

Washington builds up war fleet in Persian Gulf to threaten Iran

U.S. naval moves claim 37 victims

The 37 sailors who died on the USS *Stark* on May 17 were victims of the U.S. government's belligerent policy in the Persian Gulf. The Exocet missiles that slammed into the U.S. ship were reportedly fired "inadvertently" by an Iraqi

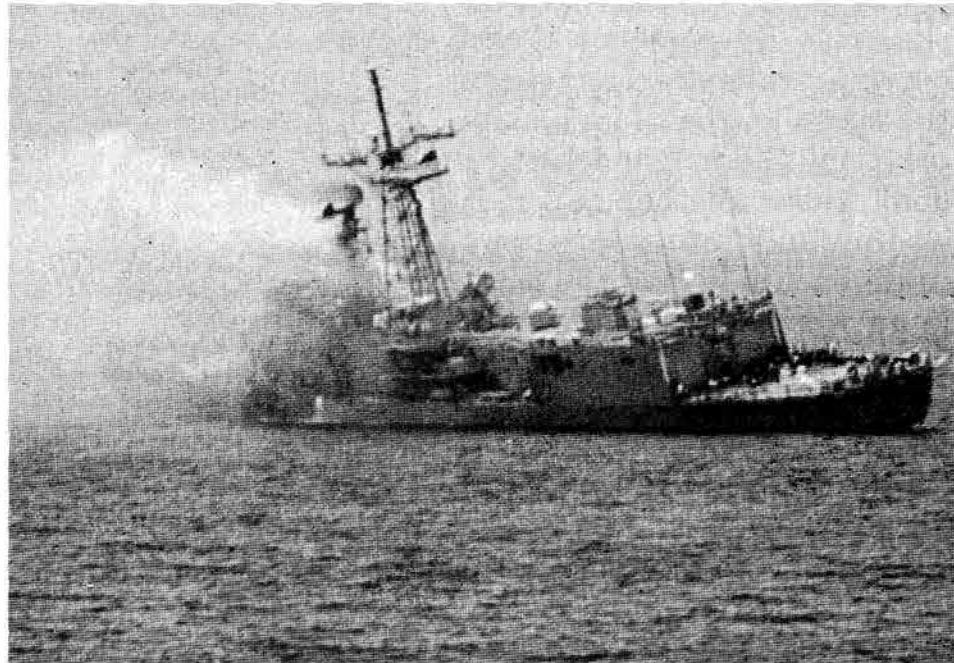
EDITORIAL

pilot, but the vessel wasn't in the Gulf by chance.

The sailors were sacrificed as part of Washington's attempts to set up a provocation against Iran that could create a pretext for launching a military attack against that country. (See accompanying article.)

The sailors' deaths were no more accidental than the April 28 murder of Ben Linder by U.S.-financed and -directed contras in Nicaragua.

The contras, under the supervision of the CIA, select specific targets for attack, including health clinics, farm cooperatives,



USS *Stark* after being hit by Iraqi missile. Sailors were sacrificed as part of U.S. attempt to set up provocation against Iran.

and schools. The project to build a hydroelectric plant in the countryside that Linder, a U.S. engineer, was working on, was one of those targeted by the U.S.-backed mercenaries. The project, when completed, will bring electricity to a small rural area for the first time.

The *Stark's* sailors were placed in harm's way in a part of the world the U.S. military has no moral or political right to

be, just as were the 239 U.S. Marines who lost their lives in a bombing attack on their headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983. Those men were part of a joint U.S., French, British, and Italian occupation force in Lebanon.

In the wake of the sailors' deaths, the Reagan administration has speeded up moves to reflag Kuwaiti oil tankers with

Continued on Page 14

Aims to set stage for U.S. attack

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. government is stepping up its military moves and threats against Iran. Washington's provocations have already claimed 37 victims — the U.S. sailors who were killed when the USS *Stark*, one of seven U.S. warships assigned to the Persian Gulf, was struck May 17 by missiles fired from an Iraqi plane.

"I don't know what the government is doing sending our young men to places like this, like Grenada and the Middle East," said Robert Brown, father of one of the sailors killed on the *Stark*. "I didn't like what we did in Vietnam, either."

Forces on alert

But far from pulling U.S. forces out of the Persian Gulf war zone, the U.S. government placed U.S. ships on a heightened state of alert and ordered them to fire at aircraft displaying "hostile intent." The aircraft carrier USS *Constellation*, with 85 planes, moved toward the mouth of the gulf to join the fleet already stationed in the area.

Washington also moved ahead with plans, secretly approved March 7, to reregister 11 of Kuwait's 22 oil tankers as U.S. vessels, place them under U.S. flags and the command of U.S. captains, and provide them with U.S. naval escorts. The regime in Kuwait, like other Persian Gulf monarchies, supports the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in the war it has been waging against Iran since 1980. Ships bound for Kuwait supply arms and other matériel for the Iraqi war effort.

U.S. naval vessels escorted a Kuwaiti merchant ship carrying U.S.-made army tanks to a port in Bahrain May 25. Bahrain is another imperialist-dominated Persian Gulf emirate.

President Reagan claims that U.S. naval forces are in the region to protect the right of free navigation. But the facts show that Washington's aim is to find a way to use military force against Iran. Washington wants to compel Iran to end the war on terms more favorable to the Iraqi regime than its surrender.

Recent military gains by Iranian forces have raised the possibility of an Iranian victory sweeping enough to doom the Iraqi regime and threaten the stability of other governments in the gulf.

Backing Iraqi war

Washington has backed the Iraqi rulers from the start of the war, hoping that their 1980 invasion of Iran would result in the reimposition of an imperialist-dominated regime. The shah of Iran, who had provided the U.S. rulers with military bases, was a staunch supporter of imperialist interests in the region. His regime, based primarily on the powerful landholding class, was overturned by a popular revolution in 1979. Washington's bases were shut down and its advisers sent packing.

When the Iraqi invasion was pushed back, Washington continued to back the Iraqi forces in the hopes of weakening the Iranian government and grinding down the morale of the workers and peasants who had supported the revolution.

The Iraqi regime also received massive
Continued on Page 11

Broad rally defends democratic rights

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — Under a large banner reading "Stop FBI and INS Attacks," nearly 600 people gathered here May 23 to defend the right of all to freely speak out and engage in political activity without fear of government harassment and victimization.

The rally was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). It took place the first evening of the 25th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

A broad array of speakers was on the platform, including trade unionists and other victims of government and employer spying, disruption, and repression.

John Studer, executive director of the PRDF, chaired the meeting. He explained that the government was forced to reveal the scope of its illegal activities against political activists as a result of a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and YSA in 1973.

In 1986 U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in favor of the socialists, holding that the government's 40-year-long spying and disruption operation against them is unconstitutional. Griesa stated he would issue an injunction barring Attorney General Edwin Meese and other defendants from continuing to use the secret files they had compiled illegally on supporters and members of the SWP and YSA. The FBI alone admits to having 9,801,114 pages of such files.

"The battle today," Studer said, "is to get a powerful injunction to prevent the government from using those files against us and other political activists."

A second fight that the PRDF is winning support for, Studer explained, is the case of Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist whom the government sought to deport for his political ideas. Marroquín is now fighting for his U.S. citizenship.

William Taylor, president of Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers here, welcomed everyone to Chicago.

Noting that unionists and civil rights activists have faced government harassment and victimization, Taylor said, "If we are to be a free society, we can never give up the struggle for freedom, the right to assemble, and the right to speak politically

on any issue that we choose."

Carlos Hernandez, a leader of a victorious cannery workers' strike in Watsonville, California, was arrested 12 times during the course of the 18-month strike that ended in March. Along with four other workers, he now faces criminal charges for strike-related activities.

Speaking in Spanish, Hernandez
Continued on Page 10

Young Socialist Alliance holds national convention

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — The 25th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was a resounding success. Some 569 high school and college students, workers, and other young people and guests participated in the convention, which was held here at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel May 23-25.

The 112 delegates from 55 cities adopted three reports given by the outgoing YSA national leadership. Rena Cacoullos, reelected national secretary, presented the report "Communism Today and Forging an International Revolutionary Working-class Leadership." Newly elected National Committee member Greg McCartan reported on "The Labor Movement and U.S. Politics." And National Committee member James Winfield presented the report on "Summer YSA Tasks and Perspectives."

Terry Marryshow, general secretary of the Maurice Bishop Youth Organisation of Grenada, saluted the convention and reported on the situation facing youth in his country.

John Linder, brother of U.S. engineer Ben Linder, who was murdered by contras in Nicaragua in April, discussed an upcoming national speaking tour by members of his family.

Greetings were also heard from Fred Dube of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, who is waging a fight to win tenure at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The chairman of the SUNY system has ordered Stony Brook not to let Dube teach there anymore because of his political ideas.

Mojaki Thulo of the ANC Youth Section, Tji Kuili of the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia, and a leader of the newly formed Young Socialists of Canada also addressed the convention.

Nearly 200 members of the YSA attended the meeting. For many, it was their first national convention.

Some 116 guests and friends of the YSA also participated.

Next week's *Militant* will carry a full report on the convention.

'Militant'-'PM' team with farm workers in struggle

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

YAKIMA, Wash. — I participated on a team of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters selling in the Yakima Valley in early May. Some 75 percent of the 160,000 farm workers in the state

subscriptions to farm workers, almost all of them to *Perspectiva Mundial*. In all, we sold 82 *PM* and 37 *Militant* subscriptions.

Solidarity

Tomas Villanueva, president of

cia, production manager for the station, is also on the executive board of the UFWWS. The station uses *Perspectiva Mundial* as a news source.

Two days after the strike was called, a fund-raising dance was held at the union hall in Granger. A popular Mexican band cancelled a commercial engagement and played free of charge for the strikers.

Nicaragua

Going door-to-door we found a high degree of support for the strike. The article in *Perspectiva Mundial* on farm-worker struggles in the Yakima Valley was of particular interest. But farm workers were also hungry for information on the Nicaraguan revolution.

At the UFWWS union hall there was a poster of Nicaragua's national hero, Augusto César Sandino, along with other posters from revolutionary Nicaragua.

A contingent of UFWWS members had participated in the 75,000-strong march against U.S. contra aid and U.S. support for apartheid held in San Francisco on April 25.

At a Del Monte processing plant in Toppenish, organized by the Teamsters, we sold 38 copies of *PM* and the *Militant*.

There was particular interest in the article on the Watsonville strike victory in California. Like the Watsonville cannery workers, the overwhelming majority of the work force here is Mexican women.

We went to the Immigration and Naturalization Service office in Yakima on May 5, the first day

that the amnesty provision of the new Immigration Reform and Control Act went into effect.

Hardly anybody showed up. The few that did bought subscriptions. Undocumented workers were outnumbered that day by the many growers who came down to pick up application forms. In the two weeks we were there only 15 applied for residency.

We sold 25 subscriptions in front of the Farm Workers Clinic of Yakima Valley. Among farm workers, there is a high level of malnutrition, tuberculosis, and illnesses resulting from handling crops sprayed by pesticides.

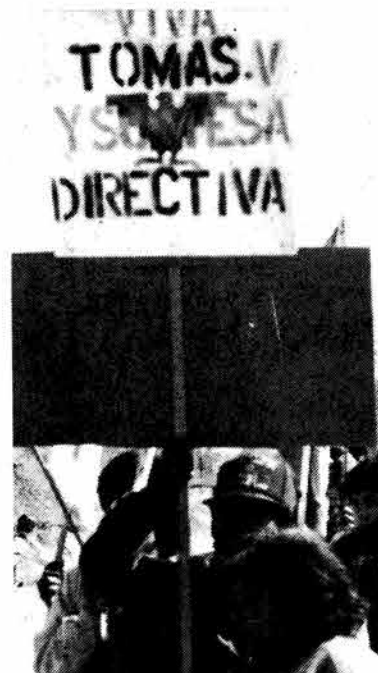
Next to the clinic is the Yakima Valley Community College for Adult Education. Here, too, we sold subscriptions to farm workers learning to read and write. Throughout the valley, we talked to dozens of illiterate farm workers.

Interest in Marxism

We found a layer of farm workers interested in Marxism. Many had been reading *PM*. Others were politically active in Mexican politics. One asked us if we had a copy of Karl Marx's *Capital* in Spanish. He was from Argentina, had traveled to revolutionary Nicaragua, and somehow made his way to Washington.

"Nicaragua has a lot of problems," he told us. We asked what he thought the problems were. "The main problem," he said, "was the U.S. contra war. The war makes it hard to make advances in the economy." He bought a copy of the *Communist Manifesto*.

One of the leaders of the union



Militant/Matt Herreshoff
March by United Farm Workers of Washington State. Union has doubled membership in eight months.

bought almost every Spanish title we had on the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. "For my political education I have to have books by Fidel Castro," he told us emphatically. He also picked up every Spanish pamphlet we had with us published by Pathfinder.

This farm worker, and he was not alone, thought it was illegal to promote Marxism in the United States. When I told him it was legal, he asked: "But you can't read it in the universities?" I said you could but it was better to study Marxism in a revolutionary party like the one I belong to, the Socialist Workers Party.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

live in the valley.

Farm workers here are making progress in their struggle for justice and dignity in the fields. Eight months ago, 400 founded the United Farm Workers of Washington State (UFWWS). Since then the membership of the union has doubled.

Not one farm worker in the state is working under a union contract. But important union-organizing battles have broken out in the apple orchards, vineyards, and, most recently, the asparagus fields.

Most of the farm workers we met made less than the minimum wage. Children as young as six or seven years old work beside their parents in the fields.

I met one young farm worker, maybe 10 or 11 years old, as I was going door-to-door to sign up new readers. When he asked what I was doing, I told him I was selling subscriptions to a magazine that supported farm workers. He then took me to a farm worker housing project and helped me sell five *PM* subscriptions.

The team sold around 100 sub-

scriptions to farm workers, almost all of them to *Perspectiva Mundial*. In all, we sold 82 *PM* and 37 *Militant* subscriptions.

Asparagus was being cut when we were in the valley. The asparagus season lasts about two and a half months. After asparagus, farm workers will pick cherries and by early fall, apples — the most profitable crop in the valley.

The conditions in the fields and orchards are similar: subminimum wages, poor sanitation, child labor, harassment by foremen, and arbitrary firing of prounion farm workers. In addition, only 10 percent of farm workers receive unemployment benefits.

A strike against SKD Farms started while we were there. (See May 29 *Militant*.) The strike ended in a stalemate. The union's demand for a contract was not met. But SKD Farms lost their entire asparagus crop, which was valued at \$100,000.

The farm worker community stood solidly behind the strike. Radio KDNA gave regular updates on the strike. Ricardo Gar-

Court backs up Massey's attack on miners' union

BY KATHY MICKELLS

The Supreme Court has backed up the refusal of A.T. Massey Coal Co. to sign the 1984 contract between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). On April 27 the court let stand a lower-court ruling that upheld Massey's claim that it is not bound by the 1984 pact, even though Omar Mining Co., a Massey subsidiary, was a signatory to the agreement.

According to the contract between the miners' union and the BCOA, all "subsidiary or affiliate" companies linked to the signers are bound by its terms. The court decisions mark a setback in the union's two-and-a-half-year battle to win a contract. The 1,500 union members at Massey

mines struck the company from October 1984 to December 1985. UMWA President Richard Trumka ordered an end to the strike after the National Labor Relations Board upheld the union's contention that Massey was obliged to negotiate as a single unit. But Massey refused to end its drive against the union and rejected the UMWA's contention that the NLRB ruling meant it had already agreed to the 1984 terms through its Omar subsidiary.

After the latest antiunion ruling was handed down, the UMWA filed an amended complaint asking the court to uphold its contentions.

"We're back to where we started," said union spokesperson Joe Corcoran. Massey executives have called on the union to open negotiations on a takeback pact for the

Massey mines.

Company violence

The company waged a violent campaign against the 15-month strike.

Security guards rode armored personnel carriers and toted machine guns at fortified outposts. School buses filled with children were used to provide cover for scab coal trucks. Bullets were fired into the house of Bill Davis, president of Local 1440. A woman miner, Judy Mullins, was shot in the hand while walking the picket line.

In the course of the strike, the union organized civil disobedience in the form of sit-ins on railroad tracks leading to Massey mines, as well as marches of up to 3,000 miners at the Sprouse Creek processing plant. These protests ended after court in-

junctions were handed down barring them.

Currently, UMWA miners at Massey operations work alongside nonunion miners and without the protection of an agreed-on union contract, for the first time in decades.

According to local union officials, only about 300 UMWA miners were recalled at the end of the strike, while 1,200 remain without jobs. Massey has refused to replace those hired as scabs during the strike with union miners.

Ninety-four miners were fired for alleged "strike misconduct." Those dismissed include virtually all the officers of three UMWA locals in Mingo County, West Virginia, and Pike County, Kentucky.

In an interview that appeared in the May

Continued on Page 6

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

Nicaragua gold-mining town repels contras

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — When 50 U.S.-sponsored contra mercenaries attacked the water supply pump in the gold-mining town of Siuna, they must have thought that it would be an easy task.

It was 3:55 a.m. on May 10 and most of Siuna's 7,000 residents were sleeping. Only four militia members were guarding the pump. Nevertheless, within minutes of the attack, hundreds of members of the town's militia had the mercenaries running for their lives.

Siuna is located in the central part of Northern Zelaya Province on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. Its population is made up of miners, farmers, and cattle ranchers.

Among those stirred from their sleep by the contras was Hazel Lau. A Miskito Indian, she is the Sandinista National Liberation Front delegate to the National Assembly from Northern Zelaya. She happened to be visiting Siuna that day.

The *Militant* spoke with Lau in Managua a few days later.

"I was staying in the Marcos Somarriba neighborhood of Siuna," she recalled. When the contras started their assault, people quickly got up and left their houses, with some of the militia members going to their command posts. Those closest to the

pump "rushed over there to confront the attackers," said Lau. "Within 15 minutes they were in pursuit of the band."

Five hundred militia members mobilized altogether, Lau said, although they did not have enough weapons or ammunition.

Sandinista army and Ministry of the Interior troops joined in the fighting after the initial clash. Some of the contras must have been wounded, at the very least, Lau said. Both the militias and the armed forces reported that the mercenaries were leaving trails of blood behind them. Authorities estimate about 12 contra casualties.

A young woman of 13 was severely wounded in the face during the attack. The local hospital did not have the facilities for treating the wound. "We requested a plane to see if we could save the girl's life," Lau said. Twice the plane departed from the city of Matagalpa, 100 miles west to pick her up, but had to return because of bad weather. The teenager died at 5:00 that afternoon.

Lau said that the contras were members of the CIA-organized Nicaraguan Democratic Force. They left behind leaflets calling on people to join their organization, plus a sabotage manual.

Contra terrorist and sabotage attacks

against economic targets have increased in the past few weeks in Northern Zelaya, Lau reported. For example, she said, a total of 80 peasants were kidnapped in the two weeks previous to the assault on Siuna. The contras escalated their attacks around the time leading up to the Multiethnic Assembly held April 22-24, which drew 2,000 delegates from all over the Atlantic Coast to ratify an autonomy plan for the region.

The contras "want to stop every project of the revolution," Lau stressed. "They're worried because they don't have a base, a solid argument with which to win the people over to their side. The people of the Atlantic Coast want peace, they are fighting for peace."

"Our people know very well who it is that finances the war, and what selfish interests are behind it, interests that have nothing to do with the demands of the Indian peoples nor with their welfare."

Lau explained that while the contras still have the capacity to engage in terrorist actions, "as far as having a political impact, they don't have the capacity for that."

The resistance of the people of Siuna to the contra attack "was a great lesson for us," Lau said. "Especially meaningful is

the way in which the neighborhood militias mobilized themselves. This experience demonstrates that the people of the mines are firm in their willingness to defend the revolution."

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In a press release dated May 5, the Sandinista army reported that from April 5 to May 5, the contras killed 23 civilians, wounded 20, and kidnapped 69 men, women, and children. They carried out 42 terrorist attacks, up from 33 the previous month. These included ambushes against civilian vehicles, bombings of electric towers, and attacks on peasant co-ops and settlements.

The army also reported that 723 contras were killed and dozens captured in 323 actions during the same period, while 103 Nicaraguan soldiers died, including members of the armed forces, reservists, militias, and Interior Ministry troops.

Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told reporters that in the first 13 days of May, the contras lost close to 200 dead. This adds up to 1,600 contras killed since the beginning of the year. Ortega also said that an estimated 3,000 contras remain in Nicaragua.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Hazel Lau: "The people of the Atlantic Coast want peace, they are fighting for peace."

New York City meeting celebrates anniversary of Vietnamese victory

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — More than 200 people packed the Casa de las Americas meeting hall here May 17 to celebrate the 12th anniversary of the 1975 victory over the U.S.-installed dictatorship in South Vietnam.

Barry Romo, national coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, presented an eyewitness report from a recently concluded month-long tour of Vietnam by U.S. war veterans.

Romo pointed to the generosity and friendship that the Vietnamese people had extended to the U.S. veterans.

He blasted Washington's ongoing trade embargo against Vietnam and refusal to normalize diplomatic relations with its government. Romo explained that the fight

against these reactionary policies is directly tied to the fight today against the deepening U.S. war moves in Central America.

Some 15 million tons of high explosives and 60,000 gallons of poisonous dioxin were dropped on Vietnam from U.S. aircraft during the war, Romo said. "To this day the Vietnamese people continue to suffer casualties from 10 years of chemical poisoning. Today in Vietnam, because of Agent Orange, there is a chemical Hiroshima-Nagasaki continuing to happen to the children of Vietnam."

Romo condemned Washington's use of the MIA (missing in action) issue to justify its policies. "For 100,000 Vietnamese families, there are sons and daughters, fathers and brothers, uncles who the Vietnamese list as MIAs," he said. "That's their country, and they can't find the bodies." There is no better chance to find the remains of U.S. MIAs.

Saying that he had originally opposed the 1979 Vietnamese intervention into Kampuchea, Romo said he was now convinced that this had been a necessary step to help the Kampuchean people throw off the barbaric Pol Pot regime.

Eddie Demmings from the National Conference of Black Lawyers explained how secret funding for Nicaraguan contras is part of a consistent U.S. government policy dating back 30 years. He described how some of the same individuals involved in contragate today helped organize assassination plots against the leaders of the

Cuban revolution, the "secret" bombing of Laos in the 1960s, and the infamous Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam in the early 1970s.

Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat, Vietnam's representative to the United Nations, expressed solidarity with the liberation struggles occurring throughout the world, from Central America and the Caribbean to southern Africa.

The ambassador explained that economic problems facing Vietnam today are the result of "years of war and serious underdevelopment as a result of colonialism."

He also pointed to changes in economic policies now being implemented in Vietnam in an effort to correct past errors.

Also speaking were Kithong Vongsay, Laos' representative to the United Nations, and Kampuchean activist Chan Bun Han.

Representatives from the Cuban and Soviet missions to the United Nations were introduced from the floor. A member of the Association of Vietnamese in the U.S. gave a musical performance.

The meeting voted to send a solidarity message to Vietnam. "We pledge to increase our efforts to force the U.S. government to establish normal relations with your country and to help restore the destruction it wrought," the statement said.

The event was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Committee representative Merle Ratner chaired. It was endorsed by some 35 organizations. Proceeds from the collection will be donated to the Center for Disabled Veterans located outside of Hanoi, Vietnam.

L.A. judge refers lawsuit on McCarran Act to higher court

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — A federal district judge here ruled May 21 that he lacked authority to decide the constitutionality of provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

He made the ruling in response to a lawsuit challenging aspects of the law filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU acted on behalf of the Los Angeles Eight — seven Palestinians and a Kenyan — now facing deportation for their political beliefs.

In addition to the eight, the suit was joined by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Central American and Irish immigration rights groups, and others.

Judge Stephen Wilson said he was referring the suit to the Ninth District Court of Appeals.

Wilson, who had earlier criticized government actions in the case as "bordering on the outrageous," said the suit posed key issues regarding the free-speech rights of immigrants and should ultimately be resolved by the Supreme Court.

The ACLU suit argues that the McCarran

Act denies all First Amendment rights to noncitizens.

The law is broad enough to "cover enrollment in a book club that happens to distribute the works of Marx and Lenin," the ACLU charged.

Meanwhile, the eight face a new deportation arraignment before an immigration court June 16. They face identical charges to the ones dismissed earlier by immigration Judge Ingrid Hrycenko.

Where Los Angeles deportation case stands

Two separate court proceedings are under way in the case of the Los Angeles Eight.

First is the government moves to deport them on the grounds that they are supporters of the Palestinian liberation movement. The second is a suit by opponents of the government move challenging the constitutionality of the law under which the government is trying to deport them.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which issued the deportation warrant, has its own legal structure, including a national panel of Immigration Service judges to review contested deportation orders.

The case of the eight, who were arrested January 26, is before Los Angeles immigration Judge Ingrid Hrycenko.

Initially, all eight were charged with violating provisions of the McCarthy-era

McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

They were accused of being supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and, as such, guilty of promoting the "doctrines of world communism" through such activity as circulating literature.

This blatant thought-control move provoked such a broad public protest that the government was forced to make a partial retreat.

The McCarran charges were dropped against six of the defendants who are in this country on visitors' visas. Instead, the INS is now seeking their deportation for alleged technical violations of their visas.

In the case of the other two defendants — Khader Hamide and Michel Shehahdeh — this could not be done since they are permanent legal residents. To strip them of their rights it was necessary to continue the McCarran charges against them.

The government then announced, however, that it was switching the charges from that of advocating ideas (the "doctrines of world communism") to something that has the sound of being more concrete — association with an organization that advocates "destruction of property."

At the outset, the defense wanted to question the INS official who issued the deportation order so as to establish that the government action was politically motivated and constituted selective prosecution.

Despite a court order, the INS official did not show up to testify. Because of this, on May 11, Judge Hrycenko threw out the charges.

The government promptly refiled the charges under a different official's name, and a new deportation arraignment is now slated before Judge Hrycenko.

Labor News

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U.S. 'brigadistas' in Puerto Cabezas

Witnesses to change in Nicaraguan town

BY ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK — Until recently, very few U.S. and other visitors to Nicaragua were able to travel to the northern Atlantic Coast town of Puerto Cabezas. The war, combined with lack of transportation and housing in this remote region, made such trips very difficult.

But over the last year, many contras from the region have stopped fighting against the government and have joined in the autonomy process for the Coast, which is where the majority of Nicaragua's indigenous and Black population lives.

The new autonomy project guarantees the right of the coastal peoples to use and develop their own languages and cultures, to elect and run their own regional governments, and to decide a broad range of economic and social policies in the region.

The new peace in the area has meant that some delegations from the United States have been able to go there to work and see for themselves the autonomy process and other advances by the people.

One such delegation was a work crew organized by the New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade. In March it dispatched a brigade to start building a protocol facility — called the Peace House — where future international visitors to the Coast can stay. It will accommodate 24.

I was able to talk with three brigade participants from New York about their experience: Kermit Beauchamp, a construction worker; Hilary Finn, a house painter; and Cyndi Kerr, a substitute teacher.

Kerr told how she became involved in the project: "I had been on a harvest brigade a year ago. When I came back I started working with the Nicaragua Support Project here. By that time the Puerto Cabezas brigade started forming, and I became interested."

Finn, who had never been to Nicaragua before, decided to get involved in aiding Nicaragua last November after the contra-gate crisis began.

Beauchamp, a Puerto Rican from the city and longtime political activist, was a founding member of the New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade and participated in its first effort, organized in November 1984. At that time, he explained, the brigade built a community center and a school in two different Managua barrios.

Since then, they have completed a couple more projects, he said, one near the northwestern town of Estelí, putting up houses on a cattle cooperative, and another building a day-care center in Chagüitillo.

Kerr described the origin of the Puerto Cabezas project. A woman active in the American Indian Movement in the United States had wanted to develop a project to benefit the Miskito Indian community in Northern Zelaya Province. It is here that Nicaragua's Miskito population is centered, and Puerto Cabezas is its largest town. It was through her efforts and those of Mirna Cunningham, a Miskito and head of the regional government, that the protocol house project was born.

The three *brigadistas* described what it was like getting to Puerto Cabezas to build the house. Because it's in a war zone, permission from the Nicaraguan government was required to travel there. They had to charter an ancient DC-3 for the flight from Managua. "We flew out to the southern Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields and then up over the water so we wouldn't have to go over war territory" in parts of northern Nicaragua, they said.

'A cowboy town'

What is Puerto Cabezas like? "It looks like a cowboy town — wide streets — a cowboy town on the ocean," is how Beauchamp puts it. "The houses basically all look the same: one story on stilts. Many are company housing left over from United Fruit and lumber companies. The one we stayed in was one of a row, all the same."

There are only two paved roads in the town, said Finn. "When the rainy season comes, everything turns to mud, that's why all the houses are built on stilts."

The town is small, 15,000 people, but there was a place where you could go dancing, a library, and lots of churches — Moravian, Catholic, and one fundamentalist church.

Of the three racial groups that make up the population, the Miskito Indian and Spanish-speaking *mestizo* communities are the largest. Many of the Miskitos are refugees from the Coco River area to the north, which is their traditional homeland and until a year ago an area of much contra activity.

There is also a community of Creoles, Blacks who are English-speaking.

The brigadistas pointed out that because of war refugees, the classrooms at the public and church schools they saw were overflowing, 35-40 students per teacher. Instruction is in Spanish and the indigenous Miskito language.

"In the younger grades," Kerr noted, "it's Miskito. As they get older they start teaching in Spanish, which by then the Miskito children already know just by being around."

What difference has the Sandinista revolution made for the children in the town? Beauchamp explained, "It means more people going to school. We saw many teenagers, mostly young girls, going to school. However, it also seems that there was a truancy problem with young boys."

"In the town square," Kerr said, "there are some 20 shoeshine boys, a situation perhaps created by the war and the economic situation."

The brigadistas also witnessed other displacements resulting from the U.S.-inspired war.

In town were 2,000 recently repatriated Miskitos who had been war refugees in camps in Honduras to the north. They were waiting to return to live on the Coco River. Many thousands had preceded them in a resettlement program made possible by political advances made in the autonomy process. Many Miskitos who had been waging armed struggle against the Sandinista gov-



Cyndi Kerr

Digging foundations for Peace House in Atlantic Coast town. U.S. construction brigade was joined by Reynaldo Reyes, right, who is Miskito Indian and a former contra now active in Coast autonomy process.

ernment had been convinced to return to Nicaragua and live peacefully.

"All of a sudden," Finn said, "2,000 are going through the town," putting stress on already limited resources. "Something we heard a lot was 'There isn't enough food here.' While we were there, they were really low on food."

Cuban food shipments

They saw one of the measures taken to help alleviate this hardship: Cuba's humanitarian aid to the northern coast peoples. One of the twice-monthly Cuban shipments of food and clothing arrived by boat. A greeting party of 2,000 townspeople walked down to the port's dockside to meet the Cuban ship, which arrived earlier than usual. Mirna Cunningham spoke to a rally from its deck.

The brigadistas described the primitiveness of the port facilities, which ironically are the same ones from which the CIA launched its infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. "There is no unloading facility at the only dock, it's decrepit," Kermit said. "What usually happens is they tie a rope from a boat to the dock and put stuff on a pulley and swing it onto the dock. However, the Cuban ship had its own rig to take goods off."

"Most of the supplies that come in are on 20-foot boats. There are many Indians who go up and down the coast in dugouts."

Contras

The brigade was able to see the political gains made by the Sandinistas against the contras on the Atlantic Coast, as a result of popular support for the autonomy process, even though the mercenaries carried out a kidnapping while the brigade was there.

"The Miskito contras, most have stopped fighting," Beauchamp noted. "Things are so bad for the contras that they have to bring the FDN — the Nicaraguan Democratic Force — from the Pacific Coast to fight on the Atlantic side of the country. This will create problems for them because the FDN is seen as Spanish, not Miskito."

To illustrate these setbacks, Beauchamp related a conversation they had with Hazel Lau, a Miskito leader who is a Sandinista delegate in Nicaragua's National Assembly.

"She tells a story about when the Sandinistas initiated the peace talks with the Miskito contras. One day they were up near the Coco River after they had just come back from meeting with MISURASATA [a Miskito contra grouping] and were captured by contras from MISURA. They were really scared. But it turned out these contras were mad at them for one reason: Why were they talking to MISURASATA and not with them? Lau was relieved, seeing that MISURA also wanted to take part in the peace process."

In fact, the work brigade on the Peace House had two Miskito ex-contras on it — Reynaldo Reyes and Serpiente — the Serpent, a nom de guerre. They are now

with a Miskito group called Pro-peace KISAN, which participates in the Sandinista-supported autonomy project for the Atlantic Coast and in local defense militias in the Miskito communities.

As a contra, Serpiente said he had specialized in armed roundups of Miskito communities, encouraging them to flee across the Coco into Honduras. Now he, like many other Miskito ex-contras, is one of the most active proponents of the regional autonomy process.

On March 28 FDN contras staged their kidnapping outside Puerto Cabezas. Finn said the day after the kidnapping of three busloads of people, mostly young workers, the brigade was supposed to have visited the Miskito town of Waspán on the Coco. "There was so much military activity coming and going. All the entrances and exits to the town had been closed off by the army. We had to stop three-quarters of a mile outside of town."

Good experience

What was it like participating on a Nicaragua brigade? "Going on a construction brigade," Beauchamp said, "is not like going on a tour. Once you leave Managua, forget about restaurants and things like that. We usually stay out at the site where we're building. We eat rice and beans three times a day. Sometimes if we're lucky we get to go to market and buy vegetables. You work all day and go to bed early, because there is often no electricity. But it's not anything someone can't get used to quickly."

"In some ways we think it is a better experience than tours because you really get to know people. You see Nicaragua from the bottom up, they get to know you. You eat the same food."

Finn pointed out that "you see the shortages people face, and their own form of culture. When you come back, you know you have given something concrete to Nicaragua. You have been there building, literally. We know we are helping the revolution in the long run by helping provide something that makes the people more productive. We make a better environment to live in."

I asked about their activities here and future brigades.

"We've found that many brigadistas, both construction and other types, come back with a lot of enthusiasm but nothing really to plug into," said Beauchamp. "We try to provide that so we have an extensive program here."

"Besides recruiting people and getting brigades ready, we do educational and solidarity work. We want to start doing more outreach to working-class and Third World people."

Kerr noted that for the upcoming women's construction brigade this summer, the outreach was very successful just by doing mailings to women electricians in various unions.

If you are interested in the work of the New York-Nicaragua Construction Brigade, contact them at 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. Tel. (212) 475-7159.



Cyndi Kerr

Townspeople gathering at pier to greet food supply ship from Cuba

Ben Linder's last letter to his family

Volunteer murdered by contras describes gains of revolution, impact of war

Reprinted below is the last letter Ben Linder wrote to his family in the United States. On April 28 he and several coworkers were ambushed by the contras while taking measurements at a stream near the village of San José de Bocay, in preparation for constructing a dam. Linder and two Nicaraguans were murdered.

Linder, 27, had worked as a volunteer in Nicaragua since 1983 and in the region around the towns of El Cuá and San José de Bocay, in northern Jinotega Province, since mid-1984. He was directing the installation of small hydroelectric power plants that provided electricity for the first time to the villages and towns of the area.

The letter was one of the items submitted by David Linder, Ben Linder's father, when he appeared May 13 before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

The hearing was held in response to the outrage stirred by Linder's murder, outrage that was reflected in the statements of many individuals and groups. Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield, a Republican, described Linder as "the victim of a war for which the United States bears a major responsibility."

Democratic Rep. Peter DeFazio of the state of Washington declared that Ben Linder had been "killed in Nicaragua by mercenaries armed and funded by the United States." He cited Linder as "another victim of this administration's brutal and illegal war in Central America."

A joint statement condemning the murder of Linder and his coworkers was signed by 26 organizations doing volunteer work in Nicaragua. "We will continue our people-to-people exchanges," they pledged.

Others who made statements condemning the killing of Linder and calling for an end to the funding of the contras included Arie Brouwer, general secretary of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit; and Rep. George Crockett, chair of the subcommittee on western hemisphere affairs.

Also there to express his solidarity with the Linder family was Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who has waged a 10-year battle to win U.S. citizenship.

Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, testified for the administration — and the contras — at the hearing. He sought to lend some credibility to contra claims that Linder and his coworkers were "armed, uniformed men" who represented "legitimate targets for attack."

"In our view," said Abrams, "the assistance U.S. citizens provide to the government of Nicaragua strengthens it and helps it deny the citizens of Nicaragua their political rights."

The State Department official sought to shift blame for the murders onto the Nicaraguan government. "Our government has repeatedly protested to the Nicaraguan

government its practice of permitting and even encouraging Americans ... to travel in combat zones."

David Linder made clear in his testimony, however, who the real culprit is: "I consider the United States government and its effectors — the contras — guilty of this crime. This was not an accidental result of U.S. policy; it is the essence of U.S. policy, as Ben witnessed before he himself was killed."

* * *

March 14, 1987

Dear Family,

Greetings from Bocay. I've been here for the last three days. I'm at the last part of the most relaxed part of the job — walking around streams. I've spent the days climbing up and around a stream that runs into town. Climbing through pasture and cornfields. The sun beats down at midday. The sugarcane is sweet. The beans are being harvested. I took shelter from the midday sun in a little pool formed at the base of a two-meter fall.

But now it is time to start to put my ideas into action. I started to figure out a little dam to measure how much water there is in the stream. This is a scary part for me. Bit by bit I get the experience I need. But I'm always nervous before I start to build anything.

April 10

It's now a month later. I'm in Managua. It has been a hard, varied month. The dominating (overwhelmingly so) parts have been Don's [Linder's friend] leaving and the war. To write about the war in a way that can be used in some form means a bit of a change in how I write. It is all me, but it comes out a little different. Not so much less personal from my point of view, but less personal as I imagine who will read it. To make it easier, I'll switch pieces of paper.

When I first started working in Cuá-Bocay, I really didn't have a feel for the community. In some ways this isolated me from the war. I'd come into town for a week, then leave for a month as I was shifted from project to project. But only partially isolated. I remember "bad times" of 1984 and 1985, times when several people I sort of knew died. Coming into town, I heard of Mary Lou Reyes's death, a nurse killed in a contra attack of El Cedro (The Cedars), a cooperative between El Cuá and San José de Bocay — 1984. Two teachers returning to El Cuá after Christmas break, killed in an ambush — Jan. 3, 1985. Scattered incidents of terrorism.

Contras change tactics

In 1986 the contra changed tactics. With the increasing numbers of desertions from the contra forces, they could no longer maintain battalions in the field. They switched to land mines, both pressure, to kill whatever goes over them, and wire remote-controlled — only to kill what they considered targets. This included a public

transportation truck with 34 people — all killed on July 3, 1986, the day before millions of Americans celebrated the Fourth of July. "Bombs bursting in air" seems much less glamorous when it is your friends being killed. That was 1986.

The coffee harvest, October 1986 — February 1987, was relatively peaceful, only because of a well-executed campaign by the Nicaraguan people. I do say people and not army or the EPS — Ejército Popular Sandinista (Sandinista People's Army). This is because of the very nature of the fight against the contra. Wilfredo Monte has a small store in town. Two nights a week he goes out to a hill on the outskirts of town, really just behind my house, with his rifle and uniform. He is still Wilfredo Monte — father, husband, store owner, and friend. He guards his community along with many other women and men from town.

Former contras fight contras

On March 19, 1987, the cooperative El Cedro was once more attacked, the fourth attack since it was founded. Several weeks earlier another cooperative — Francisco Estrada — was attacked. When I was talking with a friend afterward about the Estrada cooperative attack, he said, "You know, Benjamin, we're winning this war." I was a bit confused, after waking up that morning to mortars going off and the exchange of machine-gun fire. The end of the war seemed very far away. He told me that one-half of the cooperative used to be with the contra. The farmer who led the defense of the cooperative used to be a contra military leader. They had all, one by one, turned themselves in to the government. They are now organized into the cooperative. Now they fought to defend their land, and they won.

But the war is much deeper and the victory much more than just the end of the gunfire. The attack was on the first day of classes in the zone. The day before, I was struck by the farmers coming into town and to the schools in the cooperatives [to get] school books and pencils for their children. Wrapped in a plastic bag, they carried them carefully away — some walking, others on horse, or the kids with them ... running down the dusty street of El Cuá. That is the war that is also being won. A war against poverty, illiteracy, and disease.

The attack on El Cedro hit me particularly hard. In April last year, I spent several weeks working with several members of the cooperative putting in a weir to measure water flow in a nearby stream. At night I sat around just talking with people, getting to know them, becoming friends. When I heard about the attack, those moments flashed through my mind. Who? Which of those people died? It was a victory. We only lost four "and the contra between 25 and 40." Who? Luis had been killed. A farmer defended his land. They had been outnumbered at least eight to one. The cooperative had to be abandoned. Four men gave their lives to cover the retreat. Luis was one of them.

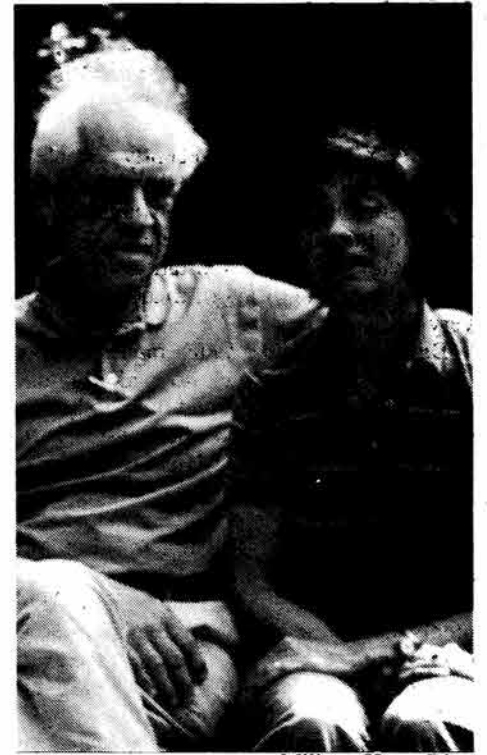
Civilian targets

The contra came in and sacked the houses but selected several buildings to destroy. Not all, just several — the health center, the president of the cooperative's house, the store that sells the basic goods at fair prices, and the coffee-buying center. Certainly not military targets.

On March 24, I drove back to Managua to see one of my coworkers, Donald, off. He left the country after five years in El Cuá of teaching machining and mechanics. Four days later, one of the power plant operators, Oscar, came down for his going-away party. Oscar walked into the house, sat down, and before anything else, he said that the small hydro plant had been attacked.

Oscar and Hilda (Oscar's wife) are the two plant operators. They live in a little house 100 yards from the plant with their two little kids. Last month another woman moved in, Goya, to become the third operator.

My heart leaped with the news of the attack. I didn't want to ask, but I had to know. "Oscar, the family?" They were all



Militant/Harry Ring

David and Elisabeth Linder. David Linder told May 13 congressional hearing that U.S. gov't, contras are "guilty of this crime" of killing their son.

right. At 12:30 p.m. when the contra started to shell the plant with mortars and machine guns, Goya, Hilda, and the kids were able to take cover in a nearby coffee field. Oscar ran to the plant and turned it off. For 45 minutes, Oscar and five soldiers were able to keep the contra from destroying the plant. Not so with Oscar's house. A rocket-propelled grenade went through the front wall and blew up in one of the bedrooms. The contra went into the house thinking it was where the power plant was.

After asking about the family and the plant, I asked about the next most important thing — Oscar's guitar. No, the contra came in and stole that along with some other things from the house. Oscar's Suzuki gone. How often had we sat around after working all day on the plant and listened to him sing?

Attack on El Cuá

That was on a Sunday. Monday we drove back to Matagalpa, the main city, before going back to El Cuá. "Ben — did you hear the news?" "No." "Twenty-four dead, 13 from El Cuá and 11 from the road construction crew." "Who?" "Miguel," and then the other names, which I hardly heard.

Miguel dead. Miguel is the oldest son of Don Cosme Castro, a 70-year-old man who has given me a room in his house in El Cuá. Miguel is also Goya's, the plant operator's, father. Don Cosme started to fight for a just world when he was in his teens with [Nicaraguan hero Augusto César] Sandino. He has fought ever since. Many of his friends have died fighting. This was his oldest son. Two days later, the helicopter brought in his nephew — also dead.

The town suffered. All of the cooperatives around El Cuá lost several members. Everyone lost a friend. Who were these 13? Men, members of cooperatives, farmers who form the local militia. They went to defend the road construction crew. The crew was attacked. The construction workers alongside the militia did what they could. Twenty-four died.

Winning the war

These battles are part of the contra war. I don't write about the endless kidnappings, rape, and theft by the contra. Not because it isn't important but rather because the others have just happened to people I know and love.

This is probably the final offensive of the contra. Losing soldiers daily as they desert, the contra are desperate. Like any desperate animal backed into a corner they are fighting with all they have. The people of Cuá-Bocay know 1987 will be a very hard year. But they also know they are winning the war. Next week for the first time, high school classes will be taught in El Cuá.



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

Contra camp in San Andrés de Bocay that was wiped out by Sandinista troops May 10-12. It was from such camps in Bocay River area that contras attacked El Cuá and killed Linder.

Young Socialists push 'Militant' sales

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — In his tasks and perspectives report to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, James Winfield explained that reading the *Militant* is the best way to learn politics. "The *Militant* clarifies politics week by week. And it is our best recruiting tool" to the socialist movement, the YSA leader said.

The importance of reading and circulating the *Militant* and our monthly sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* was a constant theme at the convention, which was held here May 23-25. A number of delegates said that it was reading the *Militant* that convinced them to join the YSA. And several had participated in regional sales teams this spring.

A YSA convention-building and subscription team in the Midwest brought more than a dozen young people to the convention.

12 target days

The conference took place with two weeks left in the spring drive to sell 6,700 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 1,800 to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Winfield urged all YSA members to spend the next two weeks selling as many *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions as possible in order to reach the national goals. Special emphasis was placed on selling the *Militant*, the only weekly revolutionary Marxist newspaper in the country.

As we go to press, the number of *PM* subscriptions received by the business office is near the national goal — 1,776. The challenge for those areas that have made their *PM* goal is to now step up sales of the *Militant*. So far, 4,718 *Militant* subscriptions have come in. We remain 5 percent behind schedule.

Sara Lobman — a leader of the Morgantown, West Virginia, YSA — led a workshop at the convention called "Circulating the revolutionary press: why young people should read and distribute the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*."

"Why is it important to read the *Militant*?" Lobman asked. "Because it's the only way to learn the truth about Nicaragua, South Africa, and the struggles of working people and youth here in the United States."

Throughout the history of the communist movement, the circulation of revolutionary newspapers and books, she explained, has been essential to reach workers and youth with socialist ideas. "Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the founders of the Socialist Workers Party all emphasized the value of propaganda and the newspaper," she said.

"Once we understand why it is important

to read the *Militant*," Lobman continued, "why we want others to read it, it is that much easier to sell it."

Moreover, she added, in the subscription drive last fall, more than 40 of the YSA's new members first met the organization through the *Militant* and *PM*.

Subscription drives

"This is why we organize and participate in spring and fall subscription drives. It is a way to focus our efforts in getting out our ideas; arming people with the facts that the *Militant* provides week by week. And for the next two weeks after we leave this convention," she said, "the YSA will throw ourselves into helping to make the national subscription goals."

Noting that the YSA also distributes *PM* and the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's publication, Lobman stressed that the *Militant* is the YSA's weekly paper. "In fact," she explained, "it is extremely important to urge readers of the *YS* and *PM* to buy subscriptions to the *Militant*."

"We have made big steps forward this spring in building the readership base of *PM*. We need to get as many of these young people and workers as possible to also read the *Militant*. There is no substitute for the weekly revolutionary press in this country, which is the *Militant*."

During the discussion a number of speakers touched on this point. Francisco Picado, a member of the *PM* staff, said it took him awhile after he joined the YSA to read the *Militant* cover to cover. But once he saw what it meant for him politically, he couldn't wait for each issue to come out.

Gladstone, a YSA member from Manhattan, explained that "reading the *Militant*



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

At YSA convention workshop Francisco Picado, left, recommended that youth read *Militant* "cover to cover." Sara Lobman reviewed why revolutionaries emphasize selling press.



Militant/Salm Kolis

over time makes you feel more confident."

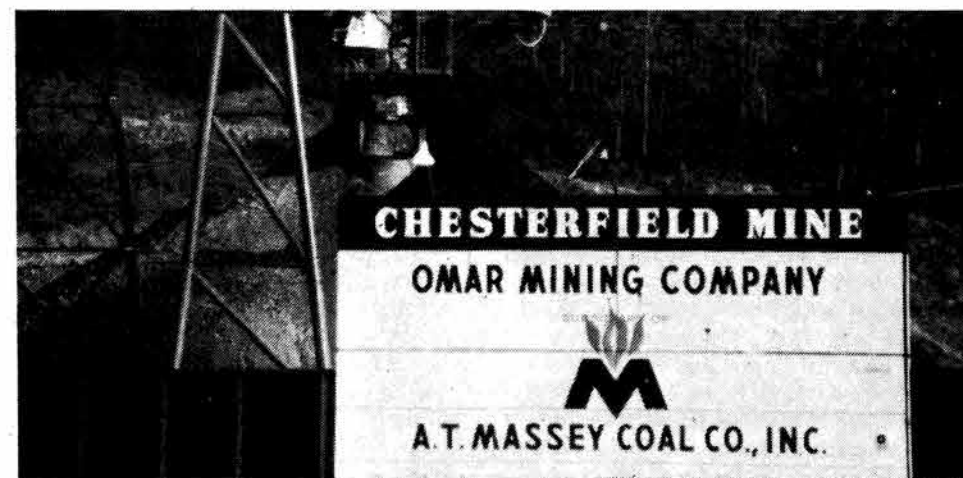
The newspapers' supporters in Phoenix have sold more subscriptions to *PM* than to the *Militant*. There are a large number of workers in the Phoenix area whose first language is Spanish. Beatrix said she is inspired by the response she gets when talking to these workers about their potential to change U.S. society.

Amy from Kansas City gave an example of the value of one-day regional sales teams. One team recently traveled to Wichita, Kansas, and sold 10 subscriptions

and 11 single issues of the *Militant* at a meat-packing plant before returning home.

Supporters in Kansas City as in other parts of the country are planning a big push the final 12 days of the spring drive. It will be through special regional teams, daily tables, door-to-door sales, and distribution of the *Militant* and *PM* at factory gates that we'll make all three of our targets: reaching the local *Militant* and *PM* goals; the national *Militant* goal of 6,700; and the cumulative goal of 8,500 subscriptions to the socialist press.

Supreme Court backs Massey attack on union



Militant/Kathy Mickells

Omar Mining Co. mine in southern West Virginia. Omar is Massey subsidiary.

Continued from Page 2

3 *Charleston Gazette-Mail*, Larry Harless voiced dissatisfaction with the course followed by Trumka and other union leaders in trying to win a contract from Massey. Harless, who has been a UMWA attorney since 1980, resigned in February 1986 from his role in most of the Massey cases.

"Using a purely legal strategy, while the miners sat at home waiting for conservative judges in Richmond and Washington, D.C., to win the strike was wrong," said Harless.

"What else doesn't work," he continued, "is civil disobedience on a small scale. A strategy that involves just a few people. A strategy that is called off once a judge hands down an injunction against marching."

"A strategy that would appear to work," Harless told the *Gazette-Mail*, "is to mobilize hundreds and thousands of people. One can't say this with certainty. But if the union made an all-out effort to fight Massey, most of the people in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky would answer that call with vigor."

"Remember the black lung strike in 1969," said Harless. "The miners went out on strike and marched in Charleston. The legislature passed a law, and the governor signed it." He was referring to the massive struggles of the 1960s through which miners forced adoption of a law granting disability payments for black lung, an occupational disease of coal mining.

UMWA loses in Marrowbone case

The Supreme Court's ruling in the Massey case comes in the wake of a federal jury's verdict for Marrowbone Development Co., a nonunion Massey subsidiary, in its suit against the UMWA. The company was awarded \$6.8 million in damages.

Marrowbone operations were shut down for 49 days during the Massey strike while union members carried out informational picketing. The jury awarded Marrowbone about \$3.3 million for lost income during the shutdown, \$540,000 for additional security costs during the strike, \$8,923 in property damage, and \$3 million in punitive damages based on company claims that the union was responsible for violence and intimidation.

Spring Subscription Scoreboard

Area	Goals		Sold		% Sold
	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	<i>Militant</i>	<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>	
New Paltz, N.Y.	10	—	13	—	130
Baltimore	150	8	131	19	95
Des Moines, Iowa	100	10	83	19	93
Milwaukee	100	25	102	13	92
Phoenix	80	100	64	95	88
New York	550	300	458	289	88
Houston	75	10	62	9	84
San Jose, Calif.	180	100	135	94	82
Los Angeles	325	200	269	152	80
Atlanta	110	10	88	8	80
Tucson, Ariz.	2	3	2	2	80
Chicago	250	100	205	73	79
Boston	240	60	159	70	76
Charleston, W. Va.	100	—	74	2	76
Pittsburgh	90	10	67	9	76
Portland, Ore.	125	25	86	27	75
San Diego	85	55	69	36	75
Oakland, Calif.	150	50	122	26	74
Seattle	180	50	137	33	74
Austin, Minn.	80	10	63	3	73
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	15	136	18	72
Greensboro, N.C.	115	10	86	3	71
Capital Dist, N.Y.	110	12	74	12	70
Stony Brook, N.Y.	10	—	7	—	70
Denver	100	15	74	6	70
Cleveland	125	15	83	14	69
San Francisco	100	60	71	37	68
Totals					
To be on schedule					
Goals					
Sold					
% Sold					
Newark, N.J.	375	175	259	112	67
Birmingham, Ala.	130	2	89	0	67
Miami	110	40	82	18	67
Dallas	120	60	67	45	62
Morgantown, W. Va.	95	5	58	4	62
Detroit	190	20	116	14	62
Omaha, Neb.	100	15	58	9	58
Kansas City	120	20	77	3	57
St. Louis	250	12	136	7	55
Philadelphia	150	50	87	22	55
Washington, D.C.	160	50	89	21	52
Cincinnati	70	5	34	4	51
Amherst, Mass.	10	—	4	1	50
Toledo, Ohio	100	5	48	2	48
Salt Lake City	115	15	52	7	45
Oberlin, Ohio	5	—	2	—	40
Wilmington, Del.	5	—	2	—	40
Price, Utah	45	2	18	0	38
Columbus, Ohio	25	5	8	2	33
New Orleans	90	10	29	2	31
Honolulu, Hawaii	7	—	1	1	29
Annandale, N.Y.	70	10	19	0	24
Ames, Iowa	5	0	—	1	20
West Haven, Conn.	5	—	1	—	20
Teams	—	—	397	381	—
Other	—	—	65	51	—
Totals					
To be on schedule					
Goals					
Sold					
% Sold					
Totals					
To be on schedule					
Goals					
Sold					
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Flimsy gov't excuses for keeping spy files

Socialists' memorandum answers 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 files by the government obtained after July 1, 1955.

The Justice Department filed a memorandum 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 government position. 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.

The *Militant* began serializing the SWP and YSA response in our May 8 issue. With this week's installment, we conclude publication of the entire memorandum.

Previous sections of the document argue that the spy files the government has were obtained illegally. They refute the Justice Department's claim that it needs the files for "national security" reasons. Those sections also show how the record in the case contradicts this government's claim of need.

All the documents in the fight over the spy files can be obtained from the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for this crucial battle against government spying and harassment. Write to Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

* * *

II. The Assertions of Practical Difficulties in Complying With an Injunction Are Without Merit

The [government] defendants assert that they will encounter practical hardships in complying with the proposed order. We submit that the defendants' argument has no merit and that the claims of difficulty are overblown. The government every day faces the same problem of identifying sources of information and manages to deal adequately with the problem.

For clarity in discussion, we first consider the practical difficulties claimed by the defendant FBI and then examine the arguments presented by the other defendant agencies who received illegally obtained information from the FBI.

A. Defendant FBI

The FBI admits here that it maintains a file on the SWP and YSA as organizations, and that it "may" have files on individuals which contain information on the SWP or YSA, which it claims are accessible only through use of a personal name and other identification data.

It claims that information "may" have been placed in both categories regardless of how obtained, that it "may not now be possible to readily determine" the sources and methods of investigation used, and the practice of preparing reports to protect the identity of the source "impedes any process of attempting to determine the method by which particular information was acquired."

The FBI's argument is misleading and, regrettably we can only conclude, deliberately so. This litigation has shown time and time again the ability of the FBI to ascertain the source of information in its records and to assert a privilege based on that source.

The FBI maintains a well-organized system designed to permit tracing a piece of

information to its original source. As explained in the affidavit of Ann Mari Buitrago,¹ submitted herewith, FBI reports typically have attached to them administrative pages which identify the source of the information in the body of the report.

Second, the FBI maintains systems by which it can identify other files into which a document has been placed and identify agencies to which a document has been distributed. Thus, either the first page or the cover sheet of a document will list such other files and state to whom the document was sent.

It is, at best, facetious for the government to suggest that it cannot locate all of its files on SWP or YSA members unless "the plaintiff organizations... provide the defendants with the names and other identifying data of their members."

The June 2, 1976, Memorandum submitted by FBI Director Hoover to Attorney General Levi in an unsuccessful attempt to justify continued investigation of the SWP and YSA, reports that in January 1975, as part of its preparation "for the defense of the lawsuit" brought by the SWP, a survey was done on FBI files on the plaintiffs. The results of the survey were reprinted in the following chart:

	FBIHQ	Field Offices	Totals
SWP	162,750	583,894	746,644
YSA	53,900	409,708	463,608
Individuals	2,500,000	6,090,862	8,590,862
Totals	2,716,650	7,084,464	9,801,114

If the FBI located and classified these 10 million documents in 1976, including identifying 8,590,862 documents concerning individuals it was able to associate with the SWP and/or YSA, it clearly can do so today.

Additional means exist for the FBI to locate repositories of the illegally obtained records. The FBI uses a "see reference" system consisting of index cards which list the documents other than an individual subject's own main file which contains information on a subject. The "see reference" system is a tool which can and is used by the FBI to locate information. There is no reason why the FBI cannot use it to identify files covered by the order.

B. Other defendant agencies

The other defendant agencies set forth a variety of claims. One common claim is that information received from the FBI may not reveal the original source of the information and that they therefore would have no means of determining whether the information falls within the scope of the injunction.

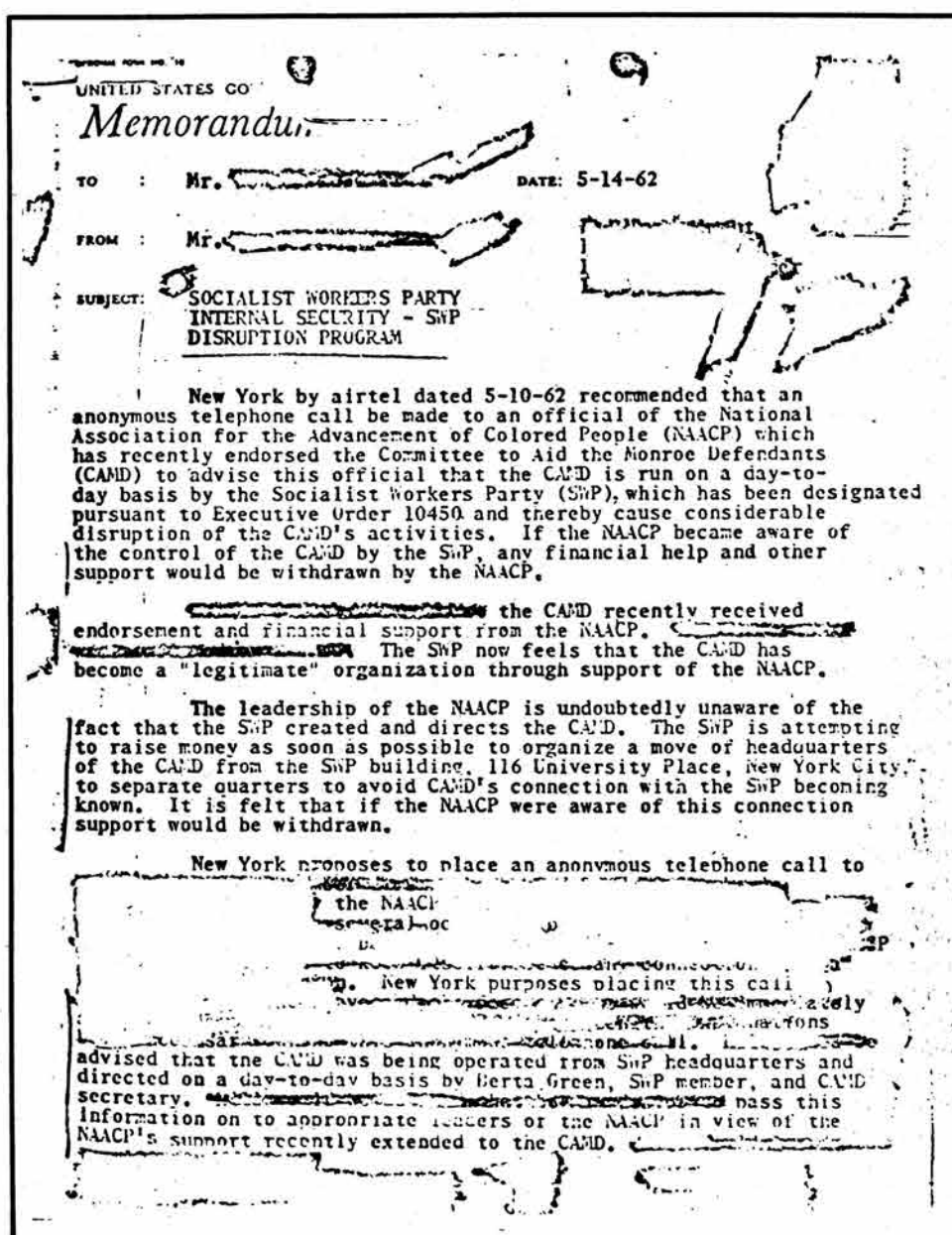
However, agencies of the government, in responding to Freedom of Information Act requests, routinely identify documents or information in their own files which originated with the FBI, and refer the matter to the FBI for a determination of whether the document can be disclosed or whether a privilege bars disclosure.²

Indeed, defendants' counsel represented to the court during discovery that the Immigration and Naturalization Service had segregated from its own files material originating with the FBI, and "sent them to the FBI for review, which is the standard procedure whenever one agency has documents of another agency" (emphasis added).³ The defendants here fail to men-

1. Ms. Buitrago is an expert concerning the ways in which the FBI and other government agencies maintain their files and document retrieval systems. She holds a doctorate in political science and is the author of *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been In The FBI Files: How To Secure and Interpret Your FBI Files* (Grove Press).

2. The fourth sentence of paragraph 5 of Ms. Buitrago's affidavit contains a typographical error. The sentence should read as follows: "A purpose of these referrals is to permit the originating agency to determine whether the document is barred from disclosure for reasons based on the source of the information, i.e., the informants privilege or the investigative methods employed." Plaintiffs will submit a corrected affidavit in the near future.

3. Both the court and defendants' counsel assumed the review by the FBI was to see if the informer privilege or some other privilege applied.



1962 FBI memorandum on disruption program aimed at sowing distrust against Socialist Workers Party during campaign to defend several civil rights activists being persecuted in Monroe, North Carolina. Documents seized during illegal break-ins have often been used to develop such disruption operations.

tion this "standard procedure."

A second claim made by a few agencies is that they may have no means to ascertain that the FBI was the source of particular information or a particular document. See, for example, Affidavit of Col. Anthony J. Gallo, director of counterintelligence, Office of Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army.

This claim is baseless. It would be a strange system for a government agency to place documents and information from another agency in its files and provide no means for identifying the originating agency. In any event, as shown above, agencies routinely identify documents and information received from other agencies for referral back to the originating agency when a demand is made for disclosure.⁴

III. The Defendants' Remaining Contentions Are Without Merit

The defendants remaining contentions are without merit. We briefly address each of their arguments below.

A. The defendants' claim that the Disruption Program documents should not be covered by the injunction

The defendants assert that the Disruption Program records should not be covered by the injunction because there is no "record evidence" that this illegal program was used to obtain information.

The argument ignores the scope of the injunction, i.e., it should cover "records illegally obtained or developed from illegally obtained information" (emphasis supplied).

The record amply shows that the Disruption Program generated documents — often falsified — used to interfere with ac-

4. Even if one concedes that there may be rare instances when there is no indication, and no way of ascertaining, that a record or information came from the FBI, this is far from a reason not to require the efforts to ascertain whether it did or not. If the source of the information cannot be identified even as to which agency forwarded it, surely the information is useless.

tivities of the SWP and YSA, and that documents evaluating the programs in detail were prepared by the FBI.

Further, the record shows that the Disruption Program activities depended, at least in part, upon information provided by informers which was both used to identify targets and opportunities for disruption and to assess the effect of the disruption activities.

In any straightforward understanding of the court's language, the files relating to the disruption program are "records... developed from illegally obtained information."

B. The defendants' claim that 1960 should be the initial date for coverage of informer documents under the injunction

The defendants assert that the court should adopt 1960 as the initial date for coverage of informer documents. Their only reason is that 1960 was used as a discovery cutoff date for certain purposes. This argument ignores the difference between a cutoff date for the limited purpose of discovery and a cutoff date relevant to the illegal nature of FBI informer activities. The 1960 date has no significance in terms of the illegality of the FBI's acts.

The decision, however, does indicate a time beyond which there can be no doubt as to the illegality of the FBI's use of informers. In its discussion of the FBI's investigation of the SWP, the court found that "[i]t is safe to characterize the FBI investigation of the SWP from the early 1950s onwards as a national security investigation" (emphasis added).

In the course of discussing the black bag jobs, which ostensibly began in 1958, the court found that "[b]y the time the FBI bag jobs against the SWP commenced in 1958, the FBI had no reason to believe that it would find material relating to anything other than lawful pursuits, and this is all that it did find."

This finding is equally applicable to the FBI's other illegal activities — principally those of the informers because the FBI had

Continued on Page 10

'Political consciousness is foundation for

Interview with two leaders of the Union of Young Communists in

The Fifth Congress of the Cuban Union of Young Communists (UJC) was held in Havana April 1-5 (see *Militant*, May 22 and 29). Following the congress, *Militant* reporters Rena Cacoullos and Mary-Alice Waters interviewed two leaders of the Cuban youth about the gathering and some of the important questions discussed by its 1,500 delegates.

Raúl Castellanos Lage is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. At the Fifth Congress he stepped down from his responsibilities as a member of the National Bureau of the youth organization in charge of political education. Juan Contino Asláñ was elected to the National Bureau at the congress and will now take over the work for which Castellanos was previously responsible.

Question. What is your evaluation of this fifth congress of the Union of Young Communists? What was the most significant aspect of it?

Contino. Most importantly, it wasn't just a congress of the Young Communists, but of all Cuban youth.

Moreover, it wasn't just for Cuban youth, either. The Cuban people as a whole followed the congress closely. Questions were discussed that affect us not only as young people, but are integrally related to all aspects of life in our country. Questions that are related to the process of correcting errors and negative tendencies that has been carried out in Cuba in the past months.

Q. Can you tell us about this rectification process, as it is called here, some of the problems you are trying to resolve? How will young people and the Union of Young Communists participate?

Castellanos. The rectification process and the errors analyzed by Fidel [Castro] and the leadership of the revolution must be put in the context of the challenge of constructing socialism in Cuba.

Inexperience

During the first 10 years of the revolution, from 1959 to 1969, and even a little longer, our people and our leadership were marked by our inexperience. We began with a very backward, one-crop economy that was totally dependent on trade with the United States. During the initial years, we were subjected to a U.S. blockade. We were subjected to ongoing military aggression and hostility, including Playa Girón [the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion], the October [1962 missile] Crisis, and the fight against the bandits, the counterrevolutionary bands organized and financed by the CIA.

During this period, trade and other relations with the socialist countries began to develop. The existing capitalist structure of our economy began to be destroyed. But the Cuban people were too idealistic as they faced the task of building socialism. Certain mechanisms of economic control, and ways to stimulate production, disappeared. Many times, to an exaggerated extent, we thought that willpower alone, people's consciousness, would solve all problems.

In the 1970s new institutions began to be set up. These included local government structures and the system of economic management. As we confronted idealist tendencies and mistakes, the concept developed that economic mechanisms and economic means of stimulating production were sufficient to develop the country and to build socialism.

Cuba is the first country in the Western Hemisphere to build socialism. It's also the first country with an underdeveloped, one-crop economy to set itself the task of building a socialist society. Furthermore, Cuba took on this task under conditions of blockade and hostility. We are far away from our

principal ally.

The international situation was for us unique.

In the last few years the economic crisis has gotten worse. When the Reagan administration came to power, the ideological confrontations, the arms race, and the threats increased. It has taken on a dimension that conforms to a totally new situation.

It created a unique situation for the construction of a socialist economy in our country. And mistakes were made.

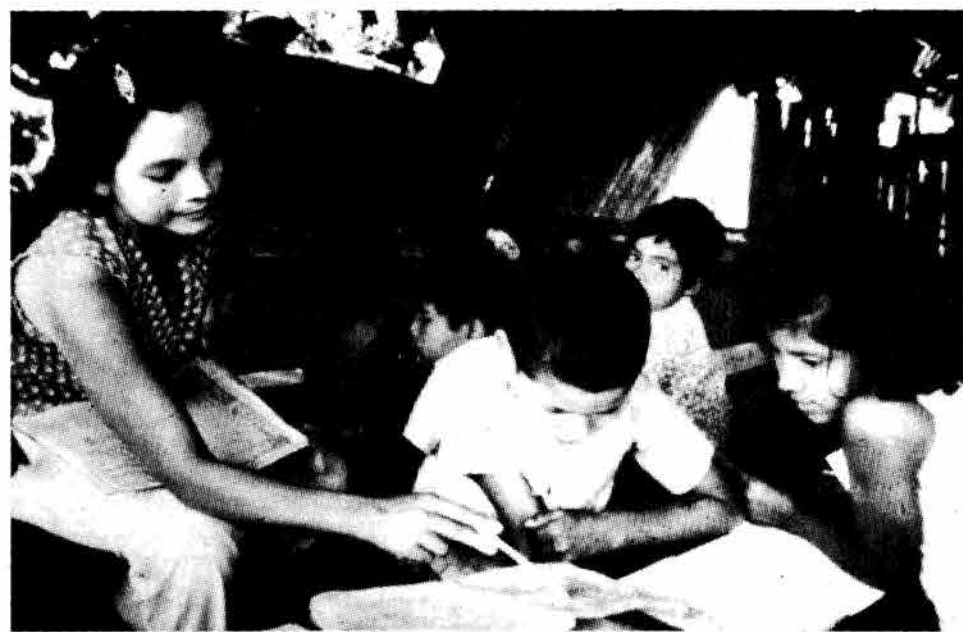
Economic mechanisms

These mistakes were made mainly in economic management, in the methods used to achieve economic efficiency, which we thought could be done through economic mechanisms alone. At times, the value of economic incentives was overestimated, as well as the effect these incentives could have on productivity and production.

We forgot that socialism is a system that must be built, above all, consciously.

We're aware of the value of certain economic incentives and know that these contribute to building socialism. Consciousness is not changed overnight. But it's very dangerous to think that with incentives alone, with money alone, we can attain the level of productivity and the effort needed to build socialism.

Furthermore, these mechanisms of economic stimulation are inherited from



Cuban teacher working with children in a rural elementary school in Nicaragua. Thousands of young Cubans fulfill internationalist missions.

capitalism in many cases. They are basic laws that determine everything in capitalist society. But under socialism, society has interests that are more important than these laws.

For example, profitability isn't the most important thing in an enterprise that provides an indispensable service. Because we're interested above all in the value of the function being fulfilled by that enterprise.

In the policy on salaries mistakes were made not only when the system was designed, but also in its application. There was too much easy money, more than the work was worth, in a society where the laws of consumption can't be equal to those in an advanced capitalist country.

Our goal isn't to compete with capitalist society, with the United States, and its norms of consumption. Because we're realistic. We have to plan for the future. We have to develop our country.

Moreover, capitalist societies achieve a certain standard of living for some sectors of society only. It is much higher than the standard of living of the general population and achieved at the expense of the standard of living in countries they plunder and exploit.

Socialism has to be built on the basis of people's consciousness and desire to build a society that is more just. In a socialist society it isn't money or material goods that determine the value of a human being.

Fidel has said, and it's true, that the rev-

olution's greatest achievements and man's greatest achievements have not come from a desire for money. There is no greater sacrifice than giving your life. And revolutionaries who fight for socialism give their lives, selflessly.

Capitalist societies have to build their armies with the incentive of money. They are mercenary armies.

In the case of socialism, the only incentive is being conscious of the ideas that are being defended.

In human and moral terms, I don't think any reasonable person in the world doubts that socialism is superior to capitalism. Socialism is a humanitarian system and is infinitely superior morally to capitalism.

Q. Wasn't this one of the most important themes of the congress and of all the debates at the congress?

Castellanos. It was at the heart of all the discussions at the congress.

The challenge before us now is to achieve and be able to demonstrate the greater efficiency of socialism and of socialist enterprises over capitalism. But we have to accomplish this through socialist methods of organization. Without disregarding incentives.

There's no other system that can make use of the energies of humanity the way socialism can. People know they are working for themselves, that they are working

achieve social well-being is through work.

We can't achieve efficiency because people feel threatened by misery or insecurity — by lack of health care, education, food and clothing — these basic needs are guaranteed for everybody. It's important to understand this difference.

You asked how the congress is related to the correction process. What has been very clearly expressed in this congress is the understanding of Cuban youth that it's through work, through mastering science and technology, through a high level of discipline, through efficiency, that we can achieve social well-being in the society we are building — and not through any artificial mechanism or economic or technical device.

Confidence in the future

Q. From the discussion at the UJC Fifth Congress, young people seem to have confidence in the future and in their ability to affect it, to make it better. In the United States, the situation is very different. Young people in the United States are often afraid and unsure of the future. Can Cuban youth affect the future by what they do?

Contino. There's a lot of optimism among Cuban youth. This can be seen in the fact that youth as a whole participate in all spheres of life in our country: in science, technology, in work, in defense. It can be seen in the level of consciousness of our youth.

Castellanos. Those who have participated in the congress can see that Cuban youth feel in control of their future, architects of their own future.

Above all, I think this is because they have opportunities and because they feel secure today. Our youth know they don't have to worry about health care; this is guaranteed. Life expectancy in Cuba keeps increasing and currently is about 74 years. There's an infant mortality rate here of only 15 per 1,000 births.

There's no hunger problem, either. Our youth don't have to worry about not having enough to eat. They know this is guaranteed. They know there's no misery, no hunger.

Our youth are also intellectually fulfilled. They know they can get an education. They know the only limits on acquiring scientific and technological knowledge, all human knowledge, are the limits imposed by their own abilities and self-discipline.

Another aspect of our social consciousness that was expressed in the youth congress was each generation's commitment to fulfill its historic tasks — not just to insure its own well-being, but to work for the well-being of future generations.

Cuban young people see themselves as the heirs of the conquests made by the generation that carried out the assault on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, that sailed on the *Granma* in 1956, and that fought in the Sierra Maestra for this revolution.

We feel a commitment to the legacy we will pass on to succeeding generations, knowing that these generations will also continue to strive to achieve an increasingly better life for our people.

Cuba is example

Q. How do Cuban youth help other peoples who are fighting to break the chains of imperialist domination and improve their lives? What impact do these experiences have on Cuban youth — for example, helping defend Angola against attacks by the apartheid regime of South Africa, or working as doctors, teachers, and engineers in Nicaragua and other countries?

Castellanos. Well, Juan returned from Angola just a few days ago. He was there for almost a year. And I was in Nicaragua for 26 months. So we are well prepared to answer that question.

Contino. A principle of our revolution is that being an internationalist means paying our debt to humanity.

Our country is an example of inter-

building socialism'

Cuba

— nationalism — not just in the military field — but we also have teachers, doctors, and construction workers in various countries throughout the world.

There are hundreds of thousands of young Cubans fulfilling internationalist missions. They were represented in the UJC congress. Greetings from internationalist fighters and civilian volunteers in other countries were presented at the congress.

Fulfilling an internationalist mission is very gratifying for every Cuban youth. We're glad to be able to contribute to countries that need so much, such as Angola, Nicaragua, and others — to help in defense, health care, and education.

This experience is very important for youth, especially in forging a spirit of sacrifice, selflessness, and a broad concept of patriotism — as a way of expressing José Martí's idea: "The fatherland is humanity."

Castellanos. I went to Nicaragua on the first medical brigade that arrived after the revolutionary triumph in July 1979. I was there until October 1981, working as a doctor in different areas in Nicaragua.

One of the questions most often asked of Cuban youth is about their participation in internationalist work. And I confess I find it one of the most difficult to answer. It's like being asked why we breathe. For us, offering help to those who need it is such an elementary, inherent part of being human.

'Moral obligation and a privilege'

I think it's a moral quality of socialist man. And Cuban youth understand very clearly that it is a moral obligation and a privilege for us to give technological and medical services to a people that needs them, as well as being there to defend the country's sovereignty.

Furthermore, I think it's a historical commitment. Cuba's history is full of examples of internationalist aid, since our first struggles. Many Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Englishmen, Russians, and other Europeans fought in our wars of independence.

We have also received a lot of internationalist aid from the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union, which has been decisive for our revolution. During the most difficult moments of the revolution, we have always received solidarity from the peoples of America and throughout the world.

It's not a surplus that we offer. Rather we share what we have. We don't have any surplus military forces. We need all of them to defend ourselves. We are subjected to considerable aggression from the most powerful imperialist country in the world. But if there's another country, a friend of ours, that needs our help to defend itself, we are there.

We don't have a surplus of doctors, either. We have a lot more than we had before the triumph of the revolution; 5,000 doctors graduate every year. But we have work in Cuba for all of the doctors who are fulfilling missions in different countries, and some of our best doctors are in many of these countries. However, we think their job is there — offering their services.

Furthermore, we as young people have benefited from internationalist work. I feel this to be the case in my personal experience. Contact with countries that suffer the calamities of a capitalist society and of imperialist exploitation reaffirms for us the necessity of socialism.

In 1979 I had the experience of being in Nicaragua. It was incredible. As a doctor I found diseases I had read about in textbooks as belonging to the historical epoch of the discovery of America.

I knew about scurvy as a disease of the sailors who came over on the sailing ships of Christopher Columbus. And then I find it in countries a few kilometers from our shores, a product of exploitation.

This contact confirms for us socialism's just nature and the values of our society.

Q. One of the tasks of Cuba's youth is defense of the revolution against imperialist aggression, especially against Washington's constant threat. At the congress we saw many delegates in uniform, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). Can you tell us about the discussion that took place on the participation of young people in the FAR? Right now, there are certain exemptions; not everyone does military service. For example, those who are studying to become doctors or teachers. What is the reason for these exemptions and what was the discussion?

Contino. Currently, not all young people are recruited to active military service. There are young people who complete their preuniversity studies and choose to go on to higher education. These youth spend five or six years there and don't go through active military service, although they receive other forms of military training.

Value of active service

Those who don't go to the university are recruited into the armed forces after completing preuniversity studies. The proposal adopted by our congress is designed to insure that all young people are enrolled in active military service. We need to study ways in which this can be implemented. But as a principle, as part of the well-rounded education of youth, they should have the experience of active military service.

The value of this has been demonstrated already. For example, there is a standing order of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Order No. 18, that provides for youth who have distinguished themselves in the military to go on to university at the end of their service.

The experience we have had with this has been very inspiring. These youth come out of military service and into the universities with greater maturity. They have a certain level of consciousness, a great spirit of sacrifice.

Castellanos. Military recruitment policies were the result of earlier needs and experiences. Because we were impatiently waiting for the graduation of technicians and professionals needed for production, everyone in technical and university studies began to be exempted. Youth who held important positions in production were also exempted. And these exemptions began to spread.

In practice, everyone who goes on to the university is exempt. The congress took a position in favor of all young people going through military service at some point in their lives — some before the university, others immediately after they finish — because it's a very important step in the formation of the character and personalities of our youth.

It's not only through the armed forces that our youth get military training. Those who don't go into the military are trained in other ways. There are military courses in the universities themselves, which provide training.

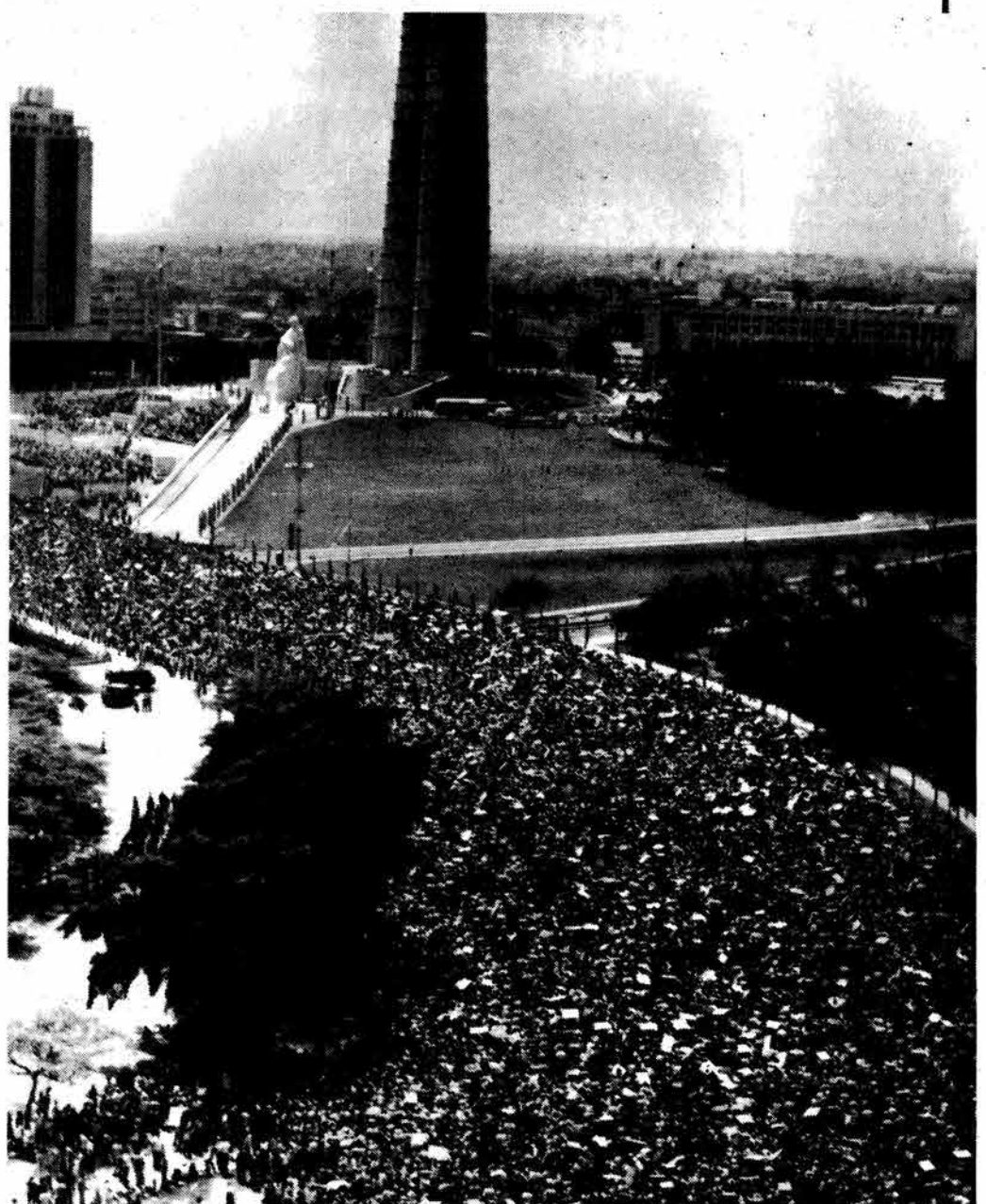
There is the Territorial Troop Militia, which includes the university courses. And there are six-month periods of concentrated military training prior to graduation in many university programs. So that even without going into the service, young people in the universities are formally organized as part of the reserves of the armed forces. They have an official classification that qualifies them for the reserves and they are trained.

We didn't take this position at the convention because of military training, although we also think that the service provides the best training. The call was made because military service educates men with certain moral values, it forges character, a spirit of sacrifice, discipline, consciousness and patriotism in general.

Women and military service

Q. And how will women participate in this?

Castellanos. We are proposing volun-



May Day in Havana, 1981. "Cuban people know they are working for their social welfare, for their children, for society. This makes them capable of accomplishing great feats."

tary military service for women. The congress discussed this.

Taking historical considerations into account above all — the tradition of women's participation in the army along with men — we know that the army is very important for women also. And young women can learn certain important characteristics. Women are part of many activities in the army. But, taking into account certain historical and traditional factors, as well as the capacity of the FAR to incorporate large numbers of women, the priority has to be given to men.

Women also participate in defense training outside of the service itself. They participate in the Territorial Troop Militia, in the military courses, in the Association for Patriotic-Military Education. And in this way they also receive military training.

Q. And women also participate in internationalist work, don't they?

Castellanos. Women also participate in internationalist work: principally as civilians — doctors, teachers, and other specialized work.

Contino. There are women who carry out military missions as well, mainly as nurses, but these are few.

Q. On April 25 there will be large demonstrations in the United States against

U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa. Many students and young workers will be participating. Do you have any message for these young people?

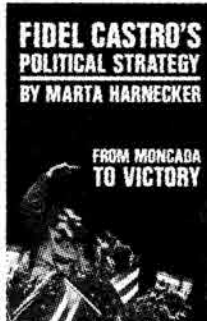
Contino. We know that there are many young people in the United States who are opposed to U.S. government aggression against Nicaragua, who are opposed to the shameful system of apartheid, and who are opposed to the fascist policies carried out by the U.S. government. We know many youth who support the Cuban revolution, who support Salvadoran revolutionaries, Nicaraguans, SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation] and revolutionaries in South Africa.

We call on youth in the United States to keep fighting, to take up the banner of revolution, the banner of progress. We call on them to oppose all the policies of the U.S. government — above all, the situation we face in Central America, in Nicaragua, where it's clear the U.S. has created a conflict with its aid to the counterrevolutionaries.

We have confidence in the mass of revolutionary youths and progressive youths in the United States. We are inspired by the demonstrations you will be holding. It's a concrete contribution to the struggle and an important contribution to the fight against the policies of the Reagan administration.

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Broad rally defends democratic rights

Continued from front page

thanked PRDF for giving him the opportunity to speak at a rally in defense of democratic rights. With regard to his union's fight, he said, "The victory at Watsonville is not only our victory. It is the victory of the whole labor movement."

Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State and a new sponsor of the PRDF, told the rally about the farm workers' fight for respect and dignity in the Yakima Valley. "Farm workers in the state of Washington are in a bitter struggle — a struggle for social and economic justice," he said.

On May 13 the union struck SKD Farms in the Yakima Valley. Asparagus cutters are demanding a union contract.

Although they are facing a powerful adversary, Villanueva said, "farm workers are not only determined to fight, but are determined to win. And we will win."

George Paris, a Black farmer in Alabama, and a leader of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and the Land Assistance Fund based in Alabama, spoke about the victimization of farm activists.

"Our organization too," he said, "has been the victim of different kinds of government and FBI harassment over the years. My first experiences with FBI intimidation were during my involvement in the civil rights movement in the 1960s."

Paris explained how the FBI began investigating his organization in 1974. In 1979 the government subpoenaed the group's records. The federation had received some \$15 million in grants since it was formed in 1967 to help mainly Black farmers.

As a result of the FBI investigation, Paris explained, the group's staff fell from 300 to 15, and its budget dropped from \$3 million to \$300,000 per year today.

The FBI later dropped its investigation, without filing any criminal charges.

Several speakers touched on how the U.S. government's attacks on democratic rights at home are linked to their oppressive and belligerent policies abroad.

Welcomed by a standing, chanting crowd, David Linder, father of U.S. engineer Ben Linder, who was murdered by Nicaraguan contras April 28, talked about his son and why he chose to work in Nicaragua.

He said his son was shot at point-blank range by the contras. The U.S. government is responsible, he added.

Linder said he and other family members would be touring the country this summer to tell Ben's story, raise funds to help complete the electrification project Ben was

working on, and tell the truth about Nicaragua.

Lee Ravenscroft, a leader of the Chicago chapter of TecNica, spoke on the need for more volunteers to go to Nicaragua to help with the kinds of work projects Ben Linder was part of. TecNica has sent 370 volunteers to Nicaragua over the last two years, Ravenscroft said.

He also pointed to FBI harassment of brigade members who have returned from Nicaragua. The FBI has visited Ravenscroft and 11 other TecNica volunteers at their jobs.

Palestinian victims

Pat Akhtar of the Chicago Committee for Justice spoke on the government's attempt to deport seven Palestinians and one Kenyan for their legal political activities in defense of Palestinian rights.

While the original charges have been modified, the eight still face deportation. "The main battle lies ahead," Akhtar said. "For these defendants remain on trial for doing nothing more than exercising their most basic political rights. Quite clearly, it's not terrorism our government fears in this instance. It's freedom of speech."

Marcella Tardy, an organizer for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) in Chicago, went over the history of FBI harassment of her organization. She pointed to the case of FBI undercover agent Frank Varella, who infiltrated the Dallas chapter from June 1981 to August 1984.

Socialists expose gov't excuses on files

Continued from Page 7

no better reason to believe that its informers, any more than its burglars, would find anything other than "lawful pursuits." The 1955 date proposed by the plaintiffs is well after the investigation can be safely characterized as a "national security" and not a criminal investigation. No later date is necessary or justified.

C. The defendants' objection to a presumption that the information was illegally secured

The defendants assert that because of their "practical difficulties" in identifying the source of information and the "public interest" in permitting them to use information obtained legally, there should be no presumption that information was obtained illegally. Indeed, they argue for a presump-

"It's only logical," she said, "that if the U.S. government would sponsor the bombing of peasants in the Salvadoran countryside and the torture, imprisonment, assassination, and disappearance of trade unionists, students, and human rights activists, it's only logical that they are also prepared to infiltrate our domestic organizations opposing that policy."

She reported that the FBI has carried out 28 investigations of CISPES chapters.

Cindy Domingo, a leader of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Vienes, discussed Washington's complicity with the former Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, which led to the murder of Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo. Both were officials of Local 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and leaders of the Union of Democratic Filipinos in Seattle.

For six years the committee has sought justice in the case.

A court date is set for May 1988. The U.S. government has already said that Ferdinand Marcos will be immune from prosecution.

Héctor Marroquín

The featured speaker at the rally was Héctor Marroquín.

On May 5 Marroquín won a six-month work authorization card under the amnesty provision of the new Immigration Reform and Control Act. Ten days later he received his social security number in the mail.

Showing the two cards to the audience,

Marroquín said, "I have two spots left in my wallet. One is for a green card and the other is for my U.S. citizenship."

"After over one decade of attempts at deporting me," he said, "they have lost, and we have won. We have forced them to give me legal status."

"I intend to use my victory," he said, "to extend my solidarity to other fighters for justice, like the Ben Linder family, Margaret Randall, and sanctuary activists."

Several messages were sent to the rally.

Ernesto Jofre, coordinator of the New York Area Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador and business representative of Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in New York, sent a message to PRDF supporting Marroquín's fight. "I, like many unionists, am particularly concerned that he wins this fight, which can mark a historical precedent at this juncture for the rights of immigrants and the trade union movement," Jofre said.

Studer urged everyone to go back to their cities and increase their efforts to win more working people and students as sponsors of the PRDF. In the past six months, he said, some 2,600 new people have signed up as sponsors, including some of the rally speakers. Local PRDF supporters are organizing public meetings between now and the end of June, Studer said.

Some \$8,000 was collected at the rally. This is an important contribution toward the PRDF's national fundraising target of \$90,000.

tion that the documents were legally obtained.

The defendants, however, ignore their own submissions to this court, including the admission that the "records obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained information" include "nearly all" the information obtained by the FBI: "I understand that the information that will be subject to the injunction will, in effect, include nearly all information that the FBI obtained about the SWP and its members during its investigation until it was terminated in September 1976." (Robinson Declaration.)

The defendants make no claim that any substantial part of the information gathered by the FBI was obtained legally or was not developed from illegally obtained information. Such a claim would not be supported by the record.

D. The defendants' claim that the mail cover should not be covered by the injunction

The defendants assert that mail covers should not be included within the category of illegal methods because there was no finding by this court that this technique was illegal.

The mail cover regulation under which defendants acted was held to be "unconstitutionally vague and overbroad" in *Paton v. La Prade*. There was no occasion for this court explicitly to find the regulation illegal since the district court in New Jersey had already done so; there was even less reason because, as the court noted, the government did not appeal that decision and instead amended the regulation.

In these circumstances, the records and information gathered through mail covers were "illegally obtained" and should be covered by the injunction.

E. The defendants' claim that the injunction should bind only the FBI

The defendants assert that the injunction should not bind any agency other than the FBI because the court made no finding of a violation of law by any other agency. To the government, the fact that an illegally obtained record was transferred to another agency cleanses the record.

The defendants' position must be rejected. The FBI routinely shared the illegally obtained records with the other agencies — a fact not in dispute. In sharing its records and information the FBI routinely asserted its continued proprietary interest in the record: it asserted that the document remained "the property of the FBI, and is a loan to your agency..."

The trial record shows that for the pur-

poses of Freedom of Information Act requests, information from the FBI is identified as originating with the FBI and is considered its property for disclosure purposes.⁵

According to the defendants' submission to the court, the sharing of the information was shared pursuant to a coordinated scheme in which the FBI obtained the information,⁶ here illegally, for the purpose of sharing it with the other agencies.

In these circumstances, the other agencies are not the innocent bystanders portrayed by the defendants; they are in possession of illegally obtained records and information "loaned" to them by the FBI pursuant to a coordinated program among different agencies of a single government.

Which agency is in possession today does not alter the crucial fact — the records were illegally obtained. Each of the defendants must be covered by the injunction.⁷

Conclusion

For all of the above stated reasons, an injunction in the form proposed by plaintiffs covering all defendants should be entered.

5. Indeed, Executive Order 10450 appears to require this result insofar as the records were gathered for a loyalty security program. Thus, Section 9(c) provides as follows:

The reports and other investigative material and information developed by investigations conducted pursuant to any statute, order, or program described in section 7 of this order ("the said act of Aug. 26, 1950, or pursuant to the said Executive Order No. 9835 or any other security or loyalty program relating to officers or employees of the Government") shall remain the property of the investigative agencies conducting the investigations, but may, subject to considerations of the national security, be retained by the department or agency concerned.

6. The other agencies were aware that the FBI was using illegal means to gather its information. In a meeting held on March 8, 1956, Director Hoover of the FBI reported that the FBI was using techniques such as informer, wiretaps, microphone surveillance, and surreptitious entries. The meeting was attended by the president, vice-president, secretary of state, secretary of defense, the head of the CIA, and other officials.

7. We note as well the danger to the effectiveness of the injunction presented by limiting an injunction to the FBI. Any illegally obtained record or information would be available for use by the simple expedient of locating it in the files of an agency other than the FBI. Thus, the government would be able to avoid the force of the injunction by continuing to use the records of the defendants other than the FBI.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? Democratic rights gains

The U.S. government is facing new resistance to its attacks on the rights of foreign-born U.S. workers.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was forced to partially retreat from its initial attempts to deport seven Palestinians and a Kenyan because of their political views.

And, after a 10-year battle, the INS was forced to grant Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín a social security card and a temporary work permit. The fight is now on by Marroquín, and his thousands of supporters, to win U.S. citizenship.

The June issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* covers these fights.

In addition, it contains analysis of the new U.S. immigration "reform" law. It also features a first-hand report from the recent congress of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.

Perspectiva Mundial

Washington es culpable de la muerte de Ben Linder

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Military build-up aims to set stage for U.S. attack

Continued from front page
military and economic aid from U.S. allies in the region. The Saudi Arabian monarchy and others provided Hussein's government with well over \$35 billion in aid. The French government supplied Hussein's forces with \$12 billion in arms, including the Exocet missiles that struck the *Stark*.

In 1984, as it faced increasing difficulties in the war, the Iraqi regime escalated its attacks on shipping in the gulf bound for Iran. The Iranian forces, which until then had not even attacked ships bringing arms to the Iraqi military forces, retaliated by attacking ships bound for ports in countries backing Iraq in the war.

Provocations against Iran

The latest U.S. moves, an editorial in the May 19 *Washington Post* explained, are aimed at "intervening on Iraq's side." "By protecting Iraq's shipping but leaving Iraq free to attack Iran's, the United States is helping Iraq strangle Iran's oil exports, which provide the means to keep Tehran in the war, and nullifying the threat of Iranian retaliation."

Washington is also setting the stage for other possible military moves against Iran. In the event of attacks on the Kuwaiti tankers flying U.S. flags, the May 20 *New York Times* reported, a "high-ranking Administration official said the response would be similar to American retaliation against Libya, in which the United States took incremental steps against a series of Libyan moves that eventually led to the bombing of two Libyan cities."

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy warned that Washington might go to war with Iran if Kuwaiti ships carrying the U.S. flag were attacked. White House officials, however, described Murphy's declaration as "too glib."

On May 27 Reagan told foreign journalists, "I think it's far better if the Iranians go to bed every night wondering what we might do than us telling them in advance."

Washington's support to the Iraqi rulers in the war was highlighted by the U.S. government's response to the Iraqi plane's attack on the *Stark*.

In the wake of the incident, the Iraqi government has publicly asserted a closer relationship to the U.S. government. This reflects its increasingly open dependence on Washington's support.

What the *Washington Post* described as a "profuse personal apology" from President Hussein was instantly accepted by President Reagan. Reagan's press secretary immediately backed the Iraqi government's assertion that the attack was "inadvertent." U.S. investigators have been unable to question the pilot and no statement from him has been made public.

'Totally friendly'

In response to questions about why the *Stark* had not been prepared for an attack, Reagan explained that the captain had assumed that an Iraqi plane would be "totally friendly."

A high level U.S. delegation was sent to Iraq to investigate the incident and discuss how a repetition could be avoided. There were no U.S. demands that Iraqi forces end their air war against gulf shipping. The May 25 *Washington Post* said the Iraqi officials were expected to suggest "sharing radar and other tracking information and . . . notification of planned ship and aircraft movements."

And on May 19 Reagan denounced Iran as the "real villain in the piece," placing responsibility on the Iranian government for

the continuation of the war.

U.S. moves laying the groundwork for a provocation against Iran have been under way for some time.

Dealing with Iran

For awhile in 1985 and 1986, the Reagan administration secretly violated the arms embargo against Iran imposed during President James Carter's administration. This was part of an effort to win the release of hostages held in Lebanon by groups that identify with the Iranian regime. Washington also sought to gain influence with leading figures in the Iranian government.

The collapse and exposure of this diplomatic maneuvering was followed by stepped-up moves against Iran.

On February 25 Reagan declared, "We remain strongly committed to supporting the self-defense of our friends in the [Persian Gulf] region." The U.S. government began giving favorable consideration to the Kuwaiti monarchy's proposal to place many of its tankers under U.S. flags.

The number of U.S. warships in the gulf area rose to 17, including an aircraft carrier assigned to the region on a full-time basis.

Assistant Secretary of State Murphy met with Iraqi leaders in Baghdad two weeks before the *Stark* incident.

The May 3 *New York Times* cited the view of Thomas McNaughton, a Brookings Institution official who follows Persian Gulf events, that Washington was seeking to provoke a clash with Iran. "You want Iran to make the first move," he said. "It makes eminent sense for Reagan to pick a fight."

Washington has attempted to justify its stepped-up military provocations by warning of a Soviet takeover in the gulf, but there is no basis for this claim. The Soviet Union has no aircraft carriers or combat aircraft in the area, and, unlike the U.S. government, has not threatened any country in the region.

The May 26 *New York Times* explained, "Officials say they will use the specter of increased Soviet involvement as one of their arguments with the allies . . . to persuade them that they must share the responsibility of protecting freedom of navigation in the Gulf."

U.S. allies hesitate

On May 26 U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger called on other imperialist powers belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to join the U.S. military operations in the gulf region. He suggested that they offer additional naval units, air cover, and the use of bases under their control.

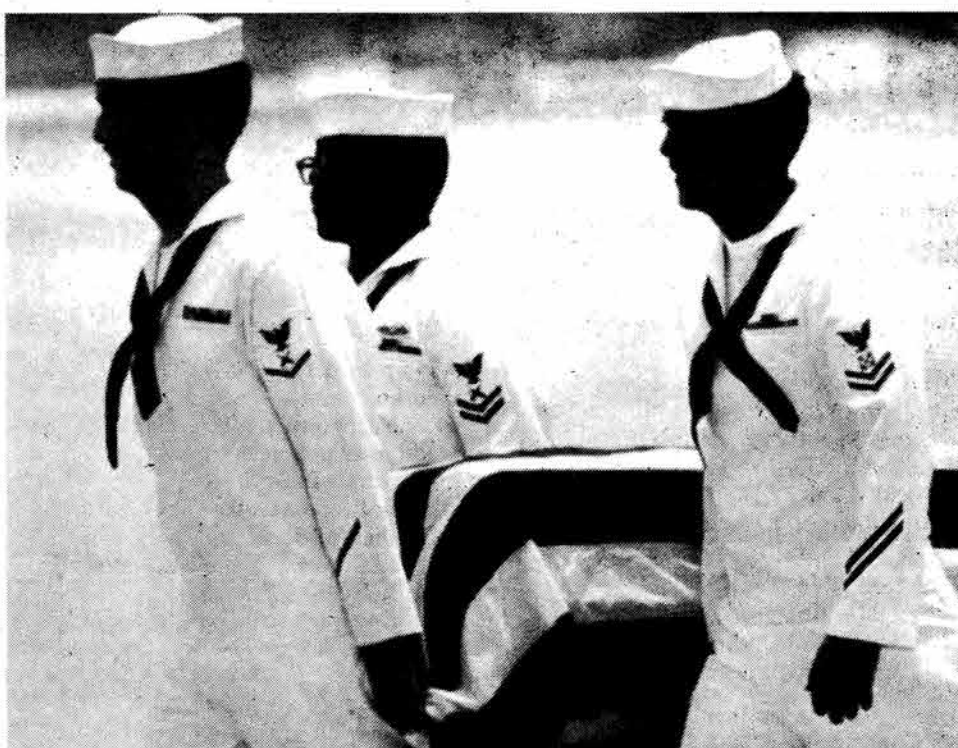
Two days earlier Weinberger had publicly called on other Persian Gulf governments to provide "basing rights" and other support for U.S. combat aircraft.

There was no immediate response from these regimes. Only the government in Oman currently allows U.S. forces to use bases. Fear of being too closely linked to U.S. military operations is such that Saudi pilots refused to heed a U.S. request to bring down the Iraqi plane that fired at the *Stark*.

Washington's European allies have signaled their reluctance to join in anti-Iran military moves. "We wouldn't have in mind to step up our force levels," a British official said. The British government faced widespread outrage when it allowed Washington to use bases in Britain to launch murderous air raids against Libya last year.

Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti declared his opposition to involvement in U.S. naval moves in the gulf. "If there is a problem of security for the ships in the gulf, it's better that this problem be dealt with by the United Nations."

To head off public debate over the growing U.S. intervention in the Iran-Iraq war, Reagan has refused to invoke the War Powers Act. This law requires a report to Congress when U.S. forces are sent "into hostilities or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances."



Pallbearers carry casket of *Stark* sailor to awaiting air force plane in Bahrain

The decision not to invoke the act was made at a meeting of the president's National Security Planning Group. The *Washington Post* cited a source who described the meeting as divided and "tumultuous."

Bipartisan course

One indication of the growing war danger is the bipartisan agreement in Congress and among other prominent Republican and Democratic politicians that U.S. forces must remain in the Persian Gulf bat-

tle zone.

The U.S. Senate voted May 22 to ask the White House to report on how U.S. ships escorting Kuwaiti tankers will be defended against attack.

"If we are prepared to go to war," declared former Democratic presidential hopeful Gary Hart in an interview published in the May 26 *New York Times*, "The American people ought to know . . . I assume we are prepared to."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Fiji army continues clampdown on protest

Although the army of the South Pacific islands state of Fiji has officially returned to barracks, leaders of a rightist coup bid have retained key positions in a new interim government.

The coup began May 14 against the elected government of Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra, who led a coalition dominated by the Fiji Labour Party. His government sought to move away from the blatantly proimperialist policies of the previous regimes.

Bavadra's government was also multiracial in composition, including indigenous Fijians as well as Fijians of Indian origin. (Of a population of 715,000, about 47 percent are of native Melanesian ancestry and about 49 percent are descendants of Indian indentured workers brought to Fiji in the 19th century.)

The coup was led by Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, backed by indigenous Fijian chiefs and other rightist forces opposed to the Labour Party's policies. The coup leaders sought to turn indigenous Fijians against the Indian population.

In face of a general strike and other resistance to the coup, Rabuka was forced to dissolve his military regime after a week and release Bavadra and other members of the Labour-led government.

But instead of allowing the Bavadra government to return to power, Governor General Penaia Ganilau named an interim regime, to remain in office until new elections tentatively scheduled to take place in six months. Rabuka was named minister of home affairs, a powerful position. He is also to head a committee that will seek ways to amend the constitution in order to further restrict the rights of Indians.

In addition, censorship of the press continues, more journalists have been detained, and armed troops still patrol the streets.

Bavadra was offered a minor position in the new cabinet, but has refused to accept it. He has called the interim regime illegal and undemocratic.

Arabs, Jews protest Israeli tuition policy

New government tuition policies for Israeli universities that would discriminate against Arab students have prompt-

ed sharp protests from both Arab and Jewish students.

On May 18 about 2,000 students at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem — a big majority of the student body — demonstrated. Arab and Jewish students chanted, "Equality to Jews and Arabs in education!" "Down with a racist society!" "Stop the apartheid policies!" and "No, no, fascism must go!"

The new tuition policy, adopted by the Israeli cabinet a day earlier, would raise tuitions at the state-financed universities to \$1,550 a year for those students who have not served in the Israeli army. For those who have, the tuitions would be reduced to \$1,050. Since only Israeli Jews are conscripted into the army, this means that they would get a tuition cut, and the majority of Arab students a tuition hike.

In protest, many Arab students donned badges reading: "\$1,550: Second Class Citizen."

In response to the student protests, the administrations of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Haifa University announced that they would not carry out the cabinet decision.

A leader of 1974 coup sentenced in Portugal

Lt. Col. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho — one of the key leaders of the April 25, 1974, coup that ended half a century of right-wing dictatorship in Portugal — was sentenced to 15 years in prison May 20.

Closely identified with left-wing political groups, Saraiva de Carvalho twice ran for president of the country. He also became the target of a four-year police undercover operation designed to portray him as a "terrorist" leader.

Arrested in June 1984, Saraiva de Carvalho's trial opened in October 1985. The prosecutors charged that a group he led, Global Project, was a front for the Popular Forces of April 25 (FP-25), which has been accused of carrying out various armed actions, including assassinations of businessmen and landlords.

Sentenced along with Saraiva de Carvalho were 47 other defendants, who drew prison terms ranging from 20 months to 17 years. Lawyers for Saraiva de Carvalho have said that the verdict will be appealed.

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

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How about pro-war? — Raping the music industry as allegedly encouraging drug use among young people, Reagan said, "No one has a constitutional



Harry Ring

right to sell pro-drug propaganda to minors."

Old and Black are contagious? — A New York Supreme Court justice blocked members of

a swank Park Avenue co-op from evicting a doctor who permitted his elderly, nonwhite patients to enter through the front door. The co-op members had asked the doctor to have his patients "enter by way of a back door... so as not to discomfort and inconvenience tenants."

Hard to plan ahead — Gary Hart cancelled a slated two-week Greek island cruise aboard a chartered yacht (\$5,500 a day, plus food and liquor). Meanwhile, a publisher announced cancellation of his book, entitled, aptly enough, *One Man's Luck: A Brief Glimpse at the Life and Ideas of Gary Hart*.

To the lifeboats! — "Now,

more than ever in history, our personal welfare depends on the moral fiber and judgment of the president." — Milton Greenblatt, University of California at Los Angeles psychiatrist and student of presidents.

Let's not be hasty — There's \$92 million unaccounted for. In three years, Jim and Tammy Bakker ran up a \$1.3-million tab for such items as a \$592,000 Palm Beach condo, \$67,000 worth of women's clothes, and a \$800 Gucci briefcase. Speculated the new PTL chief exec, Jerry Nims, "It seems to me there is a pattern here of a disregard for the rules."

Send-a-banker-to-camp fund? — "Everyone earning more knows

it, but it comes as a shock to those earning less: The New York investment bankers under 30 with staggering \$600,000-a-year incomes are not rich and may never be." — *New York Times*.

He just doesn't like people who like people — A federal judge decided age bias wasn't involved when a rabbi fired a secretary, 52, at the U of Buffalo Hillel House because she had a "Jewish mother" image.

OK, you confess? — Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical offers its San Diego workers "clues for spotting a spy," including one or more of such characteristics as: Desire for revenge... greedy... living

beyond visible means of support... overindulger in alcohol or drugs... emotionally unstable... desire for recognition after years of hard work with little or no word of thanks."

Hang the expense — Bulgari's New York silver shop offers a \$1,900 silver tennis ball can with three Bulgari-label tennis balls. Learning that one had failed to bounce, a Bulgari exec assured, "We'll replace them with live ones."

Butcher Batista loved them — Haband, the mail order folk, offer their version of a guayabera shirt, advising, "It all started out in gracious, civilized pre-Castro Cuba."

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Bay Area

The Myth of the Happy Japanese Workers. How Big Corporations Use It Against Us. Speaker: Ken Honda, Socialist Workers Party, former factory worker in Japan.

San Jose. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

San Francisco. Sun., June 7, 2 p.m. 3284 23rd St. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Oakland. Sun., June 7, 7 p.m. 3808 E. 14th St. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Forums translated to Spanish. Donations: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

Los Angeles

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.

Oakland

Youth Speak Out Against War and Apartheid. Report back from Young Socialist Alliance convention in Chicago. Panel of speakers. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Youth Speak Out Against War and Apartheid. Speakers: Luis Madrid, chairperson, San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance, just back from YSA national convention; Carlos Hernandez, former Watsonville cannery striker; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 30, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The U.S. War Against Nicaragua: An Inside View. Speakers: Lee Ravenscroft, member TecNica; Jan Gangel, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1487. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave.

Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

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

Stop Police Violence in Baltimore — Behind Death of Jarrod Clayton. Speakers: Lucretia and Leroy Jefferson, parents of Jarrod Clayton; Rev. Theodore Williams, Shiloh AME Church; Mary Benms, city council candidate 2nd district; Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sat., May 30. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Truth About Nicaragua — Oppose Aid to the Contras. A panel discussion and slideshow presentation. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 407½ N Main Street. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

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

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, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Latin America Debt Crisis: A Political Volcano. Speaker: Martín Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 5. Preforum reception, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg 34th Annual Commemoration — Remembering Friday, June 19, 1953. Demonstration Fri., June 19, noon to 2 p.m. at United States Courthouse, Foley Sq. Memorial Meeting, Fri., June 19, 6:30 p.m. New York University Law School, 40 Washington Sq. S. Sponsor: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

UTAH

Price

The Union's Fight for Mine Safety. Speakers: Don "Red" Huitt, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 9958; others. Sat., May 30, 7 p.m., 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Contract Fight in the Western Coalfields. An eyewitness account by a member of a Militant sales team. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Democratic Rights vs. Government Spying. A rally to defend the Bill of Rights. Speakers: Tomas Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State; John Gilbert, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Barbara Nelson, Ad Hoc Committee for Justice (for the Los Angeles 8); Terri Mast, president, Cannery Workers Local 37 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Chris Horner, Northwest spokesperson for Political Rights Defense Fund, member In-

ternational Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 30. Reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Seattle American Postal Workers Hall, 2450 6th Ave. S. (at Lander). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

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St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Rob Binns, 1039 Rhode Island. Zip: 66044.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, 4264 Oxford Ave. #4, Zip: 70808. Tel: (504) 766-0510. New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 1383 Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

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

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. Northfield: YSA, c/o Heiko Koester and Pat Romero, Carlton College. Zip: 55057. Tel: (507) 663-4000, ext. 4570 or 4563. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 114E Quail St. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. Mid-Hudson: YSA, Box 650, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. Stony Brook: YSA, c/o Jordy Rockowitz, Wagner 120, Stony Brook College. Zip: 11794.

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

OHIO: Athens: c/o Jake Hiles, 189½ W. Washington, Apt. A. Zip: 45701. Tel: (614) 594-8450. Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 1701 W. Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OKLAHOMA: Edmond: YSA, c/o Ricky Garcia, 1308 N. Blvd. F-46. Zip: 73033. Tel: (405) 340-3868.

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.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

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

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

Kiribati demands U.S. halt tuna poaching

Pacific island country protests theft of 'one of its few natural resources'

The following article appeared in the May 15 issue of the biweekly New Zealand newspaper *Socialist Action*.

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The Pacific island country of Kiribati stopped a U.S.-owned tuna boat and arrested its captain on May 5. The boat had about 40 tons of poached tuna in its hold. The captain and the boat's owners have been charged with fishing without a license in Kiribati's exclusive economic zone.

The boat was one of a number of U.S. purse seiners photographed fishing illegally in the waters of Kiribati and Tuvalu, 600 miles to the south, over the previous week. The governments of both countries have sent strongly worded protests about the poaching to the U.S. government.

The Republic of Kiribati is a country of

33 tiny islands stretching over 2 million square miles of ocean located in the South Pacific. Twenty of those islands are inhabited, with a total population of 56,000.

Until receiving independence in 1979, Kiribati was a British colony known as the Gilbert Islands. The people of this country are among the poorest in the region.

"It is a matter of great sadness that the government of the richest people on earth cannot stop its citizens stealing one of the few natural resources of some of the poorest people on earth," commented Kiribati's minister of natural resources, Babera Kirata.

Dozens of U.S. tuna boats poach annually in Kiribati waters, costing the country \$100,000 in lost license fees and percentages for each boat.

Kiribati's action comes only a month

after the United States and 12 Pacific island countries signed a five-year fishing agreement. The treaty provides for the payment of at least US\$60 million over this period to the 16 Pacific member states of the Forum Fisheries Agency for the right to fish in selected areas of their exclusive economic zones.

The signing of the treaty marked a shift in U.S. government policy toward attempts by Pacific island countries to control fishing in their waters.

In the past, the American Tuna Boat Association has refused to recognize 200-mile economic zones in relation to migratory fish such as tuna. For years its members have poached in Pacific waters and refused to pay license fees to Pacific island countries.

This stand was backed by the U.S. gov-

ernment. In 1984, for example, a trade embargo was imposed on all tuna imports from the Solomon Islands, following the seizure and confiscation of a U.S. tuna boat by the Solomons government.

According to a U.S. government official involved in negotiating the new fishing agreement, it marked a recognition on the part of Washington that the time had come "to do business in a different way in the Pacific."

An important factor in this change of attitude was the growing readiness of Pacific island countries to sign fishing agreements with the Soviet Union.

Kiribati was the first to do so, followed by Vanuatu in January this year.

The one-year pact between Kiribati and the Soviet Union expired in October 1985, after the two countries failed to agree on the terms for its renewal. Kiribati government officials have stated that they may review the lapsed agreement in light of the recent examples of poaching by U.S. boats.

Indians resist gov't attempt to victimize fishing-rights activists

BY CONNIE ALLEN AND JOHN OLMSTED

PORTLAND, Ore. — The Yakima Tribal Council in Toppenish, Washington, has refused to turn over five Indian fishing-rights activists to federal custody.

The government is demanding that the tribe release the five so that they can serve out federal prison terms for alleged violations of federal fishing regulations.

In 1983 the five were given one to five year sentences in a "salmon scam" sting operation that began the previous year. David Sohapp, Sr., a Yakima tribal elder and central leader of Indian fishing-rights struggles in the Northwest, was sentenced to five years in federal prison for selling 317 fish. His son received five years for the sale of 28 fish. Also convicted were Wilber Stockish, Jr.; Leroy Yocash; and Mathew McConville.

To assert the tribe's sovereignty over fishing rights by Indians on the Columbia River, the five demanded they be tried on the charges by a tribal court. In late April that court found the five innocent on all counts. The tribal jury asserted the five had been victims of entrapment and that fishing regulations, aimed at dealing with a problem of a dwindling salmon supply, wrongly infringed on religious rights. They are demanding President Reagan grant the five defendants federal pardons.

The government is refusing to recognize

the sovereignty of the Yakima tribe. In a letter to the tribe, Assistant Attorney General F. Henry Habicht stated since the tribal court had "failed to convict" the defendants, the tribe no longer had "any grounds for retaining them in custody."

Philip Olney, chairman of the tribal council, responded to the government's demand by stating, "They will be retained here until we get a clemency or pardon process under way. It was the unanimous decision by the tribal council that we take every action necessary to keep them here."

The original justification for the "salmon scam" operation was a government claim that 40,000 salmon were "missing" from a spawning area. Sohapp was accused of master-minding a 53-ton salmon-poaching operation.

Later, officials admitted that pollution from an aluminum smelter had caused the fish to spawn downstream from their cus-

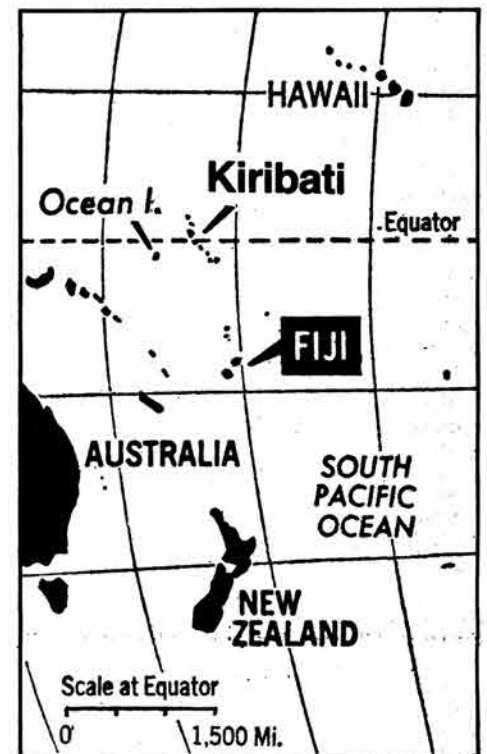
tomary location.

Sohapp and the others had freely admitted selling fish to federal undercover agents, citing treaty rights, Indian tradition, and religious practices that entitled them to do so.

The federal prosecution was part of a government drive to scapegoat Indians for the declining salmon population along the Columbia River, and to further restrict Indian fishing rights.

The real problem is that 80 percent of the salmon that would normally migrate up the Columbia River is caught at sea by commercial trawlers.

This practice, coupled with the effect of pollution and the operation of hydroelectric dams along the river, has reduced the salmon taken from the river from 40 million tons at the turn of the century to 2 million in the early 1980s.



—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

June 3, 1977

STEARNS, Ky. — "We don't aim to mine no coal until a contract is signed, and nobody else is going to either."

That statement by a picketing miner here sums up the resolve of more than 160 men on strike for 10 months against the Stearns Mining Co.'s Justus mine.

Stearns and its parent company, the Blue Diamond Coal Co., will stop at nothing to keep the United Mine Workers of America out.

In March the company hired a private security firm — notorious for strikebreaking violence — and the shooting began. Since then it is a fact of life for Stearns residents. Every night, and sometimes during the day, there is steady gunfire.

Despite provocations, the strike remains strong and the miners claim total unity of their ranks. For them the real life-and-death question is not dodging the bullets of hired-gun thugs, but the even more deadly issue of mine safety.

The Stearns miners voted to be represented by the UMWA on March 31, 1976. That was just three weeks after two explosions at another Blue Diamond-owned mine — the Scotia mine in Oven Fork, Kentucky — killed 26 men.

As at Scotia, Stearns miners had a company union. Its president — Mahan Vanover, a miner for 35 years — is the first to admit that the benefits of the so-called labor union totaled "none."

"We got a turkey at Christmas, and that came out of union funds," adds striker Leonard Gibson.

The main issue for the striking miners is safety. They want a union safety committee with the authority to remove miners

from areas judged "hazardous to human life."



AFL-CIO President George Meany's statement May 25 that the labor federation's executive board would discuss a "national campaign" to cut the standard workweek from 40 to 35 hours with no reduction in pay — as a measure against unemployment — is a symptom of the mounting pressure that union tops are feeling from the ranks.

Meany's statement, made to the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was quickly countered by Walter Heller, chairman of President John Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors. Heller said May 26 that the administration's goal was full employment with a 40-hour standard week, and that if only enough Democrats can be elected to congress this fall, Kennedy's program will be put into effect. Heller said the shorter workweek is not appropriate now because it would increase costs for the employers.

The fact is that short of huge new opportunities for expansion — excluded by present world conditions without a major war — Kennedy's program can't possibly solve the unemployment problem on the basis of the 40-hour week. He opposes the shorter-workweek solution because that would tend to cut into profits. For Kennedy, and the wealthy businessmen he represents, if unemployment can't be solved without cutting profits, then it won't be solved.

W. Va. garment workers strike for higher pay, medical benefits

BY MARSHA LOU PARKER

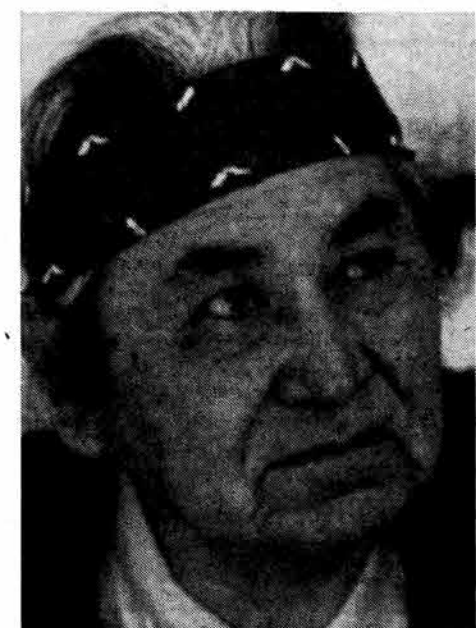
HUNTINGTON, W. Va. — "We're asking for 15 cents more than the \$3.35 we're making now," said Geneva Williams, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on strike against DeCasper Corp. "We also want health insurance."

Two of the women strikers — with 57 years in the shop between them — told the *Militant* that when Samuel DeCasper took over the Huntington Industries plant here, the 90-woman work force worked without pay for 10 weeks. Before DeCasper bought out the plant, the workers were paid a base rate of \$5.25 an hour.

Back in April 1986 the workers voted 105-25 to be represented by the ILGWU. They went on strike only after a year-long effort to negotiate a contract with the company.

DeCasper, which is currently in bankruptcy proceedings in order to avoid paying what it owes to workers and creditors, is now threatening to liquidate entirely.

The workers staff a lively strike headquarters right next door to DeCasper. They have won solidarity from nearby locals of the railroad workers on the Chessie System and from an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union local at a nearby garment shop.



David Sohapp

200 Kansas farmers demand moratorium on farm foreclosures

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

KANSAS CITY — Led by 20 tractors, 200 farmers converged on the Wichita, Kansas, office of the Farm Credit Service April 29. FCS is the umbrella structure for U.S. government agricultural lending institutions.

Stephen Anderson of the American Agriculture Movement, which sponsored the protest, told the press that the farmers wanted an immediate moratorium on farm foreclosures and an end to Wichita Farm Credit's "obstinate, single-minded, 'foreclosure only' practice."

Meanwhile, in neighboring Missouri, the University of Missouri released a study that showed that a record 537 Missouri farmers filed for bankruptcy last year, up 10 percent from the year before.

High court attacks right to bail

The Supreme Court has codified another encroachment on the Bill of Rights.

By a 6-to-3 majority, it has given legal sanction to pretrial "preventive detention," without any right to bail, to individuals deemed to be "dangerous" by the government and its cop agencies.

The May 26 ruling has been condemned by supporters of democratic rights. The American Civil Liberties Union accurately branded the decision a "dangerous setback for civil liberties."

In its ruling, the Supreme Court majority reversed a lower court decision that found the 1984 Bail Reform Act to be unconstitutional.

The Bail Reform Act was passed by a bipartisan vote of Congress, with the support of key Democratic Party leaders such as Sen. Edward Kennedy.

By giving judges the power to lock up and deny bail to anyone they label "extremely dangerous to the community" or who they say poses "a substantial risk of flight," the law marked a sharp blow to the democratic guarantee that one is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

The act was challenged in court as a violation of the Constitution's Fifth Amendment guarantee against punishment without due process and of the Eighth Amendment prohibition against excessive bail.

The Supreme Court decision, written by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, simply brushes these objections

aside. The Bail Reform Act's pretrial detention provision "does not constitute punishment before trial," Rehnquist claims, because it is simply "regulatory in nature." And, he argues, the Eighth Amendment's bar against excessive bail is not violated because — the act provides for no bail at all!

This ruling codifies a practice that is already being implemented. In the 18-month period leading up to February of this year, judges, acting at the request of federal officials, denied 4,800 defendants any right to bail. Besides the federal act, 24 states and the District of Columbia have similar laws. The high court's ruling will strengthen this reactionary trend.

Giving the capitalist government and its police even more arbitrary powers of detention is a threat to the democratic rights of all. It will be — and has been — used for purposes of political repression.

The first use of the Bail Reform Act was against nine Black and Puerto Rican activists who were seized in New York City in October 1984.

The law has also been used to deny bail to some Puerto Rican independence activists.

The labor movement; fighters for the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women; and all supporters of civil liberties should condemn the Supreme Court ruling and act to safeguard the constitutional right to bail.

Political show trial in Mass.

Federal prosecutors are preparing a political show trial to be held in Springfield, Massachusetts. Its purpose is to undermine democratic rights.

Five men and three women will face charges of seditious conspiracy — conspiring to forcibly overthrow the U.S. government.

To buttress the government case, they are also being charged with racketeering and conspiracy under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act. A federal statute enacted allegedly to combat "organized crime," this law has been used in political cases.

Some or all of the eight are accused of various acts of bombing corporate offices and military facilities. Bank robberies are included, as well as the killing of a New Jersey state trooper.

Of the cited bomb efforts, 11 occurred in the New York area. In March 1986, six of the eight were convicted for these and given sentences ranging from five to 53 years.

They were charged with involvement with a group called the United Freedom Front. This group reportedly took responsibility for the New York-area bombings, which were intended to protest U.S. policy in Central America as well as apartheid in South Africa.

Ten of 11 bombs did explode. In each case, prior warning calls were made, and there were no injuries.

Two of the current defendants, Richard Williams and Thomas Manning, were charged with murder in the 1981 death of the New Jersey trooper.

Williams, who had been a fugitive, testified he had shot in self-defense when the trooper fired at him, trying to apprehend him. He testified that Manning was not present when the shooting occurred.

The jury deadlocked on Manning, with a majority favoring his acquittal.

Williams was found not guilty of premeditated murder.

Instead, he was convicted of robbery and escape, and of causing the death of the trooper while doing so.

The robbery was retrieving one of his guns, which the trooper had taken. The escape was leaving the scene of the shoot-out.

Now, apparently, these charges, along with the previously tried bomb cases, will be added to charges of Boston-area bombings and other offenses to give credence to the seditious conspiracy charge.

"Sedition," and particularly the very amorphous charge of "conspiring" to commit it, invariably comes down to prosecuting people not for actual offenses, but for what they may think or say about the government.

John Powell of the American Civil Liberties Union said that most speech that might be deemed seditious has been upheld by the courts as protected by the First Amendment.

Kenneth King, attorney for Manning, saw the sedition charge as "a fairly clear attempt of the government to go after these folks because of their politics, not the underlying criminal behavior they are alleged to have committed."

A seditious conspiracy conviction, the government calculates, will serve to weaken free speech rights guaranteed by the First Amendment.

The government hopes that by going after those already convicted on charges involving violence, they can set a precedent for using the seditious conspiracy charge more broadly, against the labor movement and fighters against war and racism.

The government is banking on silence among supporters of democratic rights to ram this case through. That makes it doubly important for all those who cherish First Amendment freedoms to demand that the charges against the eight be dropped.

U.S. naval moves claim 37 lives

Continued from front page

the Stars and Stripes and make U.S. warships responsible for protecting them. The Pentagon is also pressing governments in the region to provide bases and other support for U.S. aircraft.

These moves have deepened Washington's provocative presence in the area and increased the danger of a U.S. military assault on Iran. They endanger the lives of hundreds more sailors in the U.S. naval fleet stationed in the Persian Gulf.

In the face of this menacing stance, some legislators have expressed concern that the White House should keep Congress informed of its moves and clarify its plans. But not a single voice in Congress — liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat — has called for Washington to get the U.S. warships out of the Persian Gulf.

Lee Hamilton, a Democratic representative from Indiana and chair of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, declared, "It is in the U.S. national interest to remain a player in the Gulf. . . . We have been there for 40 years. Now is not the time to cut and run."

The bipartisan policy to maintain U.S. naval forces in the Persian Gulf is part of Washington's global policy of policing the world for the handful of ruling families that dominate industry, commerce, banking, and the land.

In the past 40 years, even though Washington has

never formally declared war, more than 80,000 U.S. soldiers have been brought home in caskets from Korea, Indochina, Lebanon, and Grenada.

Hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops are currently stationed in South Korea, Japan, Western Europe, the Caribbean, Central America, and many South Pacific islands. The U.S. military has scores of airbases, and hundreds of missiles and ships scattered across the globe.

This formidable arsenal — the largest in human history — is aimed at putting down revolts of workers and peasants and attempting to overthrow or dictate to governments that oppose Washington's interests.

Millions of people in the United States, including members of the families of the sailors killed, are questioning why U.S. men are in the Persian Gulf just as they are questioning why Congress and the White House keep backing the Nicaraguan contras.

These policies are not in the interests of U.S. working people.

And to the degree that Washington is allowed to pursue its war moves in the Middle East unchallenged, the danger to Nicaragua, Cuba, and all those in the world who refuse to toe Washington's line increases.

Working people should demand:

Pull all U.S. warships and military personnel out of the Persian Gulf and the rest of the Middle East immediately!

Halt all funds and other aid to the Nicaraguan contras and let the Nicaraguan people live in peace!

The global rip-off of working farmers

BY DOUG JENNESS

Have you ever noticed how the big-business press will often reveal a tiny bit of truth in order to keep most of it buried? Last week the editors of the *New York Times* offered a particularly striking example.

In an editorial, "Tackling the Global Farm Ripoff," the *Times* cheered recent discussions by capitalist govern-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ments to reduce price supports to farmers. "Three quarters of the benefits go to a prosperous top quarter of farmers," the editors stated.

I don't know if their figures are exactly right — the richest farmers may get an even higher percentage — but the general point is true. A minority of capitalist farmers, employing wage labor, get the lion's share of the benefits from price supports and other aid programs.

In its eagerness to amputate all price supports, however, the *Times* conveniently forgets that they are the only barriers preventing millions of working farmers in many countries from going under. Although, for millions more, price guarantees have been set too low to even achieve that, leading to widespread foreclosures.

The *Times* editors rail so loudly against "the powerful agricultural interests" one might think they doth protest too much. And no wonder.

What they don't tell us is that very big moneyed interests are behind the drive to lower farm price supports. Among them are the world's largest grain traders and food-processing giants, such as Nabisco and Pillsbury.

These monopolies want to reduce price supports so they can buy from farmers at a lower price, thus raising their profits. For example, the 1985 farm bill that they promoted substantially reduced price supports.

One result was that in the first nine months of 1986, prices paid to farmers dropped 9 percent.

During the same period, the profits of 29 of the country's top food processors increased by 13 percent. And Cargill, the biggest buyer of U.S.-produced grain (as well as the Number 2 flour producer) increased its profits 66 percent last year, its highest earnings in 12 years.

While the details of price support programs differ from country to country and from commodity to commodity, the basic idea is that governments guarantee farmers a higher price for the produce than the prevailing world market price.

The forces campaigning to reduce price supports argue that they protect inefficient farmers by artificially keeping domestic prices too high. What is needed, they say, is to let the "free market" regulate prices.

But what kind of "free market" exists when 85 percent of the international grain trade is conducted by six mammoth merchants — Cargill (U.S.-based), Continental (U.S.-based), Louis Dreyfus (French-based), Mitsui-Cook (Japanese-based), André/Garnac (Swiss-based), and Bunge and Born (Argentine-based).

Working farmers from France to Argentina don't engage in international trade. They sell their wheat, soybeans, or whatever, through a grain elevator in their local area. After that, the crop is no longer theirs. It becomes the property of one of the giant trade monopolies either directly or after further exchanges.

These international traders control or own grain elevators, ships, barges, railroad cars, and port terminals. They have their own communications networks and armies of espionage agents.

All of this gives them the leverage to buy when prices are low and sell when they are high, or buy as cheaply as possible in one part of the world and sell more profitably in another. In some years, for example, Cargill has been the leading exporter of wheat from France as well as the United States.

Capitalist politicians attempt to get farmers from each country to see farmers in other countries as their main competitors and enemies.

But the truth is that working farmers have more in common against the international grain merchants and other food combines than they have conflicts with each other.

The interests of exploited farmers and those of exploiting food merchants and processors are diametrically opposed. The latter use their monopoly leverage to keep market prices paid to farmers far below the value of the labor they have put into producing their products.

This is the real "global farm ripoff" that the *Times* and other ruling-class voices fail to mention, let alone tackle.

Next week I'll take up what's wrong with proposals to raise farm prices by curtailing production.

Australian Aborigines protest racist cop attacks

BY NITA KEIG

SYDNEY, Australia — As the Australian government makes extravagant preparations to celebrate 200 years of white settlement next year, leaders of the Aboriginal people — the continent's original inhabitants — are focusing public attention on some of the realities of life in Australia today, in particular the growing number of Aborigines dying in the country's jails.

Since September 1983, some 21 young Aboriginal men have suffered violent deaths in police custody, including 12 in the past year alone. As spokespeople for the Committee to Defend Black Rights have pointed out, this is the equivalent of 100 white Australians per month dying in such circumstances.

In most cases, those who have died have been the victims of brutal beatings at the hands of police and jailers. In all cases, however, these deaths have been officially declared the result of "suicide," "natural causes," or "misadventure" — often against a massive weight of evidence to the contrary.

The death of Dixon Green, who is from Kununurra, in northwestern Australia, is one such case.

Green died in Broome Regional Prison on November 19 last year. An autopsy report by government pathologist Dr. John Hilton concluded that his death was the result of a heart attack. The Green family, however, isn't convinced, because Green's body showed signs of a violent struggle.

"We found [Dixon's] front teeth knocked out, top and bottom, and sand in his mouth. We also found a red mark around his neck," said Green's brother Ken. "There was nothing about missing teeth in the pathologist's report. I saw him just after he died, and he looked like he'd been in a fight. One eye was bruised, and that wasn't in the report either."

At a subsequent inquest April 5, the presiding coroner ruled there was no evidence of violence. He found that death was from natural causes, officially closing the case.

Cover-up

An even more public conspiracy to protect racist cops took place in the case of John Pat, who died at the hands of police

on Sept. 28, 1983, in Roeburne, in western Australia.

In attempting to pull a friend away from a fight provoked by off-duty policemen outside a hotel, Pat was punched in the mouth by one of the cops. A witness testified that Pat "fell over and didn't get up. I heard his head hit the road."

After police reinforcements arrived with a van, Pat was picked up, still senseless, and kicked in the face. Five witnesses testified that Officer Bordas had kicked Pat. Pat was then thrown into the van.

At the police station, he and five other Aboriginal men were savagely beaten, many still bearing scars today. Residents living close to the police station testified to the brutality of the attack.

Dragged to a cell since he was unable to walk, Pat was found dead within hours.

The outcome of the inquest and subsequent trial of the five police charged with Pat's murder was the acquittal and reinstatement of all five to their positions in the police force. There was overwhelming evidence of police guilt, as well as perjury.

Meanwhile, in North Queensland, six young Aboriginal men have died in police cells in five months, at least four by hanging. All have been pronounced "suicides" by police.

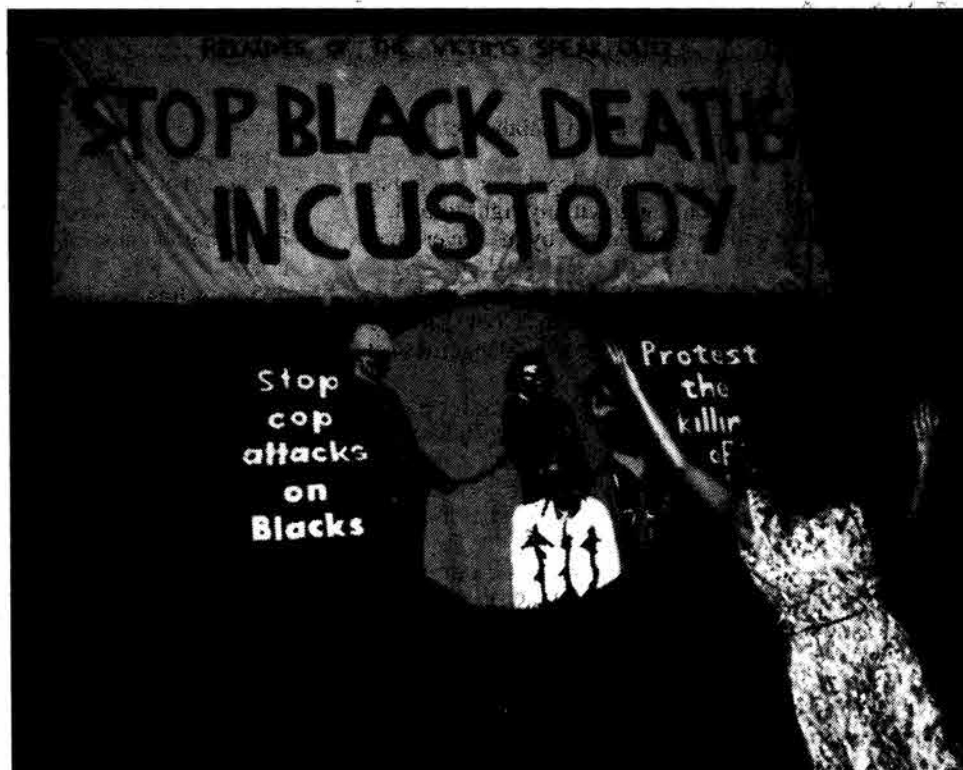
Anger rising

Anger in Aboriginal communities and among all supporters of Black rights is rising, as instanced by a meeting of more than a thousand people April 14 in Sydney Town Hall. The meeting was attended by large numbers of Aboriginal people from both Sydney and rural New South Wales.

Messages and telegrams of support from a broad range of organizations and individuals were read to the meeting.

Cono Hamu, a leader of a delegation of Kanak mayors and councillors from New Caledonia who were visiting Australia, addressed the meeting.

Speaking through translation, Hamu said, "We face the same problems as you," referring to Aborigines, "problems created by colonization. But we are living in a time when there must be changes. People must have the right to live freely and in dignity in their own land. That's why we, in our



Aboriginal dancer. Committee to Defend Black Rights sponsored protest against growing number of Aborigines dying in police custody.

struggle, support you, totally, in yours. We wish you lots of courage and luck."

'Chilling pattern' in Lucky Country

Helen Boyle, chairperson of the Committee to Defend Black Rights, drew out the story the statistics told. "In the 'Lucky Country,'" she noted, "a chilling pattern is emerging." Blacks are jailed at least 10 times more often than white Australians. "Every Aboriginal person in John Pat's town is arrested on average three times a year. This surely represents systematized repression and terror for our people."

Len Colbung talked about the speaking tour relatives of the victims have made across the country and their treatment at the hands of the authorities. "Some of us were not notified about the death till after the autopsies. We had to identify our sons and our brothers after they had cut up their bodies. They were thrown onto the backs of trucks like kangaroos," he said.

The Committee to Defend Black Rights,

with the backing of Aboriginal communities throughout the country, is pressing for a Federal Royal Commission into the deaths of Aboriginal people in custody.

The Sydney Town Hall meeting resolved to establish an "Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee," with the specific purpose of monitoring the treatment of Aborigines at the hands of the police, courts, and prison systems in all states, and to agitate for a royal commission with the broadest possible terms of reference.

Aboriginal activist Paul Coe said that Aborigines are "not the victims of two or three police but the victims of institutionalized racism."

"Next year there is going to be a celebration of a white state and white laws. I know of no Aboriginal person who sees any reason to celebrate this. . . . It is an alien power which has no right to be in this country until it treats Aboriginal people with equality and the respect they deserve."

LETTERS

Baby M

I just finished reading an article on the issues in the "Baby M" case in the April 24 issue of the *Militant*.

I thought this article was an excellent analysis of what "surrogate mother" contracts represent in examining the history of the oppression of women.

Too often the issues become very clouded on what is progressive or not in the struggle for women's liberation. You articulated clearly the question of what are legitimate rights and what are reactionary ones that reinforce oppressive national, class, and sexual relations. Your analysis was helpful to me in clarifying my own thoughts.

There is one area in which I feel the article could have been sharper — on the role of technology.

Science and technology have played a necessarily progressive role under capitalism and imperialism. However, when you examine its role, it has been progressive to the exploited and oppressed only as a by-product and in terms of how it has advanced the ruling class' ability to exploit resources and labor to increase profits.

Industrialists promote consumerism of high technology to increase its markets and profits. It benefits them when women are freer to function in the labor force — at lower wages.

Science and technology in the hands of the ruling class do not automatically benefit the exploited. Only when, through revolution, in which the oppressed have seized

power, defeated imperialism, and set out on the road to socialism, has technology been put in the conscious service of the working class of the world, fundamentally in those nations that have waged struggles of national liberation and for socialism to throw off the yoke of imperialism and its lackey dictatorships.

The ruling class is not lessening class exploitation or national oppression or sexism. In the developing crisis of imperialism worldwide, high technology oppression and exploitation is intensifying.

A prisoner
New York, New York

People of Kurdistan

The Iraqi regime is conducting a genocidal war against the people of Kurdistan.

The Kurds, who number more than 4 million in Iraqi Kurdistan, have been, for a long period of time, victims of racist policies on a massive scale.

The policy of forced eviction of Kurdish residents from their homes to concentration camps is in full swing. Since 1977 more than 2,000 Kurdish villages have been razed to the ground and their inhabitants deported to the deserts of the south.

Most recently, the regime added the use of internationally forbidden chemical weapons in the heavily populated areas to its list of mass actions terrorizing Kurdish civilians.

The Kurds — an oppressed nation of more than 25 million whose homeland, Kurdistan, has

been divided among Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria — struggle for their human and national rights.

In our struggle for freedom, we need the support of all freedom-loving people. Please raise your voice against all these atrocities being committed against our peace-loving people. Condemn the Iraqi regime for using chemical weapons.

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
Dallas, Texas

Socialism can't work

After receiving my first issue of the *Militant*, I have come to the immediate conclusion that I disagree with the positions promoted by the paper.

Although I support the people of South Africa, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, etc., I do not agree with the methods or goals you support. I feel that this publication is too quick to support violent struggle where peaceful negotiation could be promoted.

In addition to this, I have come to the conclusion that socialism cannot work in this imperfect world. Excessive bureaucracy leads to corruption while excessive control of the market leads to inefficiency.

P.W.
San Diego, California

Abuse of prisoners

On May 18 the trial will start in a civil rights lawsuit (*Meriwether v. Coughlin*) before Judge Stewart in federal court in the Southern District of New York. In this lawsuit, a group of us prison inmates are suing over the beatings and

abuse we received for our nonviolent protests against abuse and corruption here in Green Haven Prison in 1980.

The attorney general deposed me recently and is trying to show that I am a dangerous, violent revolutionary and questioned me about the *Militant* and the views of the Socialist Workers Party. It is quite likely that he will continue this line of defense to try to show that the prison officials had to deal strongly with us in order to "avoid a bloodbath." Needless to say, I totally oppose his attempts to smear the revolutionary views of either one of us.

It's quite interesting how strongly the attorney general zeroed in on my interest in the SWP and the *Militant*. You're really getting under their skin.

Keep up the good work. We've got a lot of work to do educating people about capitalism and socialism.

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

Sheer madness

My eye caught two headlines in a recent issue of the *New York Times*.

The first said, "Health Problems Reported in Hanoi." An army doctor wrote in a Vietnamese newspaper that malnutrition in his country is serious and widespread. Hunger, lack of sufficient medical supplies, and poor sanitation mean that beriberi, encephalitis, intestinal problems, malaria, and fungal skin diseases are big problems.

On the same day, the *Times* ran this headline: "Global Cut Urged

for Farm Aid." It seems that economic ministers of the 24 largest capitalist industrial countries are concerned that too much food is being grown. They have problems with "enormous surpluses of farm products." They can't sell it all at the profits they would like.

This is sheer madness. It was the United States that dropped almost 8 million tons of bombs on Vietnam between 1965 and 1975. It was the United States that made Agent Orange and defoliation of agricultural lands a matter of policy. And it is the United States that is leading the charge to reduce these "enormous surpluses of farm products."

Victories by the peoples of Nicaragua, South Africa, the Philippines, and elsewhere will hasten the day food is used to feed people, and not as a product produced for profits.

Michael Pennock
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Interested

I am interested in trying your publication for 12 weeks at the special \$3 rate. I'd also appreciate any newsletters or guides listing events concerning the peace and disarmament movement.

M.D.
Springfield, Virginia

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

Miners demand safety underground Resist Utah coal company's push to eliminate jobs

BY DAVE HURST

PRICE, Utah — United Mine Workers of America Local 9958 is involved in an important struggle over safety at Kaiser Steel's Sunnyside mine here.

The Mine Safety and Health Administration's (MSHA) rewriting of regulations on methane gas monitoring in the mine, combined with cutbacks in the state mine inspectors' budget by the Utah State Legislature, emboldened Kaiser's mine manager Charles McGlothlin to remove the top end gas watcher from the longwall mining section.

"Top end" is the end of the cutting face in the mine. A gas watcher is a classified person who holds state certification as a fireboss. The watcher checks methane levels in the air as it leaves the face every 20 minutes. Methane is a colorless, odorless, highly flammable gas.)

The company wants to replace human gas watchers with electric monitors.

Kaiser's Sunnyside mine was the first in the United States to use longwall mining more than 20 years ago. A longwall is the most modern and mechanized machine for producing coal. Sunnyside has always been classified by MSHA as a particularly gassy mine, giving off large amounts of methane during mining operations.

The union immediately filed a grievance against this company attack on safety.

On May 7, the day third-step grievance hearings were scheduled, the newly formed Local 9958 women's auxiliary and

the Concerned Retired Miners joined forces in four spirited demonstrations at manager McGlothlin's house, at the MSHA office here in Price, at the highway junction leading to the mine, and at the mine itself.

The press release issued by the demonstrators made clear that there is an ever-present danger in the mine, requiring as much regard for safety as possible. "We liberate enough methane in a 24-hour period to heat and light the whole community. That much gas ignited at one in the mine would without a doubt leave no survivors," said the release. It also pointed out that MSHA District 9, which covers the western coalfields, had the highest rate of mine fatalities in the country in 1986.

The union's position is that both the human gas watcher and electric monitors

should be used to insure the greatest possible safety.

When McGlothlin saw the demonstrators at his home, he ordered the removal of the gas watcher from the mine. When he saw the three other demonstrations, however, and the media attention they attracted, he retreated.

An agreement was reached that called for retaining the gas watcher position on the longwall face until the company is able to install monitors that meet the union's requirements.

But the company quickly reneged on the agreement and demanded that every miner be certified by the state as qualified to check methane levels. That would effectively result in the gas watcher position being abolished.

The union has appealed the company's

action to MSHA and the Utah Industrial Commission

In the midst of this struggle, a fire broke out in the mine on May 18. It was traced to a petroleum product that had leaked through the roof of the mine and was ignited by friction.

Don "Red" Huitt, newly elected president of Local 9958, told the *Militant*, "It was a miracle that no lives were lost. The fire did not find any pockets of methane large enough to cause an explosion, though it ignited and flashed three times."

Huitt emphasized that the fire is an example of why it is necessary to retain the gas watcher position.

Dave Hurst is a member of UMWA Local 1769 and is laid off from the Deer Creek mine.

Mine Workers' official discusses settlements in western coal strikes

PRICE, Utah — Recent settlements in strikes at surface coal mines in Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Montana resulted in "no takebacks in any of the contracts," according to Joy Huitt, selective strike coordinator for United Mine Workers of America District 22.

Miners had been on strike against Peabody Coal Co. in Arizona, Colorado, and Montana; Pittsburg & Midway Coal in New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming; and FMC Coal Mining Division in Wyoming.

The complete terms of the settlements are as yet unavailable. One gain cited by Huitt was the winning of some additional sick-leave days.

Miners at the P&M mines have already returned to work. UMWA Local 1307 in Kemmerer, Wyoming, ratified the new pact by a 10-to-1 margin.

Local 2386 in Kemmerer is still on strike against FMC. Huitt said four scabs had crossed the picket lines there so far.

Locals 1924 and 1620, on strike against Peabody in Arizona, are currently discussing the contract prior to a ratification vote.

The union locals won broad support in their fight against the companies' takeback demands, which sparked the strikes.

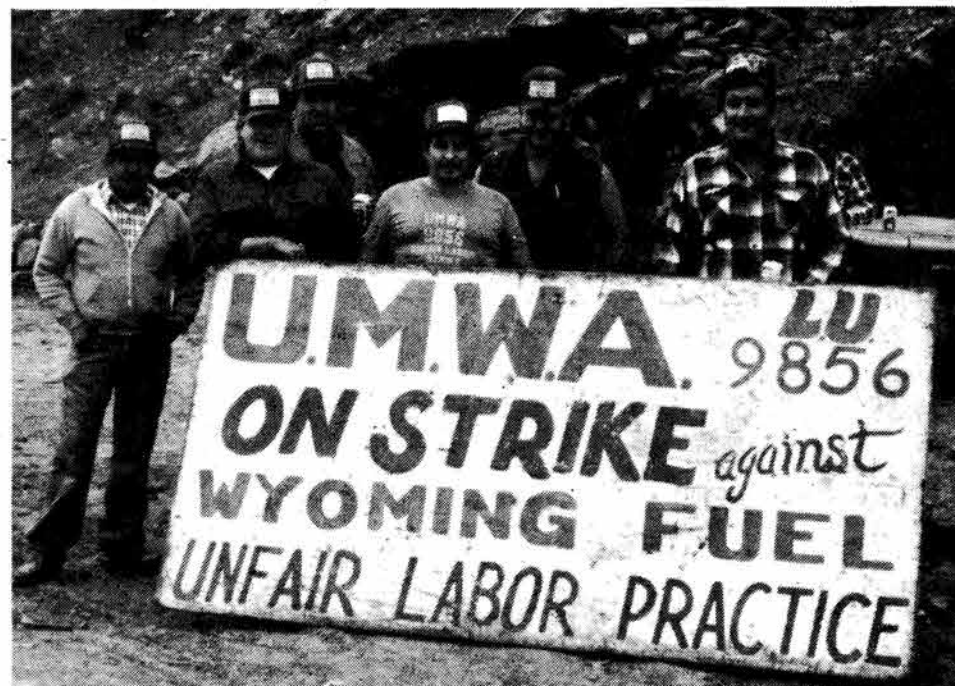
For example, "one of the keys to victory in Kayenta, Arizona, was the backing we received from the Navajo Nation," said Huitt. A majority of the miners at the Kayenta and Black Mesa mines are Navajos, and the mines are both located within the boundaries of the Navajo Nation. In the last days of the strike, the tribal council voted to support the miners' union against Peabody.

Families aid strikes

Families of UMWA Local 1332, on strike against P&M near Gallup, New Mexico, organized an auxiliary to educate themselves and support the strike.

According to the April *UMWA Journal*, they demonstrated at the company headquarters in Denver, walked the picket line, and established a solidarity network between Gallup and the Local 1972 auxiliary in Sheridan, Wyoming. The auxiliary also established a public information campaign to counter the company's misinformation.

The western surface agreements are often viewed as a pattern for contracts with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and other underground pacts, which are due to expire Jan. 31, 1988. — D.H.



Militant/Nancy Burton

Miners on strike at New Elk Mine near Trinidad, Colorado. Other strikes have recently been settled in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana.

Countermobilization called to protest N.C. Klan march

BY RICH STUART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — An announcement by the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan that they are planning a march through this city's downtown has provoked outrage and spurred counterorganizing among Black, labor, women's rights, and student organizations.

The Klan march, which is slated to take place June 7 will be the first time that the Klan will have returned publicly to the city since November 1979, when Klansmen murdered five antiracist demonstrators here.

A broad coalition of community organizations and individuals have announced a series of antiracist activities for the June 6-7 weekend in response to the Klan march.

A countermarch is planned for Saturday, June 6, at 1 p.m. It will follow the same route as the Klan march the following day. An anti-Klan vigil will take place at the same time and place as the Klan march at 1 p.m. on Sunday.

A rally is also planned on Sunday afternoon in Nocho Park in Greensboro. For more information on these activities, contact the Bethel AME Church in Greensboro.



Klan shooting antiracist activists in Greensboro in 1979.

Wis. packinghouse applies for tax credits to hire scabs

BY SANDI SHERMAN

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — Leaders of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-40, joined by community activists and congresspeople, have denounced Patrick Cudahy, Inc. for applying for federal tax credits to finance its hiring of scab "replacement workers." The company is seeking at least \$244,800 in tax breaks under the Targeted Jobs Tax Credits Program, which pays corporations to hire long-term unemployed and other disadvantaged workers.

Under the plan, Cudahy is eligible for a tax credit of up to \$2,400 for each worker who qualifies.

UFCW Local P-40 members have been on strike against Cudahy since January 4. A recent round of negotiations with the company, described by Local P-40 president Mark Rosenbaum as "surface bargaining" by the company, produced little result.

Talks broke off again May 5 after the union rejected a company profit-sharing proposal that would maintain the company's proposed wage reductions of \$6.25

an hour for new hires, but would offer bonuses based on the firm's profitability. Local P-40 leaders charged the plan didn't offer nearly enough.

On the picket line May 7, strikers shouted "74 and out" to scabs as they left the plant, after a company announcement of plans to lay off some 70 "replacement workers" the next day. Strikers on the line believe the layoffs are coming now, before the scabs 75 day probation period is up, so the company won't have to pay benefits.

The company claims the layoffs are due to an increase in hog prices forcing it to reduce by half the number of hogs slaughtered, to between 2,500 and 3,500 a day. Cudahy plans to consolidate its kill and cut operations, which have up to now been done by two different groups of workers, into one single work force that would spend half the day killing hogs and half the day cutting up the carcasses.

Local P-40 is greatly in need of donations of food and money. Contributions can be sent to UFCW Local P-40, 3559 E. Barnard Ave., Cudahy, Wis. 53110.