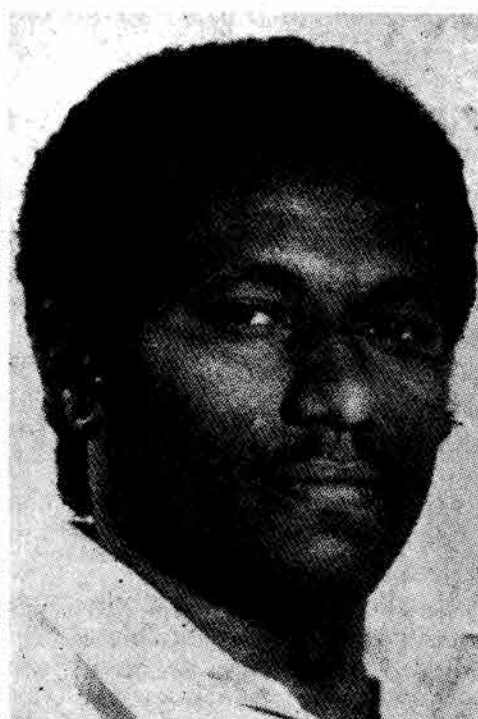
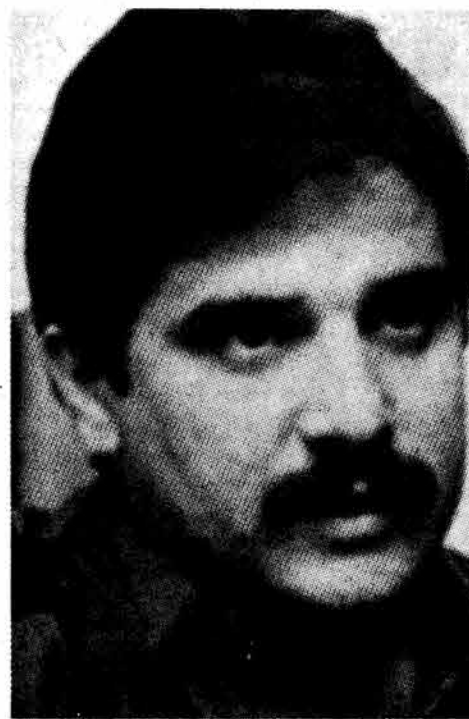
The one place where the composition of the newly elected youth leadership is noticeably weaker than the membership as a whole is in young workers. Twenty-six percent of the 600,000 members of the UJC are industrial workers. Another 35 percent are teachers, medical personnel, technicians, and other service workers. Altogether, only 30 percent of the new national committee are production workers, teachers, and service workers combined. No breakdown for industrial workers was available.

In his speech to the closing session of the youth congress, however, Castro made the most important point about the leadership that was elected by the congress. Commenting on the fact that there were so many qualified candidates to choose from, he noted that those selected were not the best. "They are undoubtedly among the best," he continued, but those selected are "a committee and leadership in which the great majority, with their tremendous virtues and revolutionary spirit, feels that they are represented. The comrades who were elected represent a means of expression for a large mass of worthy young people."

Historic advance, historic challenge

The Fifth Congress of the UJC marked the 25th anniversary of the founding of the organization on April 4, 1962. The Cuban communist youth organization was born during the most dangerous period of Washington's political, economic, and military aggression against the young Cuban revolution.

One year earlier, in April 1961, the first large-scale U.S.-organized attempt to in-



Photos from Granma

Roberto Robaina (left), was reelected first secretary of Union of Young Communists. Pedro Sáez was reelected second secretary.

vade and overthrow the popular revolutionary government had been defeated on Playa Giron at the Bay of Pigs. The socialist character of the revolution had been unabashedly affirmed. The U.S. government, headed by President John Kennedy, was tightening the economic blockade and organizing further military assaults on the island. Cuba, with the help of the Soviet Union, was strengthening its defenses in an attempt to prevent a new invasion. The 1962 October Crisis — during which the U.S. rulers pushed the world to the brink of nuclear annihilation over the issue of Cuba's right to defend itself by installing Soviet missiles — was only a few months ahead.

In his speech to the closing session of the congress, Castro mentioned these circumstances in which the UJC was founded and measured the distance traveled.

Recalling "the occasion when it was decided to adopt the name Communist," Castro remarked, "That may seem very easy now. 'Communist' is a respected, prestigious and beloved word among our people. But in the early years of the revolution, the youth organization adopted various names," one of which was Association of Young Rebels.

"When the first congress was held on April 4, 1962, after Giron and before the October Crisis," Castro continued, "the attitude of our people was one of total defiance toward imperialism. So when young people gathered in that month and year, knowing how much that word annoyed the imperialists, how much it annoyed the reactionaries, we proposed, in keeping with our ideals and objectives, that the youth or-

ganization be openly called the Union of Young Communists."

At the time, Castro noted, our youth "was patriotic, revolutionary, zealous and heroic, but did not have the political education of our youth today. They did not have the communist awareness, they were not strong on theory although their willingness and determination was unshakable."

By contrast, Castro commented, "this congress that has just concluded can be called a congress of genuinely communist youth."

Many of those elected delegates to the Fifth Congress of the UJC were not born when the organization was founded, Castro noted. Today they are already the backbone — the cadres and leaders — of many organizations, schools, factories, rural projects, and military units.

The seriousness and depth of revolutionary consciousness and commitment expressed by the delegates clearly had an impact on Castro and others who have led the Cuban revolution for 35 years.

Speaking for himself and other Political Bureau members of his generation, Castro remarked that the congress left them with a "feeling of security."

"This new generation — which is a product of the revolution, a fruit of the revolution, child of the revolution — is more revolutionary, more profoundly revolutionary than the generation that carried out the revolution. Its ideas are more advanced and more profound."

In the world of today and tomorrow, Castro concluded, "being revolutionary means and will increasingly mean, to be a communist."

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 30c
May 20, 1977

Last month union officials joined hands with corporate heads of the shoe and textile industries to lead public demonstrations for higher prices on these essential consumer goods.

The stated purpose was to protect U.S. producers against foreign imports. They said it was to "save American jobs."

The largest of these demonstrations was in New York City's garment center on April 13. The sweatshop proprietors closed down for a few hours and sent an estimated 10,000 underpaid workers to stand in Herald Square and hold up signs while politicians and labor leaders made speeches about low wages in other countries.

The case of the U.S. textile industry was argued in expensive full-page ads that appeared in major daily papers, financed by Burlington Industries of Greensboro, North Carolina. Burlington Industries is the largest U.S. textile manufacturer, an implacable foe of unionism.

"Jobs in textiles: another endangered species," said the ads. "We cannot stand silently watching our own industry's decline."

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

May 21, 1962 Price 10c

President John Kennedy's sending of 4,000 U.S. troops to Thailand and air and naval forces into Indochinese waters risks involving this country in one or more Korea-type wars in that area.

The occasion for this brinkmanship was a military reverse suffered by right-wing forces in Laos. These military forces were built up at vast expense by the United States. Their leaders, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan and his political front man, Prince Boun Oum, were handpicked by U.S. military and CIA officials who had big plans for Laos because it borders China and North Vietnam.

Despite lavish U.S. financial aid, the corrupt and reactionary rightist regime could win no support among the Laotian people.

A thousand U.S. troops already in Thailand are being moved towards the Laotian border and it is announced that 4,000 additional U.S. troops will also be sent north.

Deportation moves backfire

The First Amendment right of all people in this country, citizens or not, to read and speak as they please was strengthened May 11 when a Los Angeles immigration judge was forced to drop all charges against seven Palestinians and a Kenyan. The Immigration and Naturalization Service had sought to deport the eight on charges that they were members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The INS has indicated it will refile the charges. So the fight to block the deportations continues.

Dismissal of the charges marks the latest stage in the government's retreat in this case. Why isn't its case faring better?

The attack on the immigrants was launched with great fanfare January 26 as cops raided their Los Angeles homes in the early morning hours and rounded up seven of the eight at gunpoint.

The arrests were initially portrayed in the big-business media as a major blow against terrorism. While in prison, the eight were often shackled, held in solitary confinement, and denied medical care and visitation rights.

But the government quickly had to concede that after three years of FBI surveillance against the eight — including renting a nearby apartment — it had no evidence whatsoever that they were involved in any terrorist acts. That is why the FBI turned the case over to the INS. The sole charge against them was political support to an organization opposed to U.S. government policy in the Mideast. This charge was based on their possession of "certain magazines," such as *Palestine Focus*, *Democratic Palestine*, and the *Palestine Bulletin*.

As the facts came out, opposition to the FBI-INS attack mushroomed across the country. Demonstrations of hundreds protested the arrests.

The Committee for Justice, which organized support for the eight, attracted a wide range of sponsors. A number of Republican and Democratic political figures spoke out against the arrests, and several major dailies criticized the INS's actions against the eight.

Across the country, working people who heard about the case were outraged by the cops' high-handed behavior.

The issue was a simple one. Do immigrants have First Amendment rights? Can they speak, write, read, and associate as they please, or does the government have the right to deport those it disagrees with?

The INS is attempting to enforce the antidemocratic McCarran-Walter Act, which authorizes deportation by the government of those whose views are deemed subversive. But the arrests of the eight, far from bolstering support for this thought-control legislation, unleashed a wave of criticism of the act, including a legal challenge to

its constitutionality.

The INS was forced to retreat. On February 17 an immigration judge ordered the eight released from jail.

On April 28 the INS judge ruled that she would hear arguments on whether the immigrants had been targeted for their political views and nationality. The INS dropped charges of "subversion" against six, and modified its charges against the other two. On May 11, the acting district director of the INS in Los Angeles did not appear in court in response to a subpoena, and the judge had to dismiss the charges.

On the other side of the country, the INS has beaten a retreat in another case. On May 5 INS officials granted a temporary work permit to Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who has been waging a 10-year fight against deportation for his political views. His struggle against deportation has won considerable support in the union movement and elsewhere.

Marroquín, who has been living in this country since 1974, now has legal status for the first time. This places him in a much stronger position to fight for and win his right to reside here permanently.

It's no coincidence that these two attempts to push back democratic rights are being stymied. The crisis in Washington, reflected in the hearings currently taking place on Capitol Hill, has been caused precisely by the inability of the U.S. ruling class to either crush the Nicaraguan revolution or to roll back the standard of living and rights of working people here at home to the degree that the employers need and want.

These two cases illustrate what Attorney General Edwin Meese and his cronies have not been able to accomplish. And they show how much support exists among the U.S. people for defending democratic rights — including rights for those against whom the rulers try to whip up tremendous prejudice, such as Mexican workers and Palestinians.

Much to the INS's surprise, they couldn't simply throw Marroquín out, and they can't simply get rid of the eight from Los Angeles. Instead of winning popular support for deporting "commies" and "terrorists," the government has a fight on its hands. A fight that we can win.

The gains won in these cases will also benefit others threatened with deportation for their opinions — such as Margaret Randall, who has been ordered deported for the "crime" of writing books sympathetic to the Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions.

Further gains can be won by taking these and other cases to the millions of unionists and others who increasingly recognize their life-and-death stake in defending basic democratic rights.

Does codifying rights in to law make a difference?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Some readers may be wondering why I have devoted so much space the past few weeks to the struggles to defend and extend the Bill of Rights and other democratic guarantees in the Constitution.

Why is it important to get democratic rights accepted as part of the law of the land and then continue to defend

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

them? Don't the employers and government officials disregard these laws and violate them as they come into conflict with working people?

It's true that no democratic rights, including those in the Constitution, are permanent conquests. They are continually being challenged by the bosses and government leaders.

Striking meat-packers in the Midwest, for example, are learning that the courts are stacked against them as they exercise their democratic right to organize a fight to defend their union and make a decent living.

Farmers fighting farm foreclosures are also well aware that the cops have often denied them their democratic rights to peacefully assemble.

Groups organizing against U.S. aid to the contras in Nicaragua have been subjected to illegal FBI harassment.

So, what difference does it make to have laws on the books if they are continually flouted? Shouldn't we concentrate our energies on winning the social and political fights we're involved in instead of on winning and defending democratic rights?

The problem with this is that the fight for democratic rights and the struggle against imperialist war, worsening working conditions, farm foreclosures, and racial and sexual discrimination are inseparable.

The need for free speech, privacy, right to assemble, and other rights arises out of the struggles working people are involved in. They become necessary weapons for helping to advance these struggles.

All big social struggles — the war of independence, the Civil War and Reconstruction, organization of the industrial unions, and the civil rights movement — have led to significant advances in democratic rights.

The codification of democratic guarantees in constitutional amendments, laws, and court rulings reflects the favorable advance workers have made in relation to the capitalist rulers, advances won through struggle.

Millions of people have incorporated into their thinking the idea that they are entitled to these rights. This is true even long after the struggles that led to their adoption are over and few people, if any, have first hand experience or direct knowledge of them. This awareness of legally guaranteed democratic rights, and the expectations flowing from it, are themselves a potent political force.

Employers and government officials have a more difficult time abridging democratic rights if they are written into law or court injunctions and when millions of people strongly believe they are entitled to those rights. The rulers have to move more cautiously, testing the waters as to how far and how fast they can go.

When the exploiting classes and their political spokespersons do begin to violate legally guaranteed rights, they face the difficulty of being lawbreakers. Of course, they try to cover this up with lies and excuses and attempt to make it appear that striking workers, protesting farmers, or antiwar fighters are the lawbreakers. But if working people wage an aggressive campaign to show that the law is on their side, they can make this ploy hard to stick. Exposing the bosses and politicians as lawbreakers can be an effective element in winning broader support for struggles of working people.

Wresting guarantees of democratic rights and getting them written into law or registered in court rulings can be a powerful weapon for working people. The August 1986 ruling by federal Judge Thomas Griesa that the FBI illegally conducted a 40-year campaign to spy on and disrupt the Socialist Workers Party is an example of just such a weapon.

This view is very different from the notion that concentrating on getting a lot of the "right" legislation adopted and right court decisions made is the road to advancing the interests of working people. That legalistic or parliamentary trail is a dead end for working people.

Legislation that gives more rights or social benefits will only be won as the byproduct of workers and farmers organizing and mobilizing to fight as hard as they can. Supreme Court rulings that register an advance for working people aren't determined by getting the "right" assemblage of justices. These decisions too are the consequence of big social battles.

As the struggle against war, social injustice, and inequality deepens, the capitalist rulers will keep trying to curtail democratic rights. The outcome will be determined by how well organized and led working people are.

Mayor Koch's latest racist smear

A tireless apologist for racism, New York's Mayor Edward Koch made a new, scurrilous attack on Blacks, again trying to tag them as *perpetrators* of racist violence, not *victims* of it.

This time his target was the Black community in the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn.

Crown Heights is overwhelmingly Black and Latino. There is also a white enclave of some 20,000 Hasidic Jews.

Last month hundreds of Crown Heights Blacks marched in a protest against racist attacks and discrimination.

On May 10 Koch went to a Black Crown Heights church to declare his support for complaints by the Jewish Lubavitcher sect that its members were the victims of Black violence.

Blacks, the mayor charged, are the source of violence. Whites are assaulted by Blacks he asserted, and Blacks are assaulted by Blacks.

To angry protests from the Black parishioners, Koch declared that if you are a Lubavitcher, "it's hardly likely that you're going to be assaulted by a white in this community. If you're Black and you're living in this community, it's hardly likely that you're going to be physically assaulted by a white Lubavitcher."

The mayor apparently chose not to address himself to the real issue in Crown Heights — the systematic racist victimization of Blacks.

Residents have complained of a pressure campaign to push Black homeowners and tenants from the area.

In February a Black home was firebombed. No arrest has been made.

A city-gerrymandered community board system has permitted a majority of funding for housing and social services to go to the white enclave.

Public funds have also been used to finance all-white, vigilante-type "security patrols." These patrols harass, interrogate, and intimidate Blacks and have committed violence against them.

Indeed, in his smear attack on the Black community, Koch deemed it necessary to say that Hasidic leaders had been warned that the city would not tolerate "vigilantism" by the patrols. He proposed not that they be abolished, but that they be "integrated."

Koch's argument in Crown Heights was not new. In the wake of the December 1986 racist lynching in Howard Beach, Queens, which took the life of Michael Griffith, the mayor asserted that in order to deal with the problem of racism, it was necessary to consider "white fear of Black crime."

At that time he rhetorically enquired that if three whites were walking in Harlem at night, "Do you believe they would be absolutely safe?"

That, of course, deliberately twists the problem inside out. Koch does not and cannot cite a record of antiwhite violence by Blacks. But if he cared to, he could offer quite a record of systematic anti-Black violence by whites — and cops.

In 1982 Willie Turks, a Black transit worker, was beaten to death by a Brooklyn racist gang.

In 1983 Michael Stewart, a Black youth, was clubbed and stomped to death by city transit cops.

In 1984 Eleanor Bumpurs, an elderly Black woman, was gunned down in her apartment by city cops.

And in February of this year Nicholas Bartlett was surrounded by eight cops on a Harlem street. They then pumped 10 bullets into him. A grand jury has found this wanton use of force was justified on the basis that he allegedly threatened them with a pipe.

Currently, racist vigilante Bernhard Goetz is being tried for shooting four Black youth on Dec. 22, 1984. By his own testimony, the shooting was deliberate and cold-blooded.

In his defense, Goetz's lawyer told the jury, "Let no one kid you — he's the victim."

That is exactly the line which is so vigorously promoted by Koch. It is truly designed to make the victims the criminals — and to help insure that racist criminals go free.

Phoenix's Sunland Beef Co. 'treats us like cattle'

BY BERNIE SENTER

Over lunch I told a fellow worker, "The company seems to treat people like cattle." She responded, "That's not true. At least they put the cattle out of their misery."

I work at Sunland Beef, a packinghouse in Phoenix employing 550 people. We slaughter 1,200 head of cattle

UNION TALK

per day. The beef is cut, packaged, and shipped to grocery stores.

Starting wages are \$4.50 per hour. Top pay for the most skilled meatcutters is \$7.00 per hour.

The working conditions are barbaric and humiliating. Injuries are a regular feature of life at Sunland. Cuts and scratches often become infected. Disabling accidents are a common occurrence.

In 1985 the company reported that accidents resulted in 474 lost workdays for every 100 employees. This is twice the meat-packing industry average.

When a stunned steer gets loose on the "kill floor," the animal is in a panic and runs amok. There is no protection for workers. The only way to stop it is to shoot it with a gun, or gang tackle it and slit its throat.

Workers get one paid 15-minute break in eight hours. The unpaid 30-minute lunch is often cut short as foremen herd everybody back onto the line.

Speed-up, turnover

The pace of work is grueling. One worker explained to me that a year ago the fabricating department cut and trimmed 400 head of cattle per eight-hour shift. Today the average exceeds 550 head. The size of the work force is essentially the same. The line speed has increased as

has the danger of crippling injuries.

The plant has a huge employee turnover. Between January and June of 1986 the company hired more than 500 people — a 100 percent turnover.

The company has a strict absentee program. If you have more than three unexcused absences within a year's time you are subject to being fired.

A high percentage of workers at Sunland are Mexican. Some used to be employed at a packinghouse in Chihuahua, Mexico, where wages are \$3 a day. The new immigration law has many afraid they will lose their jobs or be deported. A few workers may qualify under the stiff "amnesty" provisions of the new law. Most, however, fear that the company will soon fire everyone who is unable to produce appropriate citizenship or residency documents.

Recently the company announced a new antidrug program at work. Anyone injured on the job must be drug tested. If you test positive you may be fired and lose paid medical coverage for the injury you sustained. The company is using the antidrug program to blame individual workers for the company's exceptionally high injury rate.

Many of Sunland's meatcutters have worked in other packinghouses around the country. Some of them are veterans of union battles and strikes. Many agree that working conditions and wages at Sunland are among the industry's worst.

But most of my coworkers are unaware of the strikes and labor battles that have occurred in meat-packing plants across the country recently. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulate among a layer of workers and are a source of knowledge about these labor battles.

Union weak

Many agree that the situation would improve if the union was able to effectively organize and stand up for the workers. Unfortunately the union here is weak.

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 99 organizes the plant. It is a huge amalgamated structure encompassing more than 6,000 members throughout Arizona. The union has more than a hundred contracts with retail grocery stores, food-processing plants, hair salons, and other places.

The weakness of the union at Sunland has an interesting history. Arizona is a "right to work" state. This means that when you hire on at Sunland you don't automatically join the union. The union must convince people to join.

A year and a half ago, an in-plant organizing drive resulted in the majority of workers joining the UFCW. Then the union contract with the company expired. As negotiations between the UFCW and the company dragged out, union membership dwindled. Workers either left Sunland for better-paying jobs or became discouraged by the lack of quick results with the negotiations. The company caught wind of this and stalled until the union membership was all but decimated. The company then imposed its final offer on the union — a 20 cent an hour wage increase every year for the next three years. The base wage will be \$4.90 an hour in 1988.

Today only a handful of workers are in the union. The vast majority don't even know that they have a union contract.

The union is too weak to have stewards on the job. The contract, as poor as it is, remains unenforced.

The past history of the union at Sunland proves that things can change rapidly. The degrading working conditions cry out for change. The UFCW should allocate the resources necessary to reorganize the plant. This could improve the union's standing among the workers and result in changes for the better.

Bernie Senter is a meatcutter at Sunland Beef and a member of UFCW Local 99.

LETTERS

Genes

I disagree with Cindy Jaquith's sentence, "It is a reactionary myth that humans have an inherent drive to find out where their genes come from." (Article on the "Baby M" case in the May 1 *Militant*.)

Genealogy is the most popular hobby in the United States. *Roots*, a true account of how one Black American traced his genes back to Gambia in West Africa, was a best-seller when it appeared in 1976. There is a national organization that has been fighting successfully for the right of adults who were adopted to learn who their natural parents were; state laws are gradually recognizing this right.

It is sometimes very important for people to know the health histories of their natural ancestors. Many diseases have genetic causes; any human being is better off if he knows the causes of illness and death of his or her ancestors.

Genealogy fosters respect for individual human beings. Someone who has researched his or her own genealogy is more likely to recognize the importance of each person.

Haven't you frequently read newspaper accounts of brothers or sisters who were separated in childhood and found each other decades later? These accounts are always joyful ones, as are those of long-separated parents and children, even when there had been a complete loss of contact since infancy.

Richard Winger
San Francisco, California

Ben Linder

On the morning Ben Linder's murder was reported, we were able to pull together a press conference within four hours that was attended by most of the print and TV media.

On Sunday several of us who knew Ben spoke at Christ Church Presbyterian at a service to honor his memory. This church is quite a group of people. The pastor is a woman who is a follower of Ernesto Cardenal's Gospel of Solentiname. Many of the members have been to Nicaragua.

Anti-contra feeling is now genuinely widespread among the mass of ordinary people. This enabled

us in the last election to place before the people a ballot initiative condemning aid to the contras. It won by 53 percent.

Bernie Sanders, an outspoken opponent of contra aid absolutely trashed his opponent in the recent mayoral election, even though the Republicans fielded no candidate in order to bloc with the Democrats to drive Sanders out.

Ken Eardley
Burlington, Vermont

Farmers

The article in the May 8 *Militant* on the April 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C., left out some information that I think is of interest to readers.

At least half a dozen members of the American Agriculture Movement attended the action and marched behind an AAM banner. Farmers also came on buses organized by antiwar coalitions in Omaha and other cities. AAM President Corky Jones was introduced to the crowd during the rally at the Capitol.

N.S.
New York, New York

Crew size

My "Union Talk" article, "Chicago rail bosses try to divide unions," in the May 8 *Militant*, incorrectly stated the current crew sizes on the Chicago & Northwestern. Most crews are still one engineer, one conductor, and two brakemen.

Only a few trains on branch lines, some unit trains, and certain yard jobs have one engineer, one conductor, and one brakeman. There are no crews smaller than this on the Northwestern.

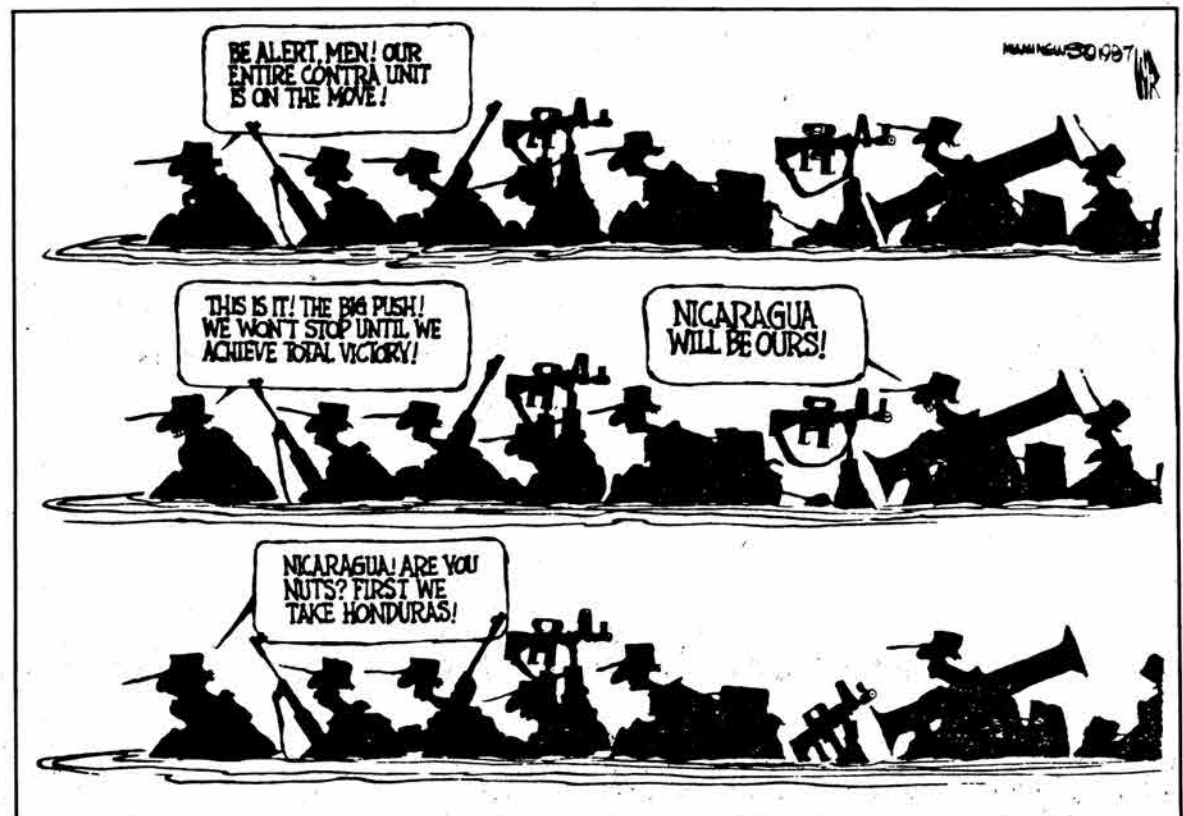
The two-person crew composition given for the Wyoming Coal line was also incorrect, and was my mistake.

Jim Miles
Chicago, Illinois

Baseball and racism

The racist comments by Dodger official Al Campanis on ABC's "Nightline" come almost 40 years to the day Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line.

I've had a number of discussions with both Black and white coworkers about baseball and racism, and several important points



have emerged.

There were Black major league players before Jackie Robinson. With the end of slavery following the Union's victory in 1865, a limited desegregation of baseball occurred. By the early 1880s there were approximately 20 Blacks earning a living playing professional baseball, all but two in the minor leagues.

But the end of Radical Reconstruction 10 years earlier signaled the beginning of the end for Black pro-ballers. Racist Klan-type outfits linked up with right-wing players like Cap Anson (all-star player on the Chicago team) to drive Blacks out of baseball. Using boycotts, petitioning campaigns, and outright terror, they succeeded in making baseball a protected enclave for white players, forcing Blacks to form their own leagues. From the late 1880s to 1947, the only way a Black could play in the majors was to try to pass as a Cuban.

A number of relevant statistics have been reported in the aftermath of Campanis' remarks, especially since Hank Aaron has been publicizing them. There are no Black owners in baseball. Only

three Blacks have managed big-league teams, Frank Robinson, Maury Wills, and Larry Doby. (All three were fired.) Of 879 top administrative positions in baseball, only 17 (1.9 percent) are held by Blacks. Of the 26 pro-ball clubs, 16 have no Blacks in the front office.

Bill Kalman
Cleveland, Ohio

Austin Mural

Arising out of the fight against Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota, a 16' x 80' mural was created. Artists and supporters from across the nation merged to express their opinion of the problems facing the working class throughout the world.

In October 1986 this controversial work of art was totally defaced by friends of Hormel. These same friends petitioned a federal judge to dismiss a [court order halting the sandblasting]. The judge found this claim rightfully belonged in state courts, totally agreeing with our counsel.

Since it was a state judge who issued a restraining order to halt any further destruction, we intend to refile the claim in the state court system. Unfortunately, there is a

cost for justice.

We are making an all-out appeal to support the rights of visual art. The destruction of this mural must be overturned so the historical battles of all workers can remain in view for generations to come. No corporation should be allowed to destroy art.

We need your help!
Contributions can be made to: Austin Mural Committee, P.O. Box 891, Austin, Minnesota, 55912.

Denny Mealy
Austin Mural Committee
Austin, Minnesota

Correction

Through an editing error, the size of the antiwar protest at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, on April 27 was incorrectly reported in the May 8 *Militant*. It was 1,500, not 3,000.

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.

Gov't dealt setback in attempt to deport Palestinian activists

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — An immigration judge dropped all charges against seven Palestinians and one Kenyan facing deportation. Her action was taken at a hearing here May 11.

The eight were arrested January 26 and held for almost three weeks in solitary confinement on charges of violating the McCarran-Walter Act. This law turns constitutionally protected political activities into grounds for deportation if the government deems the activities subversive. The government claimed the eight are members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Judge Ingrid Hrycenko abruptly terminated all proceedings and stormed out of court when Gilbert Reeves, acting district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), failed to appear in response to a subpoena. Reeves had signed the original deportation order against the eight last January.

Hrycenko returned to the courtroom to announce that INS officials could appeal the decision within 10 days and to reaffirm that she was dropping the charges.

Before the hearing opened, INS officials came into the courtroom with fresh charges against all eight, identical to those now pending, but signed by a different official. This was an apparent move to avoid questioning of Reeves.

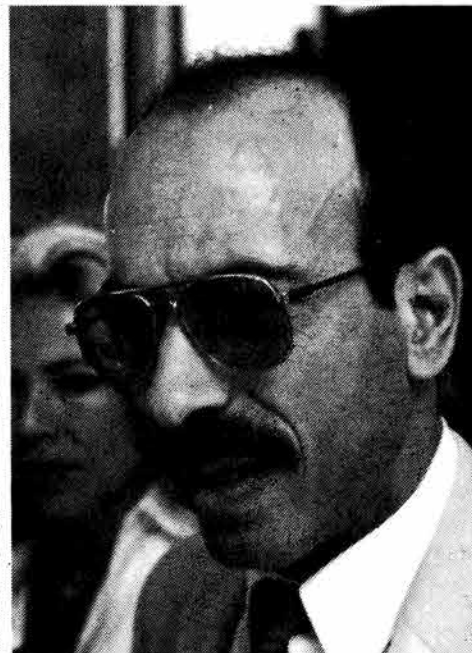
'Contingency Plan'

"Reeves had no evidence when he signed the original order," defense attorney Dan Stormer said. "All he had was the Contingency Plan, and he would have to admit that or lie."

The secret INS Contingency Plan, which surfaced after the eight were arrested, outlines a series of steps to be taken against Arabs and Iranians, culminating in imprisonment in mass internment camps.

The defense maintains the plan proves the Palestinians are being singled out for selective prosecution because of their nationality.

The FBI admits to more than three years of spying in the case, which included renting an apartment next to two of its targets — Khader Hamide and his wife Julie Mungai, the Kenyan national.



Immigration judge dropped charges against Khader Hamide (center); Julie Mungai, a Kenyan (left); Michel Shehadeh (right); and five others. No evidence of any illegal activity was produced.

When no criminal charges could be put together, the FBI turned the case over to the INS for deportation proceedings.

Hamide told the *Militant*, "I feel tremendous outrage at what's happened. They hold us in maximum security for three weeks, call us terrorists, try to destroy our lives, and now refuse to tell the American people why they did this to us."

"This shows the government had a weak case from the beginning," Hamide added.

There's been an outpouring of protest around the country against the government's attempt to deport the eight.

Selective prosecution

The government has sought their deportation on McCarran Act charges of association with an organization that advocates "destruction of property." Not one shred of evidence of any illegal activity on the part of any of the eight has been produced.

The defense is also seeking to prove that the proceedings are illegal because they violate constitutional guarantees against selective prosecution.

On May 8 Edgar Chamorro, former leader of the Nicaraguan contras, appeared at an INS hearing on the case. He testified that not only did the contras both advocate and engage in the destruction of property without fear of deportation, they did so at the instigation of the U.S. government.

Chamorro told the hearing that after he quit the contras and published an article critical of Reagan administration policy, government officials initiated deportation proceedings against him, although they later backed off.

Chamorro described how U.S. officials picked him to be director of the major contra organization. As a contra spokesperson, he "personally took credit for property destruction in the media," Chamorro testified.

Barnett Rubin, a professor at Yale and a leading authority on the Afghan rebel movement, testified that representatives of several right-wing Afghan groups openly operate in this country, advocating destruction of property, with U.S. government encouragement and no fear of deportation.

Defense attorney Stormer introduced

written testimony from a former FBI agent, a former state department official, and others outlining U.S. policy of sponsoring counterrevolutionary Cuban immigrants. Since the 1960s such individuals have advocated and engaged in acts aimed at destroying property — without fear of deportation.

The INS dropped McCarran Act charges against six of the eight April 23, at the same time initiating deportation proceedings on alleged minor visa violations. The defense holds the deportation actions remain politically motivated and unconstitutional.

Hamide and Michel Shehadeh, permanent resident aliens not subject to visa violation charges, continued to face deportation under provisions of the McCarran Act. The government claims the two are central leaders of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which they deny.

Support for the eight is being organized by the Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, Calif. 90051. Telephone (213) 413-3232.

Settlement in 75-day New Mex. miners' strike

BY SUSAN LAMONT

GALLUP, N. M. — On May 6, the 361 members of United Mine Workers of America Local 1332 at Pittsburgh & Midway (P&M) Coal Co.'s McKinley mine ratified a new contract ending their hard-fought 75-day strike.

The McKinley mine is northeast of here halfway between Gallup and Window Rock, Arizona. It is one of three mines on land belonging to the Navajo Nation that have been hit by strikes. The majority of Local 1332 members are Navajo Indians. They maintained the strike in the face of a vicious antiunion campaign by the company.

A central issue was job security. The union was seeking guarantees that further expansion of P&M's mining operation would mandate hiring of laid-off union members who had worked for P&M.

According to the May 5 *Albuquerque Journal*, P&M agreed to add over 3,500 acres to McKinley's current boundaries. If this new land is opened up for mining it would be considered part of the existing mine and therefore organized by the union.

P&M maintains, however, that the new contract has no bearing on hiring in any new mines outside of McKinley.

Other contract provisions include a \$750 "ratification bonus," a \$500 bonus next year, and a 30 cents an hour raise the third year.

Cops protect scabs

The strike began February 20. Negotiations broke off on April 6. On April 24 P&M issued an order to the strikers to return to work by April 27.

On that day, as hundreds of chanting strike supporters stood by the entrance to the mine, some 75 union members crossed the picket line protected by over 100 state cops, McKinley County Sheriff deputies, and Navajo Tribal police, all outfitted in riot gear and backed up by fire department water hoses.

The company then threatened to hire replacements for the strikers beginning on May 4. The company also offered a bounty of \$250 to every striker who returned to work.

The Navajo Division of Labor began the process of accepting applications and the company reported that it had hundreds of applications on hand.

During the strike P&M issued a series of crude attacks on the union, including charges that the local was responsible for

violence on the picket line.

On April 24, P&M President Richard Holsten said the union was using "stone age tactics" and that the miners were being incited by out-of-state union organizers, who he dubbed "imported goons."

Navajo Tribal Council

The Navajo Tribal Council, the local governing body for the Navajo Nation, was pressured by both the company and the union to take a side in the strike. On April 25 Stan Milford of Navajo Tribal Council Chairman Peter MacDonald's office issued a statement that said in part, "We applaud P&M's actions and their decision to open the mine and would support each striking employee who decides to exercise their right to return to work."

"The strike," Milford added, "has continued too long, it is the Navajo people that have been most affected and it is now time to return to work."

Miners responded angrily to this attack and several days later the chairman's office issued a statement saying Milford's quotes were not representative of MacDonald's administration. The Tribal Council then began hearings on the strike, taking statements from both the union and the com-

pany.

The Tribal Council also voted to ask P&M to return to negotiations, a position the UMWA praised.

The miners' union in this area has long fought for preferential hiring of Navajos. It fully supports the Navajo Preference in Employment Act which mandates preferential hiring by all employers doing business in or near the boundaries of the Navajo Nation or having contracts with the nation.

A bumper sticker you see on many miners' pickups around here expresses the unity between the union and the Navajos: "Navajo Coal is UMWA coal."

UMWA International Vice-president Cecil Roberts and other UMWA officials came out here to speak at an April 24 news conference and rally in support of the strikers.

Roberts said these are "highly productive and profitable companies. . . . It's not right for the company to take millions of dollars off this reservation and refuse to give anything to the people who made these profits, and we won't stand for it."

Also attending the rally were women from the UMWA Women's Auxiliary in Decker, Wyoming.