

Wave of protest shakes South Korea dictator

BY ERNEST HARSCH

For days on end, tens of thousands of South Koreans have poured into the streets of Seoul and other cities, chanting, "Down with the military dictatorship!"

Involving students, workers, professionals, and others, these have been the largest and most sustained antigovernment protests since 1980, when the U.S.-backed regime of President Chun Doo Hwan crushed a massive upsurge in Kwangju.

Sporadic student protests had been under way for several months, mainly around demands for democratic elections and against the murder of a student activist in January by police torturers. In anticipation of a convention of the ruling party, Chun's Democratic Justice Party, the newly formed National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution called for mass demonstrations June 10.

The police banned the rallies and detained some 5,000 political activists in an attempt to head off the actions.

But that didn't stop the protests. At 6:00 p.m. on June 10 — just a few hours after the ruling party announced Chun's designated successor as president — tens of thousands started to fill the streets of Seoul and some 20 other cities. Church bells pealed in protest around the country, and drivers honked their horns to express solidarity with the demonstrators.

The police attacked with clubs and a powerful tear gas known as pepper gas. Thousands were arrested and beaten.

But protesters fought back, in some cases putting the police to flight. In some cities police posts and offices of the ruling party were burned.

Students in forefront

As in many previous demonstrations for democratic rights in South Korea, university students were in the forefront. Hundreds occupied the Myongdong Cathedral in downtown Seoul for several days, with the permission of the church authorities. Large demonstrations were held outside the church in solidarity with the occupiers.

Campuses in Seoul and other cities were rocked by large student rallies and clashes between students and police. The national police headquarters estimated that some 90,000 students from 59 campuses participated in these actions.

But to a greater extent than in many other recent antigovernment protests, the students were joined by large numbers of workers, vendors, professionals, and others.

A *Washington Post* report from Seoul noted that within a half hour after the start of a rally outside the Myongdong Cathedral, "office workers, lunch-time strollers and shoppers had joined in, blocking the street with a high-spirited festival of songs and anti-government slogans."

"Women leaned from high-rise buildings to shower roses and confetti on the crowd. . . . A man stood atop a stool and led the crowd in cheering, thousands of fists stabbing the air with each round."

One worker commented to a reporter, "Initially people are afraid. But when they get together, there is no fear."

Although by June 16 the demonstrations in central Seoul were smaller, they continued to spread to other parts of the capital and to gain force in other cities. Pusan, the second-largest city, saw the most massive demonstrations since the late 1970s. Major actions were also reported in Chinju, Taegu, Kwangju, Chonan, Wonju, Taejon, and other towns.

The central issue in the demonstrations has been for a change in the existing constitution, which was pushed through by the



Youthful demonstrators in capital city of Seoul defy police violence to demand end to military dictatorship and establishment of democratic rights.

military hierarchy. It provides for the selection of the president by a electoral college that is overwhelmingly dominated by the military-led Democratic Justice Party. Chun has vowed to step down as president, but the party convention selected another former general, Roh Tae Woo, as its presidential nominee. He is scheduled to be chosen as president in December and to take office in February.

Earlier, the government had agreed to allow some public discussion of the constitution by the parliamentary opposition parties. But on April 13 Chun suspended any such discussions.

"Rescind the April 13 decision" has been a common slogan, and demonstrators are demanding direct election of the president. Protesters have also condemned censorship, political detentions, and other repressive policies of the regime.

In addition, some protesters have condemned U.S. support for the Chun regime and the presence in the country of 40,000 U.S. troops.

In Pusan, students repeatedly demonstrated outside the U.S. consulate building. At a rally in Seoul, protesters cut their fingers, using their blood to write the slogan, "Drive out the Americans."

Air controllers vote to unionize

BY FRED FELDMAN

By a better than two-to-one margin, air traffic controllers have voted to be represented by the newly organized National Air Traffic Controllers Association. The vote of 7,494 for the union to 3,274 against was announced June 11 after a month of balloting by mail by the controllers, who are employed by the Federal Aviation Administration.

The victory came almost six years after the U.S. government broke the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), firing 11,400 of them for exercising their right to strike. President Reagan blacklisted the fired controllers, barring them from further federal employment.

John Thornton, the chief organizer for the new union, is one of the fired controllers. But less than 15 percent of the members of the new union are former PATCO members. Most of those who are were on leave or vacation when the strike took place or returned to work when the government briefly offered an amnesty to returning strikers.

In 1981 the striking controllers demanded shorter hours, earlier retirement, and other measures to reduce the intense stress of their jobs. They insisted that speedup was making the airways steadily less safe.

"The troubles, the issues, the equipment are the same," as in 1981, New York controller David Pearson told the *Washington Post*. The problems include six-day weeks,

poor equipment, and the lack of attention to workers' grievances.

FAA officials claimed to be neutral in the vote on representation. But they frequently charged that unrest among air traffic control workers was the work of "moles" supposedly infiltrated by the union. The government also used claims of illegal drug use to try to intimidate the con-

trollers, firing some even after blood tests found no traces of illegal substances.

"NATCA is born of PATCO," claimed FAA administrator Donald Engen before the vote. He warned against attempts by the new union to "exercise its muscle."

The destruction of PATCO was a big blow to the whole labor movement. It sig-

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Evidence exposes contra lies about murder of Ben Linder

BY FRED FELDMAN

Ben Linder died of a gunshot wound to his temple, fired at short range. Michael Baden, former chief medical examiner of New York City, lent support to this conclusion after examining a photograph of the body of the U.S. volunteer who was murdered by U.S.-organized contras in Nicaragua.

"It is my opinion that there is a gunshot wound of entrance of the right temple," Baden wrote in a letter to David Linder, Ben's father, "and that the muzzle of the weapon (rifle or handgun) was less than one inch from the skin at the moment of discharge."

Baden's statement forms part of the mounting evidence refuting contra claims that they killed Linder in self-defense after he and his companions responded to a plea

for their surrender by opening fire. Top U.S. officials, including Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, have sought to give credence to the contras' version.

Linder and two companions were assassinated April 28 while taking measurements at a stream for a projected dam near the village of San José de Bocay in northern Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan doctor who performed an autopsy on Linder concluded that the 27-year-old engineer had been shot in the head from less than two feet away.

In an article published in the June 16 *New York Times*, correspondent James LeMoyné cited four witnesses he had interviewed in San José de Bocay.

One of those LeMoyné talked to was Cecilio Rosales, a member of the popular

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Acquittal of Goetz deals blow to rights

Responding to the acquittal of Bernhard Goetz in the attempted murder of four Black teenagers, a neighbor of two of the victims angrily declared, "If that was a Black man shooting four white kids, would he be walking?"

Her point was well taken. The verdict by a New York jury will encourage new acts

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of racist vigilantism and embolden trigger-happy cops.

Goetz was cleared of attempted murder and manslaughter charges even though he admitted he had deliberately shot the youths in a subway in December 1984.

The jury found him guilty of only a single charge, illegal possession of the .38-caliber revolver he carried in a quick-draw holster.

Illegal possession calls for a sentence of one to seven years, but the judge is not required to impose it. On the basis of the record so far, he is not likely to do so.

One of those commending the verdict was Curtis Sliwa, head of the Guardian Angels, a vigilante gang that supplements police "law-and-order" efforts.

Throughout the trial, they provided Goetz with "bodyguards." With the verdict, Sliwa said, "This jury has sent a message to all decent people that it's okay to fight back."

From the outset, the capitalist media and politicians joined in justifying Goetz's action in the name of self-defense against

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Nicaragua: war means inflation, shortages

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The U.S. aggression against Nicaragua has sharply decreased the living standards of working people here. Inflation in 1986 was estimated as ranging between 600 and 770 percent. The government says workers' real wages fell by 78 percent between March 1986 and January 1987.

Per capita consumption of basic foods in Nicaragua declined significantly from 1984 to 1986: Nicaraguans consumed 18 percent less corn; 26 percent less beans; 9 percent less cooking oil; 12 percent less pasteurized milk; and 18 percent less meat.

The Reagan administration claims that these problems are the fault of the Sandinista revolution. But the truth is that the principal cause is the U.S.-sponsored contra war and Washington's economic strangulation of Nicaragua.

What war costs

Nicaragua must devote nearly half its annual budget to military defense against the contra war, a war that has already cost the country 20,000 lives. The destruction caused by the war and the trade embargo imposed by the Reagan administration in 1985 has cost Nicaragua \$2.8 billion.

But the war is not only draining financial resources. It also requires tens of thousands of workers and peasants to leave production and serve in the army and militia. Food production has been further hampered by the abandonment of hundreds of thousands of acres of farmland because of contra attacks. Agriculture has still not recuperated from this blow, despite the fact that the contras have been pushed out of many rural areas.

Nicaragua is also underdeveloped and as such shares the problems faced by all such countries: a drop in the world price for their exports — coffee, sugar, and cotton, in the case of Nicaragua — accompanied by a steep rise in the price of manufactured imports.

In addition, a considerable amount of agricultural production and distribution in Nicaragua remains in the hands of big landlords and capitalist merchants, who naturally seek to make the most profit possible.

While feeding and clothing its soldiers is Nicaragua's first priority, the government has made a special effort since 1984 to improve distribution of scarce resources to the countryside, where the peasants have historically had a far lower standard of living than in the cities, and to the Atlantic Coast, where most Nicaraguans who are Black or Indian live.

This has meant big sacrifices on the part of the urban workers. The minimum wage in Nicaragua is set at 27,700 córdobas a month. A worker with a median income in a textile plant, the lowest paid industry, makes 54,600 córdobas a month. With incentive pay for productivity and other bonuses the worker can actually double his or her pay. But this still falls far short of the minimum needed to feed and clothe a family.

The largest supplies of foods and house-

hold wares in Managua, the capital, can be found at one of the big capitalist marketplaces. There thousands of small private merchants, most of them licensed, sell everything from fruits and vegetables to detergents and toothpaste at whatever price they can get. The largest of such markets is the Mercado Oriental.

There is a huge gap between what a worker makes and the prices in these markets. For example, a one-pound can of Nestlé's powdered milk can often be found in the Mercado Oriental selling for 10,000 córdobas or more. Meat and fish are 3,000 to 5,000 córdobas a pound. Rice — a staple of the Nicaraguan diet — goes for 600 córdobas a pound.

Thus what the average worker makes in one month barely suffices for one week's supply of food bought in the big private markets. In order to secure a minimum living standard for workers, the government has centered its efforts on providing alternate channels through which essential goods can be obtained at much cheaper prices.

First, the government supplies all Nicaraguans a minimum — if insufficient — supply of rice, sugar, cooking oil, salt, and soap. These five products are obtainable with a ration card at privately owned neighborhood grocery stores (called *expedios*). No other products are rationed.

While inflation is rampant in the Mercado Oriental, the price of these five rationed products in the *expedios* has remained relatively stable and very low. For example, rice is sold at 63 córdobas a pound and sugar at 45 córdobas a pound. The ration is three pounds of rice and four pounds of sugar a month per person.

A politically well-organized neighborhood may also come to an agreement with local grocery store owners to supply other goods, like chicken, onions, or toothpaste,

at prices much lower than in the Mercado Oriental.

This can make an enormous difference in feeding a family. A chicken, for example, costs 620 córdobas a pound and a dozen eggs cost 760 córdobas at an expenditure, when available. At the Mercado Oriental the chicken is 4,000 córdobas a pound and the dozen eggs cost 2,500.

In addition, the government has set up supermarkets called Workers Supply Centers (CATs). These are accessible only to industrial, service, and government workers, who must present their CAT card to get in. The CATs sell clothing, shoes, housewares, and food.

Prices in these supermarkets are much lower than in the Mercado Oriental. For example, the one-pound can of Nestlé's powdered milk costs only 400 córdobas. Beef and chicken are also considerably cheaper.

However, products are frequently in short supply at the CATs, or simply not there at all, forcing workers to spend their meager earnings in the big private market.

Capitalist control of distribution

Frustrating the government's efforts to protect workers' standard of living are the low levels of production in the country and the degree of capitalist control of distribution.

There is simply not enough rice, beans, milk, beef, poultry, or many other goods being produced in Nicaragua to meet need.

The war is the major factor in this, added to backward forms of agriculture, a growing population, and increased demand since the 1979 revolution. (Before then there were no efforts at all to provide milk or cooking oil for working-class or peasant families, many of whom simply went without these products.)



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Nicaraguan textile worker producing material for military uniforms.

As Nicaragua has pushed back the contras, production has increased somewhat, but not enough. Even though more fresh milk is being produced this year than in 1986, for example, it is still not enough to cover the nutrition needs of every Nicaraguan child under 10.

The shortages are exacerbated by the fact that many farm products are bought up by capitalist merchants who then sell them for a hefty profit in the big private markets of Managua. The capitalist merchant offers the peasant a higher price for his product than the government does. In addition, most transportation is in private hands, which makes the government's efforts to acquire produce more difficult.

One result of this situation is that thousands of workers leave factory jobs each year, to seek higher incomes.

Contras' lies about Linder's murder exposed

Continued from front page

militia who accompanied the team planning the construction project. "The rebels did not call on the group to surrender, but rather threw hand grenades and opened fire immediately at very close range, according to Mr. Rosales. There was no return fire, he said, because the attack was too devastating."

LeMoyné noted that the three who were killed by the contras "did not all appear to have died immediately, as the rebels assert."

Pablo Rosales "was found with bullet wounds in his legs and a fatal knife wound in his heart," according to relatives of the victim who saw the body.

Four doctors, including two from the United States, who saw Linder's body, were cited by LeMoyné as testifying that "Linder had bullet wounds in one arm and what were probably shrapnel wounds in his legs. . . . The wounds were not fatal, the

doctors said. What killed Mr. Linder was a bullet fired into his right temple."

Contra commanders have refused to let their own "human rights" office investigate the Linder case. Congress ordered the contras to set up this body last year in order to improve their image and counter revelations about their crimes against Nicaraguan civilians.

Contra commanders have barred investigators from entering the camps in Honduras, near the Nicaraguan border. The officers claim that investigations into the Linder killing and into other charges of murder, rape, and kidnapping by the contras "interfered with the military chain of command."

"The question is no longer, 'What happened?'" declared David Linder, father of Ben Linder, in a news conference in Portland, Oregon, June 14. "The real question is, 'Will it happen again?'"

Linder pointed out that the contras have

threatened more attacks on volunteer workers in Nicaragua. He said that in a May 3 dispatch published in the Miami newspaper *Diario de las Americas*, the main contra organization called on all foreign volunteers to leave Nicaragua. The statement warned that otherwise "they will cease to be civilians and transform themselves into war targets."

"The United States government has refused to condemn the killing of Ben and his coworkers," Linder pointed out.

"As a family that has lost one very precious member to these killers," Linder said, "we will raise our voices from one end of the country to the other to say, 'No more aid to the contras. End the trade embargo on Nicaragua. Let Nicaragua live in peace.'"

"Members of my family will begin a speaking tour in the next few days to explain the truth about Ben's life and goals."

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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Leader of British miners urges fight against Tory gov't

BY NORTON SANDLER

LONDON — Arthur Scargill, president of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers, has issued a call for working people here to participate in mass actions against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government.

Speaking at a June 13 miners' rally in Swansea, Scargill said the government only understands "positive organized resistance." Scargill's comments are a sharp

Militant reporter Norton Sandler is now on a two-week trip to Britain. In addition to reporting on struggles taking place there, he will be covering tours of Britain by a delegation of U.S. women coal miners and by Joe Swanson, labor director of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

contrast to the reactions of most other trade union and Labour Party officials in the aftermath of Thatcher's election to a third term as Britain's prime minister. Thatcher's Tory (Conservative) Party received 43 percent of the vote in the June 11 general elections. The Labour Party, headed by Neil Kinnock, received 32 percent of the vote, and the Alliance, an electoral bloc between the Liberal and Social Democratic parties, got 23 percent. Some 25 percent of those eligible did not vote.

Thatcher first became prime minister in 1979. She is Britain's first three-term prime minister since the 1860s. The four years since her last election victory have been marked by severe attacks on this country's trade unions.

In 1984 and '85 the miners waged a nearly year-long strike against the government's plans to close a number of mines. The strike received strong solidarity from working people in Britain and around the world. Open sabotage, however, by a layer of trade union officials contributed to the strike's defeat. The Kinnock Labour Party leadership also did little to aid the strikers.

After Britain's strongest union was pushed back, the government and the em-

ployers escalated their assault on the country's other unions. Earlier this year the printers' union strike at the News International printing plant was also defeated. The strike received solid support from many working people, but Rupert Murdoch, News International's owner, was able to bypass the print unions and keep the new plant running by cutting a deal with officials of the electricians' union.

Another aspect of the offensive has been the return of previously government-owned industries, such as the telephone and gas companies, and plants such as Rolls Royce, to private owners. Workers in these plants have been given "special" offers to buy stock in the newly privatized companies.

The restructuring of industry has also led to high unemployment in Scotland, Wales, and many cities in the north of England. Workers in these areas, hoping for measures to resolve these conditions, voted overwhelmingly for Labour in the election.

The number of Blacks in the British working class continues to increase. And their growing revolts and political self-confidence was reflected in the election of four Black members of Parliament (MPs). Diane Abbott, Bernie Grant, Paul Boateng, and Keith Vaz are the first Blacks elected to Britain's Parliament since the 1920s. Abbott is the first Black woman ever to serve in Parliament. The four are advocates of the formation of an independent Black section inside the Labour Party.

Home ownership

Not all of the working class has been hard hit by the Tory offensive. Several parts of the country have relatively low unemployment. For several years the government has been selling off state-owned housing to private ownership. Through this process, many workers have bought homes for the first time. Thatcher's election speeches were careful to note that 65 percent of people in Britain now own their own homes. What she didn't say was that the reduction of public housing has hit the worst off sections of the working class the hardest.

The Tories and the big-business press said the Labour Party campaign plank call-



G.M. Cookson

Arthur Scargill, left, president of National Union of Mineworkers, urged "positive organized resistance" by Britain's labor movement against antilabor policies of Tory (Conservative) Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who recently won third term.



ing for the immediate removal of U.S. nuclear bases from Britain and the dismantling of the country's nuclear arsenal would leave Britain "defenseless." A Tory billboard plastered around the country showed a soldier with his hands in the air surrendering. Below, it read "Labour's defense policy."

A postelection poll reported in the *Financial Times* said 43 percent of union members voted Labour, with 29 percent voting Tory and 25 percent voting for the Alliance. The same poll said that 42 percent of skilled workers voted Tory.

New attack coming

The Tory election manifesto promises a new round of antiunion legislation and more privatization. A special target is the country's educational system. The Tories are readying legislation that would allow schools to "opt out" of local school systems and apply directly to the national government for financing. These schools would be able to set their own standards for admission and graduation.

Gavin Laird, head of the large Amalgamated Engineers Union, said unions had to accept that the electorate's message was to work with the government. "Our members," Laird said, "voted for a Conservative government despite the unions, despite me, and despite us."

Officials of the teachers' union im-

mediately called for an end to the periodic strikes the union has carried out over the last 18 months and urged compromise with the government. Still other labor officials are calling for the removal of the disarmament plank from the Labour Party's platform.

Mass actions

In his speech calling for mass actions against the government, Scargill pointed out that he had been gagged by the Labour Party leadership in the weeks leading up to the election. "It's not in the best interests of unity," Scargill said, "to have undue pressure from the top of the party exerted to have me prevented from speaking at election rallies." In a pre-election rally appearance in Liverpool, Scargill had called for ending unemployment by eliminating forced overtime and implementing a shorter workweek. He said the party leadership's attempt to present a moderate program to the electorate had been a failure.

Tony Benn, a prominent leader of the left-wing Campaign Group of MPs, said the labor movement has to begin building "defenses" for those who are going to come under attack from the government.

Speaking to a reception for women coal miners from the United States who were touring Britain, Women Against Pit Closures' leader Betty Heathfield said, "We've got to get on our feet, dust ourselves off, and start fighting again."

N. Carolina marches hit Klan

BY MICHAEL GALATI AND JANE ROLAND

GREENSBORO, N.C. — More than 2,500 people demonstrated against the Ku Klux Klan in two separate cities on the weekend of June 13-14. This followed an anti-Klan action of 1,200 in Greensboro a week earlier.

In Durham, some 300 people rallied June 13 against a Klan march scheduled for the following day. The 50 robed Klansmen who turned out June 14 were met by 125 members of the Durham Coalition for Unity holding a silent vigil protesting the march. There were also more than 150 people who turned out to jeer the Klan marchers. Many of these were young, and a number of young Blacks responded to Klan chants of "White power" with their own chants of "Black by popular demand."

In Chapel Hill close to 2,000 people, mostly young Blacks and students from the University of North Carolina, stretched along the length of the Klan's march route June 14.

"We want to make it clear that they're not welcome here," said one student, an activist in the anti-apartheid group on campus. He and a dozen others held a 40-foot long banner reading "KKK — Helms — Reagan — get out of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, USA." Another carried a placard reading "Klan kills Blacks illegally, Supreme Court kills them legally," referring to the court's recent ruling that the death penalty is not discriminatory against Blacks.

Earlier in the day, close to 1,500 people packed into the First Baptist Church to protest the Klan. Several hundred students, organized by the Black Student Movement, marched from the University of North Carolina campus to the church to join the

rally there.

As the Klan march began, despite having been urged by the local government and some church figures to stay away, hundreds began crowding the sidewalks to protest the Klan's presence. As the Klan marched by, their chants of "KKK — KKK" could barely be heard above the spirited chanting of the crowd lining the sidewalks. "Hey, hey, ho, ho, KKK has got to go" and "Racist scum have got to go" were among the popular cries.

West Virginia rally protests Ku Klux Klan

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — About 200 people marched and rallied here to protest threats by the Ku Klux Klan to march in the city.

The May 9 protest was organized by the West Virginia Network for Peace, Freedom and Justice after the media reported that the KKK was planning a march here sometime in the spring.

The anti-Klan march was endorsed by more than 30 organizations, including the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Raleigh County Federation of Teachers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Organization for Women (NOW), and the Rainbow Coalition.

High school and college students marched, chanting, "No to apartheid, U.S. out of Central America. No to the Klan!" Some participants carried signs reading, "Union miners want jobs and justice, not the Klan or neo-Nazis."

Come to a Rally for Political Rights New York City Saturday, June 20, 7:30 p.m.

Hear:

Rafael Anglada López, one of the defense attorneys for the Hartford 16 case of Puerto Rican-independence fighters framed by FBI, central committee member of Puerto Rican Socialist Party. **Leonard Boudin**,

general counsel of the National Emergency Liberties Committee and counsel for *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General* since 1973. **Elombe Brath**, Patrice Lumumba Coalition. **Fred Dube**, member of African National Congress, professor at State University of New York at Stony Brook fighting for tenure. **Gil Green**, veteran Communist. **Héctor Marroquín**, Political Rights Defense Fund, Mexican-born socialist fighting to become a permanent resident of the United States. **Daniel Perez**, a leader of recent victorious strike at Uretek in New Haven; director, Connecticut district, ILGWU. **Angela Sanbrano**, national coordinator of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). **Representative** of the Committee for Justice to Stop McCarran Act Political Deportations, and Network for Peace and Justice in the Middle East.

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The birth of Trinidad's labor movement

1937 strike wave challenged British colonial authorities

BY SAM MANUEL

On June 19, 1937, thousands of oil-field workers in Trinidad walked off their jobs. Their action initiated a strike wave that rapidly spread throughout the southeast Caribbean island and marked the beginning of the trade union movement in the West Indies.

During June and July of this year, trade unionists from throughout the Caribbean and around the world will meet in Trinidad to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1937 strikes.

Three-year strike wave

The strike in Trinidad was not an isolated occurrence but was the high point of a wave of general strikes throughout the West Indian islands that lasted for more than three years. The walkouts began in St. Kitts in January 1935 and ended in Jamaica in June 1938.

Through these strikes the workers of the West Indies sought not only to gain better working conditions but also to strike a blow at the root cause of their oppression, British colonialism.

In the 1930s about 2.5 million people lived in the British colonies in the West Indies. The overwhelming majority were Blacks, descendants of African slaves. East Indians constituted about 12 percent of the population. They had been brought from India to the Caribbean colonies as indentured workers, mainly to work on the sugar plantations in response to the labor shortage created by the end of slavery in 1834.

Rather than work on the plantations, many of the freed slaves bought or squatted on land to farm for themselves. In less than two decades they constituted a sizable peasantry competing with the planters for land. It is estimated that by 1860 some 60,000 ex-slaves had already settled as free farmers.

A few white planters ruled over the islands. They exploited Black and East Indian labor on the huge sugar plantations, dominated agriculture in general, and constituted the colonial administrations.

The conditions faced by the workers were unbearable. Wages were below subsistence levels. An official colonial commission on the 1937 strike in Barbados reported, "The average day's pay of even the best agricultural laborers does not exceed 30 cents per day."

Housing was no better. A relic of slavery and indentured labor, it usually consisted of a long wooden building roofed with galvanized tin, divided from end to end by a partition, and subdivided on both sides into

a series of single rooms. The 1937 commission's report stated, "Indeed the typical case is to find the family living in a single room."

The planters were bound by no legislation concerning housing, working conditions, unemployment, or health insurance.

Workers also suffered from the devastating effects of the Great Depression. The prices of the principal West Indian exports were on the average cut in half between 1928 and 1933, with the result that the workers were forced to submit to drastic wage cuts and high unemployment.

Other key events

Three other international events also contributed to the upsurge in the West Indies. The first was the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Many West Indians saw the acquiescence to this by the British government as a betrayal of an independent country under Black leadership.

The second was news of the 1936-37 sit-down strikes by workers in the United States, which led to the organization of industrial unions. These were followed with great interest by West Indians.

Probably the most important event was the impact World War I had had on an entire generation of young West Indians. Thousands were torn from the narrow confines of the islands and sent to battlefields thousands of miles away. There they were exposed to a wide range of experiences and political ideas.

More importantly, they were tested in the heat of battle and found equal to and often superior in sacrifice to the white troops. Having faced death on the battlefield they returned changed men, determined to fight even harder for their rights against their colonial masters.

One of them was Grenadian-born Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, who would lead the hard-fought 1937 Trinidad oil workers' strike. At the age of 17 Butler volunteered to serve in the first contingent of the British West Indies Regiment and was sent to Egypt as part of the British Army.

Upon his return to Grenada he formed the Grenada Union of Returned Soldiers and the Grenada Representative Government Movement. The Union of Returned Soldiers fought for pensions, educational benefits, and jobs for those who had fought in the war. The Representative Government Movement demanded elected people's representatives in the colonies on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Like many Grenadian workers, Butler

then went to Trinidad to seek employment in the oil fields.

The strike wave began in St. Kitts in January 1935. A general strike was set off when sugar-plantation owners refused to grant pay increases. As the strike spread, workers occupied one of the estates. The owner fired upon them, wounding three. When the police arrived they opened fire, killing three and wounding eight. Many were arrested and imprisoned.

On Oct. 21, 1935, the colonial government of St. Vincent attempted to impose higher customs duties. The measure was strongly opposed by the workers and the population as a whole. A large crowd attempted to petition the government but was refused. Police were called in to disperse the workers. Three were killed and 26 injured. The governor then declared a state of emergency.

St. Lucia had an important trade as a coaling station for ships. At the end of 1935 coaling workers went on strike. Though the strike was peaceful, the governor decided on a show of force in light of the events in St. Vincent. He armed and mobilized a volunteer guard, summoned a warship, and had marines patrol the streets. With the agreement to set up a committee to investigate conditions in the coal trade, the strikers returned to work.

Widespread strikes occurred in colonial British Guiana, now Guyana, among East Indian agricultural workers in September 1935. The strikes were spontaneous and determined, and lasted off and on throughout September and October.

On July 26, 1937, the colonial government of Barbados deported Clement Payne, a popular union organizer and friend of Butler's.

A large crowd had assembled at the wharf to prevent the deportation of Payne. The police, however, had put him on an earlier steamer. When the workers discovered this deception, they were enraged. A confrontation ensued. In the battle with the cops 14 workers were killed and 47 injured.

A series of strikes swept Jamaica in May 1938. Beginning with construction workers, it quickly spread to dockworkers and street cleaners.

Workers marched through Kingston, forcing all shops in the city to close. Despite the use of soldiers, the navy, and special police, the general strike lasted until June 10. Eight workers were killed, 171 wounded, and 700 arrested.

Strikes peaked in Trinidad

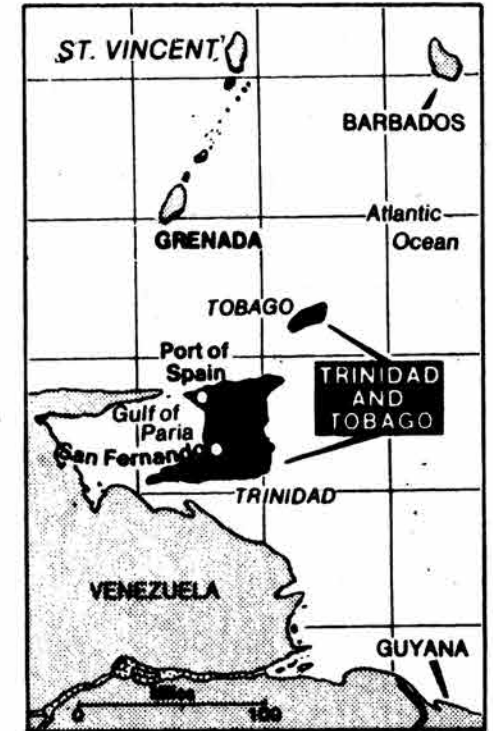
The strike wave peaked, however, in Trinidad in June 1937. The main industries in that country were oil and sugar. The pay of oil workers had been reduced in 1928 by 30 percent. Between 1935 and 1937 the

cost of living had risen by 17 percent. The average pay of oil workers ranged from 5 to 24 cents per hour. Sugar workers were paid a maximum of \$3.00 per week and from 2 to 8 cents per hour.

Trinidad had a long history of working-class activity. The Trinidad Workingmen's Association (TWA) was formed in the 1890s. In the early 1930s under the leadership of Arthur Andrew Cipriani, a European born in Trinidad, the TWA claimed a membership of 120,000 out of a population of 450,000 on the island.

In 1934 the TWA became the Trinidad Labour Party (TLP), and Cipriani was elected mayor of Port of Spain, the capital.

The TLP lost support among the workers the following year when Cipriani used his influence to end a strike of oil-field work-



ers who had struck for better wages and working conditions.

Butler, who had joined the TLP, was a leader of the strike. Cipriani promised to get the workers' jobs back if they returned to work. The workers agreed to end the strike but never heard anything more about their jobs.

A year later Butler broke with the TLP and announced the formation of the British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party (BEW&CHRP) on Aug. 1, 1936.

The BEW&CHRP was not an electoral organization. It sought first of all to organize and mobilize the workers in the oil fields and on the sugar plantations to fight for better wages and working conditions.

Secondly, it sought to drive the colonial government from the island. The

Caribbean unionists to celebrate 50th anniversary of Trinidad strike

Hundreds of trade unionists and political activists from throughout the Caribbean will gather in Trinidad in June and July to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the strike wave that swept the islands of the West Indies in 1937.

Unionists are expected to attend from Antigua, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Martinique, Nicaragua, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Curaçao, and Suriname. There will be special guests from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Union of Mineworkers of Britain.

Several activists from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and other unionists in the United States are also planning to attend as observers.

The month-and-a-half long fete will consist of a series of conferences, forums, and cultural activities. It will begin June 19 with a march and rally in the town of Fyzabad where thousands of oil-field workers walked off their jobs 50 years ago. The featured speakers at the rally will be representatives of COSATU.

A trade union conference will run from June 22 to 24. The theme of the conference

is the international debt crisis and its devastating effects on workers in the region.

The trade union conference will be followed by a bookfair scheduled for June 21-July 3. Authors and publishers will be present from Latin America, Africa, Asia, Europe, and the United States, as well as the Caribbean.

Running concurrently with the bookfair will be a series of forums.

On June 22 unionists from COSATU will speak on the international fight against apartheid.

On June 25 there will be a panel discussion on the political situation in the Caribbean since the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada. The panel will include representatives from the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, the Jamaica Human Rights Committee, and the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, as well as Darcus Howe of *Race Today* magazine published in Britain.

A Caribbean women's trade union conference is scheduled for July 10-12.

Sam Manuel will be in Trinidad for two weeks reporting on these events for the *Militant*.



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BEW&CHRP stressed the need for unity of African and East Indian workers to achieve these goals.

Tension ran very high on the island in early 1937. The BEW&CHRP held large meetings throughout the oil belt in the south for weeks in preparation for the strike. The workers were in the mood for a fight.

Butler captured their anger in a speech to workers in Fyzabad on April 18, 1937. Butler exclaimed, "We are determined to use the strike and boycott. We are under crown colony government and it is their habit to use the police in support of the capitalist. We expect government to keep away . . . and not interfere."

Turning to the police, Butler continued, "You, tell the colonel that from tomorrow night he will not be safe, we are not afraid of bullets and British bayonets. . . . There are strikes in America, Venezuela, and England."

After several requests for a meeting with the colonial authorities and the oil employers were ignored, the BEW&CHRP set the date for the strike in the oil fields.

Oil workers strike

On June 19, 1937, every worker in the oil fields walked off their job. In addition to wages and working conditions, two other factors contributed to the strike.

The first was the use of the "Red Book." This booklet issued to each worker by the companies contained a photograph, personal details, and a work history. The workers feared justly that it was used to victimize militants.

The second was the presence of white South Africans who were brought into the highest staff positions in the oil fields, often replacing qualified Blacks and frequently showing their racial hatred.

On the evening of June 19 Butler again addressed hundreds of workers in the town of Fyzabad, the center of the oil industry. Police officers arrived with a warrant for his arrest. Butler turned to the workers and asked, "Comrades, must I go?" Three times the workers answered "no." The cops then attempted to arrest Butler.

The June 20 *Sunday Guardian* reported, "Sub-Inspector William S. Bradburn was shot dead, Corporal Charlie King beaten to death and burned, and many other Police officers, NCOs, and civilians were wounded in a bloody clash between Police and striking oilfield workers in Fyzabad last night."

Within a few days the entire island came to a virtual standstill.

British warships arrive

The governor, Sir Murchison Fletcher, immediately called for help. The British warship, HMS *Ajax*, arrived on June 22, followed the next day by the HMS *Exeter*. Several platoons of marines were unloaded from the ships.

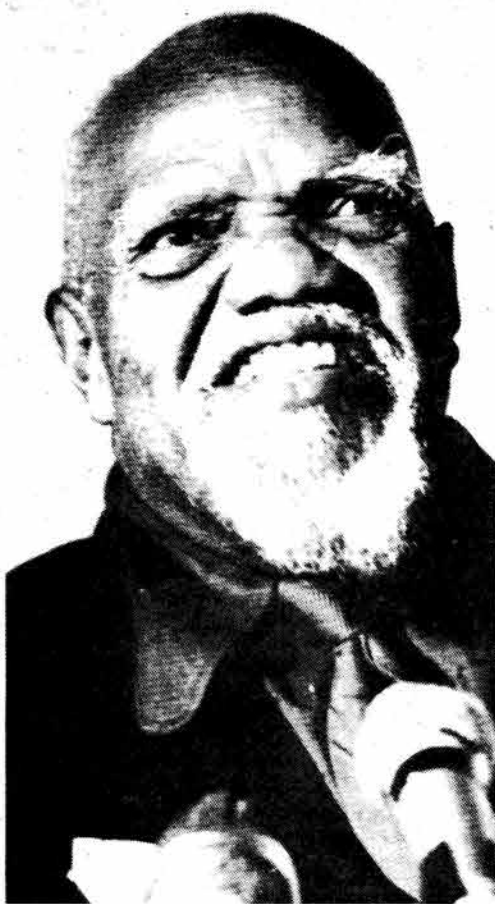
Unable to crush the strikes with their massive use of force, the plantation owners and oil barons made some minor concessions in wages, and the colonial government established a commission to investigate labor conditions in Trinidad. With this concession most of the workers had returned to work by July 5. They continued to organize to extend their gains and to organize other workers.

Over the next six months nine trade unions were formed. On July 25 the Oilfields Workers Trade Union was formed. It immediately demanded a four cents per hour increase and two weeks paid holiday. Of the 9,000 workers in the fields, 8,000 joined the OWTU.

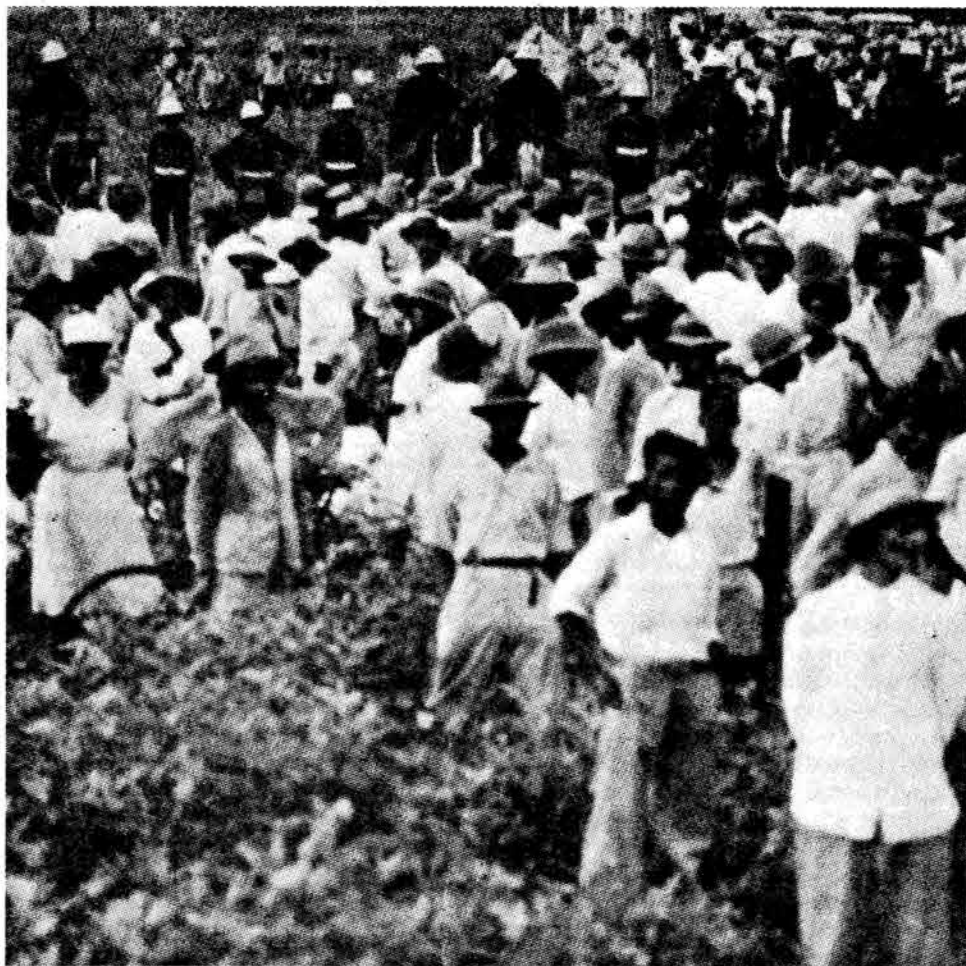
The leaders of the OWTU turned their attention to organizing the sugar plantations. Soon they founded the All-Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers' Union.

In September 1937 the Transport and General Workers Union was founded primarily among rail workers, and the Federated Workers' Union among construction workers. The Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union and the Public Works Workers' Union were later recognized by the seafront employers and the government.

Butler evaded the colonial authorities for



Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, central leader of Trinidad oil workers' strike. Right: a march of oil workers from Fyzabad to Port of Spain.



nearly three months despite a search of the island by 2,000 British soldiers.

On September 27 Butler agreed to come out of hiding on the condition that he would be able to give testimony before the commission. However, when he arrived he was surrounded by soldiers and police, arrested, thrown in prison, and charged with

sedition. On December 16 he was convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

Shortly after his release Butler was arrested and imprisoned again, this time for refusing to subordinate the interests of the oil-field workers to the colonial rulers' interests in the impending second world war.

For his agitation in the oil fields he was arrested on Nov. 28, 1939, and sentenced to five years.

June 19 is now officially recognized as Labor Day in Trinidad and Tobago. It will stand as an important part of the legacy of struggle by working people in this hemisphere.

Indian leader describes gains for indigenous peoples of Nicaragua

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MINNEAPOLIS — "The most profound change we witnessed," said Bill Means, executive director of the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), about Nicaragua, "was the emergence of a very qualified, young Miskito leadership respected by the people, some affiliated with the Sandinistas and some not."

Means headed a delegation of several dozen North Americans, including a sizable contingent of Indians, to the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua late last year. It was his seventh trip to Nicaragua since the Sandinista government came to power in 1979.

The delegation was sponsored by the Thanksgiving Peace Ship Project, a coalition that aids the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua.

In addition to his position with the IITC, Means is also a longtime leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Means told August Nimtz and myself in an interview for the *Militant* that the delegation went to Waspán on the Coco River in northern Nicaragua, near the Honduran border. Before 1982, this was a community of about 10,000 people.

In response to contra attacks, Means pointed out, "the people were relocated from this community, forcibly, back in 1982. Now we disagreed with this, and it was our position, and still is, that if you arm and train the Indian people, they will defend their communities, not based on particular affiliation with any ideology but on the basic fact that this is their home."

"In 1986," he pointed out, "they were allowed to return to Río Coco." Means visited them a few months after their return.

Impact of war

They are now "training their own people and working with Sandinista soldiers in preparation of defense of their community," he pointed out.

"When we went there before, there had always been distrust and antagonism against Spanish-speaking people coming from the Pacific side of the country." But this has changed, Means explained, "because of the tremendous impact the war is having on the region — the blowing up of hospitals and schools and the kidnapping of

Miskito villagers to Honduras by the contras; the experience of having relatives over in Honduras in refugee camps; some people taking up arms with the Sandinistas and some against them."

"All these different complications of the war and its effects," he stated, "have made it clear to all Indian people in Nicaragua that the real enemy in the region is the policy of the U.S. government. They now recognize it as the true enemy of the Indian people."

Dr. Mirna Cunningham, the highest elected official in Northern Zelaya, one of the political subdivisions of the Atlantic Coast, accompanied the delegation. Originally from Waspán, she was once kidnapped by the contras, taken to Honduras, tortured, and raped. Means said that it was only because some Miskitos in Honduras recognized and helped her that she was able to escape and return.

Facing the people

Means described attending a "Face the People" meeting that Cunningham led in Waspán. "She started answering questions, and pretty soon things started heating up. I mean people wanted some answers. Where's the flour? We haven't any lumber. We need some nails, some fish hooks. The contras stole our boat motors the other night, things like that."

"She did not shy away from any questions, and she made no bureaucratic promises that most of us are used to in this country. She answered the questions the best she could, and she stayed until all questions were answered."

He described a visit to Yula, a community of eight or nine villages close to Puerto Cabezas, the largest town in Northern Zelaya. It is a pilot project in the process of establishing autonomy in the region. Autonomy 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 social and economic policies in the region.

"Most of the leadership in Yula is former Miskito commanders who fought against the Sandinistas," Means noted. They have signed cease-fire agreements with the government.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Bill Means

"In fact, they did not lay down their arms," he said, "but agreed to protect this region, implementing and working toward autonomy in this process. Going to the meetings on autonomy, drawing up the documents, having joint patrols with the Sandinistas."

Reynaldo Reyes, one of the Miskito commanders, told Means that he had worked with the CIA for some time after 1981. He said the CIA had taken advantage of the dissatisfaction that many Indians felt with the decisions the Sandinistas were making about the region.

"Autonomy is not the final solution," Means concluded. "It is only a step toward creating a honorable relationship between the Indian people and the government. It stands out as an example to the rest of the governments of the world on how to deal with indigenous people."

He said that what happened was the opposite of "what the Reagan administration policy tried to do — to divide people, to bring back the contras into a leadership position. This policy has totally failed and created the opposite results. It has totally united the people of the region to defend their country."

Puerto Rico team gets good response from workers

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS
AND SELVA NEBBIA

"It was the first experience of this kind for me, and it went well. I enjoyed talking with the workers of Guayanilla, listening to their stories and to their interest in *Perspectiva Mundial*," said Magda.

Magda, a reader of *Perspectiva Mundial* in Puerto Rico, had joined a team of supporters of the

belong to UTIER, the Puerto Rican electrical workers' union. UTIER is known for its history of struggle against the government and the utility operators. Last fall, another sales team had received a good response from the workers at this plant.

Before the sale at Palo Seco, team members made signs to help draw attention to our presence.

ment to the unemployment suffered by more than 40 percent of Puerto Rican workers.

At one time there were more than 30 sugar-processing centers in the area. But the team met with agricultural workers who said there are now only five centers, which have cut their production season to less than 60 days per year.

Nevertheless, there are still pharmaceutical, food processing, garment production, and electronics enterprises.

Garment workers

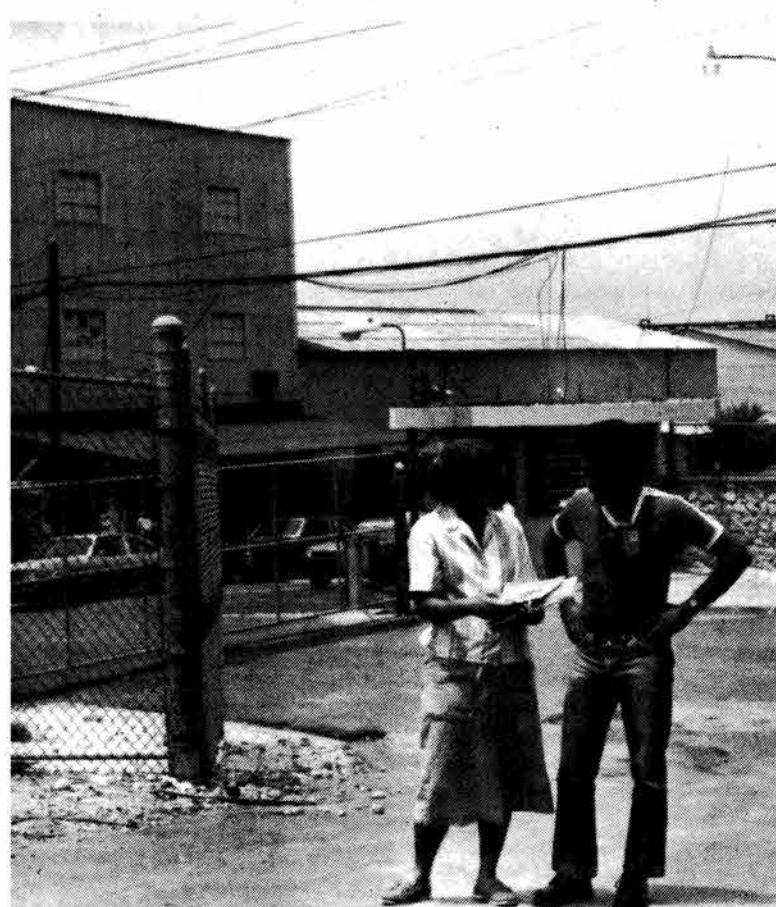
Two sales team members were once garment workers and were eager to sell at a small jeans factory in Mayagüez. As the 50 or so workers, mostly women, entered the plant, six papers were sold.

Nearby, there are two huge tuna canneries. On the days the team visited the plants, there were large ships docked, off-loading tuna by conveyors. This meant production was geared up, and thousands of workers were going in and out during all three shifts.

The two companies — Starkist and Neptune — hire mostly women to clean the fish.

There had recently been a drive to organize a union in one of the plants. This drive was defeated by a forceful campaign by the company, using union-busting consulting agencies, propaganda, and intimidation against the workers. Some 16 papers were sold to the cannery workers.

Twenty-six papers were sold to power plant workers in Gua-



Militant/Marilee Taylor
Militant-*Perspectiva Mundial* sales-team member talks to power-plant worker at Guayanilla.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Militant and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* that traveled throughout Puerto Rico for two weeks in May. The four-person team sold 205 *PM* and one *Militant* subscriptions.

Magda was referring to the workers at a large power-generating plant in Guayanilla, near Ponce, in the southern part of the country. In addition to sales to students and at housing projects and business centers, Magda helped the team organize sales at work sites. These sales were the highlight of the team's tour of the island.

First week

During the first week, we concentrated our sales in the San Juan area, and we planned an early morning sale at another power-generating plant in Palo Seco, near San Juan, in the northern part of the island.

The workers in the power plants

"No to the contras! Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*," said one sign in Spanish. Another read, "Independence for Puerto Rico."

The signs were very helpful. They also got a response from motorists on their way to work, as several honked horns or raised their fists in support.

As two of us held signs along the road to the plant, two others approached workers in cars slowing down to enter. Although there was little time to talk, many workers readily reached for change and stopped long enough to buy a magazine.

In one hour we sold 37 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The following week we traveled to the southwestern area of the island, around Ponce and Mayagüez. This is a highly industrialized area of the country.

The Guayanilla power plant is surrounded by many abandoned petrochemical factories, a testa-

yanilla. This sale was during lunch break, as about 150 workers left and then returned to the plant. Here, the workers also stopped to talk with team members about the repressive working conditions in the plant.

Magda, in summing up her ex-

perience with the team, said, "I think *Perspectiva Mundial*'s work has been very good. Here, the major media say that the people of Puerto Rico don't read. I don't think this is true. The problem really is a lack of good material like *PM*."

With subscription goal met, renewal drive begins

BY MALIK MIAH

We have successfully completed our spring subscription drive and have now launched a major effort to convince readers to renew their subscriptions. As the final scoreboard below shows, 8,741 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions have been received — 103 percent of the 8,500 national goal.

This marks a major advance for our circulation. While we fell slightly short of our *Militant* goal — reaching 95 percent of the 6,700 target — winning more than 6,300 new subscribers to the weekly socialist publication is a major achievement.

The 133 percent of the *Perspectiva Mun-*

dial goal is also a significant accomplishment. Nearly every area in the country that took *Militant* goals sold subscriptions to the Spanish-language monthly *PM*, too.

Why circulation campaigns

The success of the spring circulation campaign gives supporters of the *Militant* the confidence to continue to find ways to expand the paper's circulation.

There are two ways to do this: selling more subscriptions to coworkers, farmers, students, and other political activists and organizing a systematic renewal campaign to win current subscribers as long-term readers.

The main objective of large-scale sub-

scription campaigns is to do the first: win new readers. For most people, this is the first time they've read a weekly socialist publication.

Many like it. Others discover they're not interested. But it is only through big sales campaigns that thousands of working people and students can first learn about the *Militant*.

Next challenge: renewal effort

The main way that long-term readers are won to any publication, including the *Militant*, is through a systematic renewal effort by its supporters.

Beginning with this issue, through the summer, the *Militant* will be on a renewal

campaign. This effort will complement the day-to-day activity of supporters who continue to sell the paper on the job, at plant gates at industrial sites, in working-class communities, to farmers, on college campuses, and at political demonstrations and meetings.

Why a renewal campaign? It is the most effective way to contact and meet working people and students who are now reading the *Militant*. They are the people already convinced that it is worthwhile to look at a working-class alternative to the daily papers.

When we talk to them, we'll find out what they like about the paper. And, most importantly, it will give us a better chance to convince them to extend their subscription by six months or longer.

During the renewal campaign last winter, after the successful fall subscription drive, many new readers' decision to resubscribe to the *Militant* came after talking to supporters on the phone or face to face.

Moreover, such contact generally led a few readers to come to local Pathfinder bookstores or attend *Militant* forums on national and world events. A few even asked to join the socialist youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance.

The *Militant* and *PM* business offices will complement your efforts by continuing to send out renewal notices to subscribers.

Local distributors may want to consider offering additional incentives. For example, special offers on socialist books and pamphlets.

The key point is to get back in touch with new subscribers. The best way to get a renewal is to return to the place the subscription was sold. If it was sold on the job, go back to that coworker. If it was sold door to door, go back to that neighborhood.

But those of you reading the *Militant* each week don't have to wait for someone to contact you. If you like the paper, then simply send in a check with the first renewal notice you receive.

Please consider, as well, joining our effort to convince others to read or resubscribe to the *Militant*. Contact a local distributor in your area. See the directory on page 12.

Final 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	1	140
Houston	75	10	94	21	135
Baltimore	150	8	187	19	130
Des Moines, Iowa	100	10	116	24	127
Cleveland	125	15	144	21	118
Phoenix	110	100	112	133	117
San Francisco	100	60	110	69	112
San Jose, Calif.	180	100	171	142	112
Milwaukee	100	25	116	22	110
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	15	213	24	110
Seattle	180	50	195	54	108
Pittsburgh	90	10	99	9	108
Portland, Ore.	125	25	110	51	107
Greensboro, N.C.	115	10	126	8	107
Chicago	250	100	271	104	107
Kansas City	120	20	124	24	106
Miami	110	40	118	40	105
New York	600	350	605	385	104
Los Angeles	325	200	347	198	104
Birmingham, Ala.	130	2	134	2	103
Atlanta	110	10	115	8	103
Boston	240	60	212	95	102
Newark, N.J.	375	175	382	175	101
Austin, Minn.	80	10	83	7	100
San Diego	85	55	87	52	99
Charleston, W.Va.	100	—	97	2	99
Morgantown, W.Va.	95	5	91	4	95
Totals	6,700	1,800	6,343	2,398	103

Judge lets disruption operation against socialists go on

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK
AND JOHN STUDER

LOS ANGELES — In a hearing conducted in federal court here June 1, Judge Mariana Pfaelzer continued to allow the disruption lawsuit operation against the Socialist Workers Party to go on. This delay in putting an end to the lawsuit brought against the SWP by Alan Gelfand, an attorney for the County of Los Angeles, and by his lawyers, is a setback to the political rights of the SWP and all political activists.

The hearing was held in response to a motion filed in February by David Epstein, attorney for the SWP, asking Pfaelzer to immediately award \$101,000 in interim fees to cover a portion of the enormous expenses required to defend the party against the suit.

It has now been four years since the trial was held in the case, at which Judge Pfaelzer ruled that Gelfand had not produced "one shred of evidence" to support his suit. She ruled on behalf of the SWP, and invited the party to submit an application for an award of attorneys' fees against both Gelfand and his lawyers from the Los Angeles firm of Fisher & Moest.

Gelfand, who filed his lawsuit in 1979, had entered the SWP in 1976 as part of a disruption campaign organized by the Workers League, a small U.S. sect, and by the British Workers Revolutionary Party, which has since split into several groupings. Gelfand was expelled from the SWP after filing a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP was controlled by FBI agents.

Gelfand then filed this lawsuit, demanding that the court allow him to probe into the party's affairs, reinstate him into membership, and remove the SWP's elected leadership. He claimed that "FBI agents" in the SWP leadership had expelled him, thereby violating his constitutional rights.

Gelfand never offered any proof for his charges. During the trial he admitted that his suit was engineered and paid for by the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Behind the suit lay a scheme to lend these fantastic charges supposed credibility by wrapping them in the veneer of "official court documents." In 1985 the Workers League published *The Gelfand Case*, two volumes devoted to reprinting court documents from the case, aimed at spreading this scurrilous frame-up campaign.

When Epstein filed his motion on behalf of the SWP asking that some interim fees be awarded immediately, a court hearing was scheduled for March 23. Gelfand and his attorneys then began a series of requests for postponement of the hearing.

Finally, only two days after agreeing to a third continuance, Epstein was informed by Fisher & Moest that the firm had just changed its lawyers for the fourth time. Epstein was presented with a demand for yet another delay to allow Fisher & Moest's new lawyers to "prepare." Epstein refused, and a hearing on the continuance was held on April 17.

At the hearing the judge announced that her ruling on the entire fees motion was drafted and would be released soon. However, at the request of Fisher & Moest's new lawyers, she set a hearing for June 1 so they could present any "new perspectives" they might have on the case. She instructed Epstein not to spend "any more time" on this matter.

Pfaelzer's agreement to consider "new perspectives" gave Gelfand and his backers an opening, and they grabbed it with both hands.

Separate legal briefs were filed by the new attorneys for Fisher & Moest, for Gelfand, and for John Burton, the lawyer from the Fisher & Moest firm who put in the most time on Gelfand's behalf. Burton is now using his severance from that firm in May 1984 to try to escape liability for his conduct in the case. These briefs, totaling over 150 pages, are simply reargumentation of the old slanders, clearly designed for publication to continue the harassment campaign against the SWP.

The SWP's purpose in filing its motion for interim fees had been to win a ruling that would call a halt to the Gelfand-Fisher & Moest operation.

Epstein explained in a court brief for the June 1 hearing, "The delay in finalizing the announced intended award has permitted the conduct of plaintiff and his counsel to continue unremedied and the court's authority to continue without vindication."

"As a result," he wrote, "and as evidenced by the recent publication of *The Gelfand Case*, the same despicable pattern of pleading for the purpose of publishing materials as 'court documents' continued."

Instead of calling a halt to the disruption operation — and by leaving the door open for this barrage of legal papers and by scheduling a further hearing — Judge Pfaelzer allowed it to continue.

More than a dozen supporters showed up



Alan Gelfand, left, and Fisher & Moest attorney Nancy Bekavac at 1984 hearing. He has engaged in eight-year legal action against Socialist Workers Party, costing it well over \$100,000 to defend itself against slanders.

in the courtroom to demonstrate their concern that the judge rule.

After more than an hour, at the close of the hearing Pfaelzer still refused to rule. "I

had prepared a memorandum of decision on the fees," she reported, "but held it to hear what you have to say today. Now I will go back and revise it."

Legal insurer's summary of Gelfand suit

At the conclusion of the trial in the Gelfand case in 1983 Judge Pfaelzer ruled in favor of the SWP. She invited the party to move to recover the attorneys' fees it was forced to expend in defending itself against the harassment lawsuit prosecuted against it by Gelfand and his attorneys.

Since then the SWP has been fighting to win an award of lawyers' fees in order to vindicate its First Amendment rights to be free from such victimization operations being brought through the courts.

Gelfand's attorneys — the Fisher & Moest firm and John Burton, who has since left that firm — as well as Gelfand himself, are the target of the fees motion. The lawyers' deliberate misconduct was crucial to keep the case in court and advance the attack on the SWP.

In cases involving fees, Fisher & Moest is represented by the Lawyers Mutual Insurance Co. (LMIC). The insurance company is under contract to provide both legal representation and to cover any actual money award against the firm.

However, LMIC has informed Fisher & Moest that it will not pay any award in the Gelfand case. LMIC argues that their contract specifically excludes any liability for "punitive damages" — damages awarded as remedy for a lawsuit prosecuted by the firm in bad faith.

Fisher & Moest has filed suit in California state court in an attempt to win a ruling holding the insurance company financially responsible for any fees awarded by Judge Pfaelzer to the SWP.

Urging the court to throw Fisher & Moest's case out of court, LMIC submitted a "Statement of Undisputed Material Facts" concerning the Gelfand case. This statement, reprinted below, is a short and accurate summary of the Gelfand-Fisher & Moest operation.

Undisputed material facts

1. Lawyers' Mutual Insurance Company ("LMIC") insured plaintiffs under a professional liability insurance policy.

2. On or about May of 1980, plaintiffs were retained by Mr. Alan Gelfand to represent him in an action against the Socialist Workers' Party ("SWP"). This action is entitled *Gelfand v. William French Smith, et al.*, U.S. District Court, Central District of California, Case number 79-02710-MRP (TX).

3. During the course of the *Gelfand* action the Presiding Judge, the honorable Mariana R. Pfaelzer found the following:

- That there was absolutely no merit, even from its inception, to the *Gelfand* lawsuit.
- Plaintiffs established nothing at trial and in some respects the trial was outrageous.
- The *Gelfand* action was brought to "paralyze" the SWP.
- The *Gelfand* action was "harassing".
- The purpose of the *Gelfand* action

was to use the discovery process to obtain information from the SWP for a rival political party to publish in its periodicals.

F. Plaintiffs' legal fees were paid by one of the SWP's rival political parties.

4. Judge Pfaelzer found for the SWP and invited it to make a motion to recover its attorneys' fees from the plaintiffs.

5. On or about April 28, 1983, the SWP made a motion to recover its attorneys fees from plaintiffs based on the premises that plaintiffs had abused the discovery and the trial process and conducted the *Gelfand* litigation in bad faith.

6. In or about April of 1983, plaintiffs notified defendant LMIC of SWP's pending motion.

7. LMIC responded by retaining the services of Mr. Baltaxe to represent plaintiffs.

8. LMIC fully reserved its rights under the liability policy.

9. Plaintiffs demanded that LMIC replace Mr. Baltaxe with Nancy Bekavac, Esq.

10. Argument on the SWP's motion was heard on Oct. 24, 1983.

11. Ms. Bekavac appeared on behalf of the plaintiffs and admitted that the rationale for shifting attorneys' fees to a losing litigant's attorney is "... punitive, for punishment for abuse of judicial process..."

12. Exclusion (d) of the LMIC policy provides: "This policy does not apply; ... (d) To any fine, penalty, or punitive or exemplary damages."

Pathfinder Press announces 6 new, reprinted pamphlets

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Pathfinder Press has announced the publication and reprinting of six important pamphlets. One of them is new and three have been out of print for some time. The current total of Pathfinder pamphlets now in print is 74, nine of them in Spanish.

The six pamphlets deal with a variety of subjects, but all share a common theme — how to advance the revolutionary movement here and internationally.

Of rich educational value is *Too Many Babies? — The Myth of the Population Explosion* by Joseph Hansen. It was first published in 1960 in response to a spate of articles reviving the theory of Thomas Malthus, an 18th century British clergyman who popularized the notion that the world was headed for catastrophe because population growth was rapidly outpacing the growth of the world food supply.

In a devastating rebuttal, Hansen uses the method of Marx and Engels, and invaluable material by them. With clarity and wit, he establishes that the root source of hunger today is capitalism, not overpopulation.

This pamphlet was republished in 1970, but has been out of print for a long time.

A particularly timely and useful pamphlet is *Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution* by Arnold Weissberg. Written in 1981 from Nicaragua, this work offers a concise sketch of the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and the first two years of the revolution. It outlines the basic social reforms initiated during that period.

And available in an attractive new edition is a perennial favorite, *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*. The pamphlet includes speeches made at New York's Militant Labor Forum, excerpts from an interview

in the *Young Socialist*, and a transcript of a radio interview.

Over the years, there have been more than a dozen printings of this invaluable introduction to the various books of Malcolm X's speeches.

Also available in a new printing is *Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune*. This includes five articles by the leader of the Russian Revolution written between 1905 and 1921. They draw the lessons from this first seizure of political power by working people, which took place in 1871.

A useful chapter in U.S. labor history is offered in Beatrice Hansen's *A Political Biography of Walter Reuther — The Record of an Opportunist*. From the vantage point of her own participation in the United Auto Workers, Hansen offers an incisive picture of Reuther, an early activist in the union who degenerated into a bureaucratic union president.

In Spanish, Pathfinder has just published *Reportaje de Vietnam y Kampuchea*. This is a translation from English, of the pamphlet *Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea* by Diane Wang and Steve Clark, published in 1984. This includes 11 articles written for the *Militant* by Wang and Clark when they made a month-long reporting tour to Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1984. They describe the devastation inflicted by the U.S. invaders and the process of rebuilding being waged in both nations.

It includes an afterword by Clark, written last December, which updates the information on Vietnam.

Along with Pathfinder books, these pamphlets are available at the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

Pathfinder has also issued its first catalogue in Spanish. It lists the many books and pamphlets — both its own and from other publishers — that it distributes.

Interview with Cuban trade union

Jesús Escandell discusses role of Cuban workers in solving economic ar

The following is an interview with Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC). It was given to *Militant* reporters Rena Cacoullos and Mary-Alice Waters who were in Cuba to cover the Fifth Congress of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba held April 1-5 in Havana.

Militant. Over the past several months, there have been hundreds of meetings — in every factory and workplace, every city and province in Cuba — to discuss how to resolve some of the economic problems Cuba faces — problems of waste and inefficiency, low productivity, poor quality of goods. The main thing we want to ask you about is this rectification process, as it is known here. What it means concretely for Cuban workers and the role of the trade unions in this process.

But first, perhaps you could explain for working people in the United States what Cuba has accomplished since the Batista dictatorship was overthrown in 1959. What has it meant for working people here to break the chains of U.S. economic domination and chart a course of development determined by Cuba's needs?

Escandell. The Cuban revolution was victorious 28 years ago. Our country was underdeveloped and had suffered more than 400 years of colonial domination by Spain and then half a century of domination by the United States.

Our primary industry was sugar, which was dominated by U.S. owners. They extracted enormous profits from our natural resources, land, and labor. And when they departed, they left behind an industry in which machetes were used to cut cane. Now, as a result of the revolution, we have combines, but at that time, everything was done with machetes.

Our industrial development was totally distorted by U.S. imperialism. Tomatoes were harvested here in Cuba and taken to the United States. And then cans of tomato juice from Del Monte and Libby arrived from the United States to be sold here.

Cuba was a country that had practically no warehouses. Our warehouses were in the United States. Three or four times a day spare parts, machinery, whatever was needed, arrived here by ferry.

To give you an example — I worked on the railroad. And I remember that when we needed a spare part for a locomotive engine, a call was put in to the United States, and the part arrived the next day.

From the beginning of the revolution, U.S. imperialism tried to destroy us, as they are trying to do to Nicaragua today. They imposed a cruel blockade, as well as other measures, to try to make the revolution fail — especially during the initial years. They took half the doctors, professionals, and technicians out of our country. The boycott they subjected us to was extensive.

Getting back to the example of the railroad, I remember that in the early years of the revolution, we had a powerful locomotive engine — a number 1600. The imperialists refused to send us a particular spare part, a ball bearing. We weren't able to get it from any other country in the world, but the imperialists blocked it. The fact is, they embargoed everything from aspirin to spare parts.

It was very serious. The most powerful imperialist country known to humanity against a small country trying to win its freedom. And they have never left us in peace.

Later came the attack on Playa Girón at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, as well as others. The imperialists backed the counterrevolutionary bandits in the Escambray Mountains in the early 1960s. Every day flights from the United States dropped arms to them.

Add to this numerous attempts to assassinate our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, as well as other leaders of our country. They also carried out acts of sabotage in the sugar industry, which is our main in-

dustry. This is the kind of terrorist policy the U.S. government has carried out against our country.

We survived all these years in spite of the attacks. With difficulty, because we have to allocate a significant number of people to military defense. Our armed forces are much larger than they should be in proportion to the size of our country.

This means that hundreds of thousands of men who could be doing productive work have to dedicate themselves to military defense. In addition to the armed forces, today over 1.5 million workers are in the Territorial Troop Militias, which were instituted in 1980.

In other words, in Cuba, military defense is very costly, apart from the weapons we receive free from the Soviet Union. But we have no other alternative, because the best way to win this war with the United States is by not having to go to war in the first place. And in order not to go to war, we have to be well-trained, so that our enemies know what an attack on Cuba would mean for them.

Our philosophy has nothing to do with war. It has to do with peace, with the peaceful construction of our country and of socialism. This is socialist politics.

We've made gains. At the beginning of the revolution, we had a low educational level. In 1980 we set ourselves the goal of a sixth grade education for all working people. And we did it. And in 1985 we set ourselves a goal of a ninth grade education for all working people. And a large percentage of our working class reached the ninth grade level. With today's scientific and technical revolution we need more trained workers.

But even this indicates the extent of our underdevelopment.

During the initial years of the revolution, there were factories the workers didn't think could be kept running when the U.S. engineers left.

But through tremendous efforts by the Cuban working class and with the help of the socialist countries, especially the solidarity of the Soviet Union, not a single factory has come to a standstill in all these years.

There were workers who didn't have a sixth grade education but who were able to solve many of the problems with their practical knowledge and through their observations of the engineers' work. Their initiative was very important.

We also set up the National Association of Inventors and Problem Solvers. This grew out of a mass movement among workers to find substitutes for the spare parts we were prevented from getting.

I'm raising all this because it's important to keep in mind when it comes time to analyze the process of rectification taking place in Cuba today. Mistakes were made, and they're being corrected. But there were reasons for these mistakes.

Militant. Following the initial difficult years of the revolution, important changes were made in the political and economic organization of the country. For example, the Economic Planning and Management System was introduced in the mid-1970s. What is the relationship between those changes and the problems now being discussed and corrected?

Escandell. During the 1970s, we experienced some stability. Imperialist hostility continued, but there was a period when things were more peaceful. This allowed us to organize the country a bit.

In organizing the economy, some errors began to emerge. We began to copy some of the bad experiences of the socialist countries. In other cases, we imitated their good experiences, but incorrectly.

For example, a Cuban worker isn't the same as a German worker, even though they're both socialists. One reason is that German workers have a higher cultural level than Cuban workers, who were dominated for 400 years by the Spaniards and then by the United States.

The discipline of Cuban workers isn't the same as that of German workers.

There's no way it could be.

Even the climate has an influence. Working at 30 degrees below zero in the Soviet Union isn't the same as working on a sugarcane field at 11 in the morning in May when the heat is unbearable.

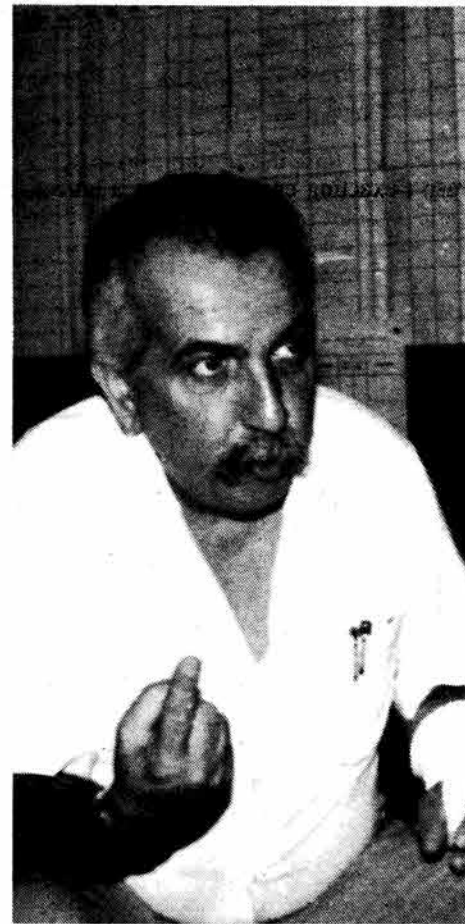
And there are other cultural differences that have an effect. In the Soviet Union, there's no traditional night life. But here in Cuba there is a night life — where people are used to having a beer or drinking rum.

Also, socialism has only been around for 70 years — no longer — and 70 years of history is practically nothing. And this is under conditions of aggression, including World War II, which almost devastated the Soviet Union with more than 20 million dead. This is under a blockade, with imperialist harassment against the socialist countries.

The problem is that socialism has yet to be explored. Socialism has to discover formulas that will make it more efficient, more efficient than capitalism.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and later V.I. Lenin, advanced a socialist philosophy. This doesn't mean they dictated a recipe for how to do things. But many people have looked at Marxism mechanically — as though it were a recipe. And I think this is the cause of many errors. In our case, when plans were formulated — such as the system of economic planning and management, which was initiated in the 1970s, we tried to copy the socialist countries in some aspects.

But we didn't take into account the fact that our principal raw materials had to



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters
Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations of Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions.

come from thousands of kilometers distant and that it wasn't like the ferry that arrived from the United States in eight hours. A Soviet ship has to travel 10,000 kilometers to Cuba. There's no oil pipeline here as there is to other socialist countries.

Even after 28 years of blockade and aggression against us, there remain strong economic and cultural ties with the United States. Cuba is different in this respect from other socialist countries.

We've tried over the years not to be dependent on goods from capitalist countries and to increase the percentage of goods from the socialist countries — today it's 80 percent, I think. And today we have the advantage of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, which means we don't suffer from the unequal trade that Latin American countries have with the imperialist coun-

tries.

But you have to take into account the fact that our main industry was made in the United States. Soviet technicians and technicians from other socialist countries have tried to make substitutes for some spare parts, but it isn't easy.

Look, this chewing gum I have isn't from the socialist countries. We're still used to U.S. products. Moreover, in Cuba we were accustomed to certain aspects of daily life in the United States — because we lived it, because they educated us. We can't change all that overnight.

Baseball is our national sport. We learned it from the United States and we continue to enjoy it. After 28 years of revolution, our people are dying to see a game take place here between Cubans and U.S. players. We also applaud U.S. baseball players when they play a good game because our people, in spite of everything I said before, aren't anti-U.S. We are anti-imperialist, but we have a high opinion of the people of the United States and the advances they've made.

I've seen more anti-U.S. sentiment in Mexico than in Cuba. Of course, Mexicans have reasons to feel this way. But we have reasons, too, because we've been blockaded for 28 years. Nevertheless in Cuba these sentiments do not exist.

Comrade Fidel has always made a distinction between U.S. imperialist policies, which also harm the people of the United States, and our relationship to the people of your country. We advocate the normalization of relations. But powerful interest groups, the military-industrial complex, stand in the way of this. I think, though, that between our struggle and yours, we will triumph in the end. We live on the same continent, and we have no other alternative than to coexist.

Militant. What are some of the errors that began to develop when the Economic Planning and Management System was introduced?

Escandell. One problem was with wages, norms of production, and bonuses.

We became aware that many workers were making wages that they weren't really earning. We don't persecute anyone because their wages are high. The problem arose because of a lack of control mechanisms in an administration that has many weaknesses.

The administration was bureaucratic and didn't want to make trouble for itself with the workers. So they simply paid the workers without checking the quality of their work, and production norms were much lower than they could have been.

This meant there was a distortion in what we were producing. Let me give you a concrete example.

This happened with the work brigade whose job is weeding the sugarcane fields. They were paid when they finished the job. A brigade might weed a 15-meter section here and another 15 meters over there, but not the middle. No one checked it, and they were paid as though the job had been completed. But they were being paid for work that hadn't been done.

These are administrative weaknesses due to a lack of control mechanisms.

On top of this, bonuses were given — incentives. Until 1973 we underestimated the value of material incentives and only talked about moral incentives.

I think the turning point was a July 26 speech by Fidel in Santiago de Cuba. And then we began to actually implement the new policy around the time of the 13th Congress of the CTC, which took place in November 1973. At the congress we said there was a connection between moral and material incentives.

But we went too far and began to give them away. It's true that material incentives are necessary during the transitional period of constructing socialism, but it's also true that the stage we're in — from each according to their ability, to each according to their work — doesn't provide a basis for equality. The truth is that we overdid it.

a leader social problems

We began to give money away. And this was dangerous. We were filling people's pockets up with bills, but it was money that didn't match the level of production. And this was going to lead to a distortion in their consciousness.

Militant. Fidel talked about this a lot in his closing speech to the Union of Young Communists convention — that socialism can't be built only on the basis of economic mechanisms and incentives. Is this what you mean by a deformation in consciousness?

Escandell. That's right, political consciousness is needed. I think we took up his entire process of rectification of errors at in time.

It turned out that the same people we were giving money away to were going to Angola and sacrificing their lives for the Angolan people — and not getting a penny for it. When the program of voluntary work in Cuban factories was declining, people were nevertheless doing a tremendous job defending the country. In other words, our working class had not become corrupt. But the direction we were heading in was dangerous.

Our people are very heroic when it comes to certain things. If you say "we need 20,000 people to go fight in Angola," 50,000 will go. On the other hand, we have problems when it comes to working an eight-hour day and having the discipline to come in to work every day. We need a higher level of education.

For all the progress we've made in 28 years, it's still difficult to change people's attitudes.

Militant. Can you tell us about the discussions that have taken place among workers in the factories and the assemblies? What kinds of suggestions have been made? And how will the CTC participate in the rectification process?

Escandell. We have to take responsibility as trade union leaders, revolutionaries, political leaders. We could have called attention to these problems earlier. But we didn't so we have to take responsibility for this.

We've been combating all these problems throughout this entire year. From June 1986 to the present we have met with millions of workers in factory assemblies, shift meetings, group meetings — to initiate the process of rectification.

In general I think people have understood the problem. I'm not going to pretend that workers have applauded the measures being taken, because that's not so easy. When you're about to take something away from someone, naturally you have to explain that you're not doing it to humiliate them. You need to explain that it wasn't something that was earned. It's a question of educating people.

Our trade union movement is involved because we believe our role is critical, when you consider the fact that the union movement encompasses all workers and that our party is selective and not numerically large. Our party — the Communist Party — has half a million members and the CTC has 3 million members.

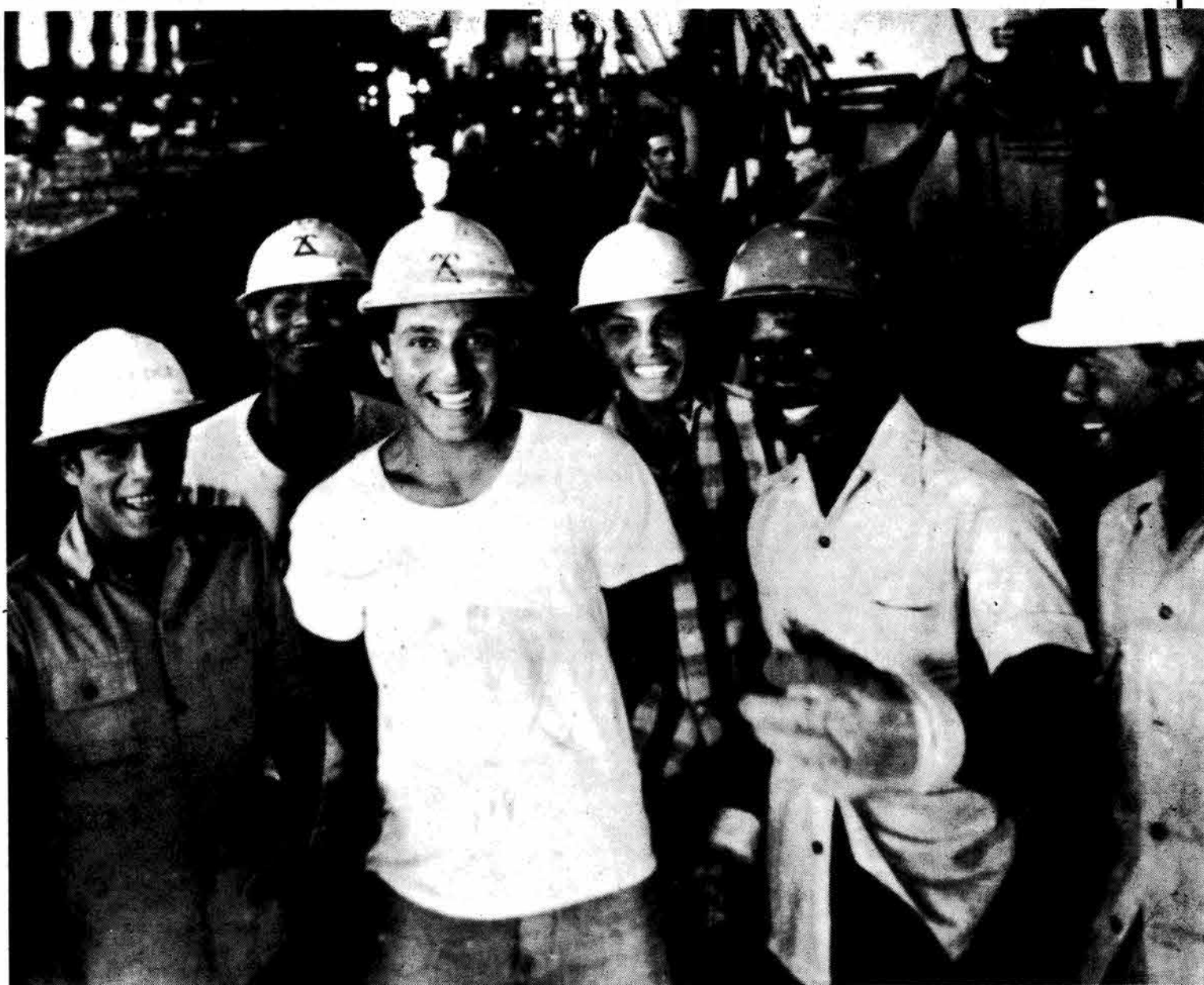
We have to be able to carry this out, but not by going to people's work places and saying, "Fidel said so, the party said so." On the contrary, as leaders of all working people, we must be able to explain and convince people.

I think we've done important work in this regard. It's a process that is continuing. We've begun and have found understanding among people.

The 53rd Plenum of the CTC took place not long ago, and there was a very rich, open, frank discussion about these problems.

Militant. Have workers decided to change the norms of production as a result of these discussions?

Escandell. Different areas are being reviewed. The most important thing is qual-



Cuban factory workers. Since June 1986, leaders of trade union federation have met with millions of workers in factory assemblies and shift meetings to discuss solutions to problems Cuba faces. Union movement includes all workers; federation has 3 million members.

ity control. You can set a good production norm, but if the quality isn't checked, it can suffer.

This happened because of a lack of control mechanisms in an administration that wasn't exacting enough. It was a bureaucratic administration that didn't play the kind of role it should have. A number of problems of bureaucratism also arose in our trade union movement, which plays a counterbalancing role. These problems should have been confronted more energetically.

The union movement has been training our cadres in the theory of economic management. We have a national school for cadres, as well as schools in all the provinces, so that we can develop leaders who are capable of taking on the challenges of this whole new situation.

In our economy workers are both owners and producers. At this stage, the unions still have to defend the workers' interests, but neither can we lose sight of the fact that the interests of society as a whole also concern workers.

But we can't let this prevent us from taking up the particular problems of workers who have been affected by the bureaucratic methods of our administration. It's a complex process, it's not easy.

Sometimes when you go to a workplace where the party, the administration, and the union get along famously, if you analyze the situation, you'll see that they're hiding problems from each other and that there are really all kinds of mistakes being made there.

We're not saying the union and the administration have to be at each other's throats — after all, we have common goals. But each has separate responsibilities and sometimes we lose sight of the difference in their roles. All of this has been an important part of our analysis.

Under capitalism workers have the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads — they throw you out onto the street and you don't know where you'll find work. But here, if I lose my job tomorrow, they find me a place to work. Here's where the problem of discipline comes in, which can't be solved through mechanisms of economic management.

You notice this in the area of services, the bad service in restaurants, for example. It's a disaster. Because it's not like capitalist countries, where you can just go

to another restaurant if the service is bad. Here, you get the same service everywhere. These are problems that pertain to socialism.

We have to figure out how to solve these problems ourselves, because under socialism there's no hunger and there's no unemployment. So our difficulties are the result of a problem of discipline and consciousness.

But even with all these difficulties, we say that socialist society is much superior to capitalism. But we can't shut our eyes to the problems; we have to be creative in looking for solutions to the problems that arise.

Before, during the initial years of the revolution, if you criticized anything, it was like the church — you were a heretic. In the past, in some socialist countries you couldn't do anything outside the framework of how things were done in the Soviet Union. It would be breaking the schema. Now the Soviets themselves are making changes. Today there is also a process of rectification taking place in the Soviet Union.

Militant. Today there is a discussion about the construction of microbrigades. There was a time when they weren't functioning much. Has this changed?

Escandell. When the revolution triumphed in 1959, we found ourselves with 600,000 unemployed and thousands more underemployed. With the victory, the revolution spontaneously created new areas of work. And it's true that we have eliminated unemployment.

But the methods used to allocate personnel weren't very scientific. And work that could have been done by four people, for example, was done by eight. This wasn't done deliberately, to get rid of unemployment, but in practice this is what happened.

Today one of the main difficulties we face is the problem of housing. It's a serious problem brought about by millions of reasons inherited from the past and by a very large population explosion. At the beginning of the revolution we had 6 million inhabitants. Now we have more than 10 million.

Fidel was instrumental in the creation of the microbrigades, which were formed out of surplus labor in the plants. They would take a microbrigade of 25 men out of a plant and the rest of the workers would do

the work of the 25 who left. In practice, they didn't have to do any extra work because there were plenty more workers. And that's how we constructed the big housing project in Alamar, in Havana Province, as well as projects in other provinces.

When we introduced the Economic Planning and Management System, we discussed not continuing the microbrigades because they weren't compatible with this system. And we decided we had to almost completely do away with them. This meant that between 80,000 and 100,000 housing units were not constructed, especially in the capital, where there's a big shortage.

The microbrigades were eliminated as a result of bureaucratic decisions. Now we're reconstructing them.

The microbrigades are not only building housing, they're constructing child-care centers and other social services. In less than nine months, they've built housing for the new plan to provide family doctors. And production has not been the least bit hurt.

Militant. What do you mean when you refer to "bureaucratic problems?"

Escandell. They adopted the new system and said, "We can't do this or that because the system doesn't permit it."

Militant. Is this all part of the rectification process?

Escandell. Yes. Not everything can be done through economic mechanisms. It's also necessary to bring out the creativity of the workers.

The number of manuals some socialist countries and some theoreticians come up with! I remember reading manuals that were totally unrealistic. Reality is something you understand by living it.

Every country is different. It's necessary to take into account the concrete conditions of each country. Marxism is a guide to action, not a dogma, not a method that can be imitated.

Militant. How can workers participate creatively in the process of finding solutions to the problems?

Escandell. There are production assemblies in every enterprise, where the numerical goals and the production plan

Continued on next page

Venceremos Brigade: 200 from U.S. see Cuba for themselves

BY CATHY SEDWICK

There is a saying that travel broadens the mind. For members of the 18th Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, who returned to the United States May 11 after two weeks in Cuba, these words have deep meaning. What we saw was very different from what people in this country are told about Cuba.

Since 1969 Venceremos Brigades have given more than 5,000 people the opportunity to work and learn in Cuba. They have cut cane, built houses and schools, planted trees, and weeded rice fields.

The U.S. government seeks to convince us that Cuba is so terrible that no one would want to live there. In 1982 the Reagan administration reimposed travel restrictions and is making it ever more difficult for people to go to Cuba and see for themselves.

Thanks to the Venceremos Brigade, nearly 200 of us from the United States saw firsthand Cuba and its revolution. Participants came from 26 states. The contingent included Blacks, whites, Asians, Latinos, Palestinians, and Native Americans. Our ages ranged from 17 to 75. There were unionists, anti-apartheid and antiwar activists, Puerto Rican supporters of independence for their country, and fighters for gay rights.

Our contingent took on the name Nelson and Winnie Mandela Brigade, and dedicated the tour to the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

We were housed at the Julio Antonio Mella International Camp, outside of the capital of Havana.

Meeting people

We were free to walk the streets and meet people. We visited schools, farms, hospitals, prisons, churches, and museums. We talked to representatives of religious groups, leaders of liberation struggles in other countries, and representatives of the Cuban government and Communist Party.

We heard reports from leaders of the organizations of youth, women, artists, and farmers.

The brigade spent an evening with members of a neighborhood Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) in San Antonio de los Bancos, a suburb of

Havana. We shared good food, played music, and danced together.

Cubans feel a deep obligation to people who are fighting for freedom around the world. An example is the support Cuba gives to the freedom struggle in southern Africa.

As Jorge Risquet of the Communist Party Political Bureau explained, "The Cuban nation was formed from a combination of the Spanish colonizers and the African slaves. And today those whose ancestors once came in chains, now return as free human beings to help liberate and develop the countries of Africa."

Lucio Lara, a member of the Political Bureau of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (the governing party in Angola) talked to us about Cuba's role in his country. Without the help of thousands of Cuban volunteers, Lara said, Angola could not have defeated the South African invasion of 1975.

'SWAPO is coming'

Thousands of African students are being educated in Cuba. We visited the school operated by SWAPO on the Isle of Youth. This island, used for political prisoners under the U.S.-dominated Fulgencio Batista dictatorship, now reverberates with freedom songs of youth from the Third World.

Hundreds of students greeted us when we arrived at the school. They lined the entrance singing, "SWAPO is coming to free Namibia." Namibia, which borders on South Africa, is occupied and ruled as a colony by the apartheid regime.

The books and other supplies that we presented to the school were greatly appreciated. Most of the students are orphans, victims of the war waged by the South African government against the independence movement of the Namibian people.

Cuba, very dependent on agriculture, has suffered from droughts, like those of the last two years, and from plummeting world agricultural prices. Despite this, one doesn't see hungry or homeless people. Health care is free, from stitches to braces for teeth to heart transplants.

Education is free from nursery to university. There is virtually no illiteracy and a rapidly growing percentage of the population now has at least a ninth grade educa-



Namibian students on Cuba's Isle of Youth bid farewell to visitors from Venceremos Brigade.

tion.

While walking in the streets I often got into conversations with people, who would ask where I was from. We discussed the hostile policies of the government of the United States toward Cuba. They would stress that Cubans do not hate the people of the United States, but oppose its belligerent government. They would cite the economic embargo, which has caused many hardships for the people.

I met a few people who believe everyone in the United States has a fancy house, a big car, expensive clothes, and tons of luxury goods. I told them that most working people don't have all those things, and often lack basic necessities like decent medical care.

Unity in struggle

On May 1 the brigade marched with half a million people. Hundreds of thousands of

Cubans were joined by people from Central and South America, Vietnam, Africa, the Middle East, the Soviet Union, and many other countries.

Marchers carried signs in defense of Nicaragua, against apartheid, and against the foreign debt that is destroying the countries of Latin America and Africa.

"The U.S. blockade against Cuba is a blockade against us," declared Teresa Walsh, leader of the 18th Venceremos Brigade, in a talk at the end of our tour. "The U.S. travel restrictions deny us our rights. It's time to end these policies."

"We have a job to do. In Cuba we can see that unity is necessary for victory. Unity is an absolute commitment to work together, despite differences, for common goals. Let us be audacious enough to believe in our own victory."

Cuba union leader interviewed

Continued from previous page are explained.

There's a forum for discussion among all the workers in each union and in the National Association of Inventors and Problem Solvers, where workers contribute all kinds of ideas. The mechanisms for discussion are really limitless and the workers' opinions are never cast aside.

In the Union of Young Communists Congress itself, the youth could express their opinions as well.

We try to educate people. They have to understand the problems to be able to express themselves, to be able to participate effectively in the discussion.

There is no other way forward for us. Our proximity to U.S. imperialism means we don't have the luxury of depending on other socialist countries for defense. We have to be able to defend ourselves.

We're not only 90 miles from imperialism, we also have the U.S. military base at Guantánamo, on our own territory, an occupation in violation of our people's will. This is something we must be aware of at all times.

Militant. What role do young people play in advancing the revolutionary process today?

Escandell. One of the questions that has come to the fore through the process of rectification is the incorporation of youth into the leadership of the revolution.

When the revolution was victorious in Cuba, all our leaders were very young. Fidel Castro was 33 years old.

Ten years later, in 1970, when we began to analyze some of the problems we were having, when we didn't make our goal of harvesting 10 million tons of sugarcane, we had to take some corrective measures. Our leadership was still young.

Today our leadership is not young anymore. There has to be a renewal. We have to bring comrades into different levels of leadership who will be able to replace the current leadership without having this turn into a struggle between different generations. This was discussed in the party congress last year.

In my case, when I started in the unions I was 21 years old. I had already been part of the underground struggle in the July 26 Movement. When I was 17 or 18 years old I had participated in the strike over the death of Frank País [a leader of the July 26 Movement's urban underground assassinated in 1957]. Then I worked in a U.S. bank, the Bank of Boston. Then I started working on the railroad.

I was 22 years old when the revolution triumphed. Now, I'm 48. I took on responsibilities. I was general secretary of the union local that organized the main railroad terminal. Later, I went to work in the union in the provinces. Then, in 1962, I went to work in the national rail union.

Today, when there's someone who's the age I was then we want to bring that person into the leadership. What's more, that person is much better educated than we were at that age.

There's some unconscious resistance to doing this. But there's no other alternative. It's not a question of slighting the older comrades. It's a question of avoiding really serious problems, such as those that have occurred in other socialist countries, where there's a leadership that's 70 or 80 years old, where there is a huge age gap between the leadership and the majority of the workers.

I think we've caught this problem in time, maybe we're a little behind. But a new group of comrades is becoming part of the leadership of the party, to guarantee the continuity of our revolution.

Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' June issue: Who is Armando Valladares?

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. PM is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The June issue includes an article on Armando Valladares and his book *Against All Hope*. Since his release from prison in 1982, this right-wing terrorist has been made an overnight celebrity. Both liberal and conservative figures have helped boost Valladares's image internationally. The "wheelchair poet," as they called him, claims he was jailed and tortured in Cuba because of his ideas.

The article, by Harry Ring, explains that Valladares was a cop under the Batista dictatorship and describes the bombings planned by him and 16 others that led to their trial and imprisonment.

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Behind AIDS epidemic in Central Africa

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The number of people suffering from AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) is disproportionately high — and increasing rapidly — in the countries of Central and East Africa and the Caribbean island of Haiti.

Unlike in the imperialist countries, the main victims of AIDS in the semicolonial world are not gay men and impoverished intravenous drug users. Instead, the disease is spreading more evenly throughout the population, hitting men and women in equal numbers (in the United States, the ratio of male to female victims is 13 to 1), with most of the victims being heterosexuals who are not IV drug users.

The disease is especially prevalent among impoverished prostitutes and men who have sexual relations with them. And the high proportion of women with AIDS means their children can contract it prenatally through their mothers' blood supply.

These facts pose some important questions:

- Why does AIDS spread differently in Africa and Haiti than it does in Europe and the United States? Does that mean it is transmitted differently?
- Why are Central Africa and Haiti so hard hit by the AIDS virus?
- Can anything be done about what is shaping up to be an AIDS epidemic in parts of Africa?

So far, African governments have reported 4,370 clinically confirmed cases of AIDS to the World Health Organization (WHO). The real figure is probably quite a bit higher, however.

According to a November 1986 article published by WHO, the proportion of healthy adults who have been infected with the AIDS virus in Central, East, and parts of southern Africa ranges from 4 to more than 30 percent, although the report cautions that "many of these studies have involved rather small and selected populations."

WHO estimates that at least 50,000 Africans have symptoms of AIDS and that 2 million or more are infected with the virus.

• In Rwanda, it is estimated that 12.5 percent of the urban population is infected with AIDS.

• In Lusaka, Zambia, one in three blood donors between the ages of 30 and 35 have been shown to be infected. It is also estimated that as many as 6,000 Zambian babies will have AIDS this year.

• In Zaire, 9 percent of babies are born infected with the virus.

In proportion to their population, the number of AIDS cases reported in Haiti, Rwanda, Uganda, Central African Repub-

lic, and Tanzania are the highest in the world, after the United States.

Impact of venereal disease

Africa's high rate of untreated venereal disease is a key factor in the spread of AIDS.

As I explained in my article on facts and myths about AIDS in last week's *Militant*:

"The open lesions in the genital area that are symptomatic of some venereal diseases, for example, greatly increase the chances of getting AIDS because they provide a transmission route directly into the bloodstream from an infected partner's blood or semen."

"In addition, men who have had venereal disease are more likely to have white blood cells in their semen (because those are the cells that fight off infections), which are the cells that the AIDS virus attacks."

And anything that weakens one's immune system — which includes venereal diseases, as well as other diseases and malnutrition — increases both the chance of contracting the AIDS virus and the chance of developing AIDS once you do get infected.

The prevalence of gonorrhea is 10 percent in Kampala and 7 percent in Nairobi. In contrast, in London the figure is 0.3 percent; in Atlanta, 2.5 percent.

As with any other sexually transmitted disease, the more sex partners people have, the higher their chances of contracting the disease. That's one reason prostitutes have an especially high rate of infection with the AIDS virus.

Mechanism for transmission

The high rate of untreated VD explains what many commentators insist on calling a mystery: the fact that AIDS is transmitted so frequently through vaginal intercourse in Africa, while in the United States and other imperialist countries very few cases are transmitted that way.

As I explained last week, the virus can only be transmitted through direct contact of infected blood or semen with the bloodstream. That's why those who engage in anal intercourse or who share their needles with someone else without sterilizing them first are the main victims of AIDS in the United States.

Vaginal intercourse is a qualitatively less efficient method of passing on the AIDS virus than anal intercourse because there are less blood vessels near the surface in the vaginal area, and the skin is less likely to be broken than during anal intercourse.

The presence of VD, however, dramati-

cally increases the ability of the virus to be passed during vaginal intercourse. This is one of the primary reasons for the high proportion of women who contract the virus in Africa.

The facts show, therefore, that the mechanism of transmission is no different for AIDS in Africa and Haiti than in the United States; rather the poverty and underdevelopment that breed poor health in the semicolonial countries is what alters the balance of who and how many will die of AIDS.

But venereal disease is not the only factor in the spread of AIDS in Africa and Haiti.

Most countries in Central and East Africa don't screen donated blood for AIDS. The widespread use of unsterilized needles for medical procedures and the generally poor state of health care and sanitation leaves the populations in these countries particularly vulnerable to infections.

Imperialist-imposed murder

The tone of almost everything written about the AIDS epidemic in Africa is that it's inevitable; nothing can be done about it.

An editorial in the Nov. 11, 1986, *New York Times* commented, "Why then in Central Africa do men and women suffer in equal numbers from AIDS? One explanation is widespread medical use of unsterilized needles; another is the wider prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases, whose sores may give the virus ac-

cess to the bloodstream. If so, there is no reason for the African pattern to be repeated in the United States."

That's true. But there's also no reason for the "African pattern" to exist in Africa.

It's not a biological predisposition that condemns thousands of Africans to death — it is the social and economic conditions imposed by the ruling families in the imperialist metropolises, which have exploited the people and resources of these countries for centuries, imposing underdevelopment and the most wretched poverty.

The U.S., French, British, Italian, and other capitalists who have profited so handsomely from their domination of Africa are guilty of not helping to provide the resources that could significantly decrease the number of people who have to get AIDS.

The means for testing and treating venereal disease are well established in the imperialist countries and could also be used in Africa and Haiti.

Likewise, two other simple measures — testing all donated blood for the AIDS virus and distributing disposable hypodermic needles to all health-care providers — would save the lives of literally thousands of people.

A worldwide outcry is needed to stop the murder in Africa and demand that WHO carry out a massive anti-AIDS campaign along these lines. And working people in the United States should put special pressure on Washington to finance and help organize such an effort.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

State of emergency declared in Panama

The government of Panama proclaimed a 10-day state of emergency June 11. This followed three days of violent street demonstrations — directed by businessmen and conservative opposition parties — demanding the resignation of Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Noriega, the commander of the Panama Defense Forces, is the country's top military commander and de facto political leader.

The demonstrations against him began after Col. Roberto Díaz Herrera, an ousted chief of staff, accused Noriega of having participated in rigging the 1984 elections and of being involved in the 1981 death of former Panamanian leader Omar Torrijos.

The protests and the demands for Noriega's resignation have been organized by a coalition that includes the Chamber of Commerce, the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, and the opposition Christian Democratic Party. Aurelio Barria, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, has played a key role in directing a business shutdown aimed at forcing Noriega out.

Some news reports have noted that few of Panama's urban or rural poor have taken part in these actions.

The Panamanian government has charged that the unrest is being fomented by conservative forces in Panama and the United States that favor abrogating the 1977 Panama Canal treaties. Those treaties pledged Washington to return the canal to Panamanian sovereignty on Dec. 31, 1999.

Last year, some members of the U.S. Congress and of the Reagan administration initiated a propaganda campaign against Noriega, raising many of the same charges that have now been echoed by Díaz Herrera.

The U.S. government, since the start of the protests against Noriega, has strongly hinted its support for those demanding the general's ouster.

A State Department spokesperson echoed the Panamanian opposition's demand for new elections and called on Noriega to "clean up his act."

On June 11, the same day the state of emergency was declared, U.S. ambassador Arthur Davis paid a prominent visit to Christian Democratic Party leader Ricardo Arias Calderón, a key figure in the business-led coalition

pressing for Noriega's resignation.

The 9,500 U.S. troops in the Panama Canal Zone have been placed on alert.

S. African rail workers regain jobs

Following a bitter, three-month strike, some 17,000 fired Black railway workers won their reinstatement June 5. This was announced by the management of the South African Transport Services, which had dismissed the workers April 22 in an effort to break their strike.

Most of the strikers are members of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU).

Although the workers will not get paid for the days they were on strike, the reinstatement agreement includes 200 railway workers who have been jailed for their part in the work stoppage. Six were killed by police gunfire on the day of the dismissals.

Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (to which SARHWU is affiliated), called the settlement "a major victory for railway workers... a victory over apartheid arrogance."

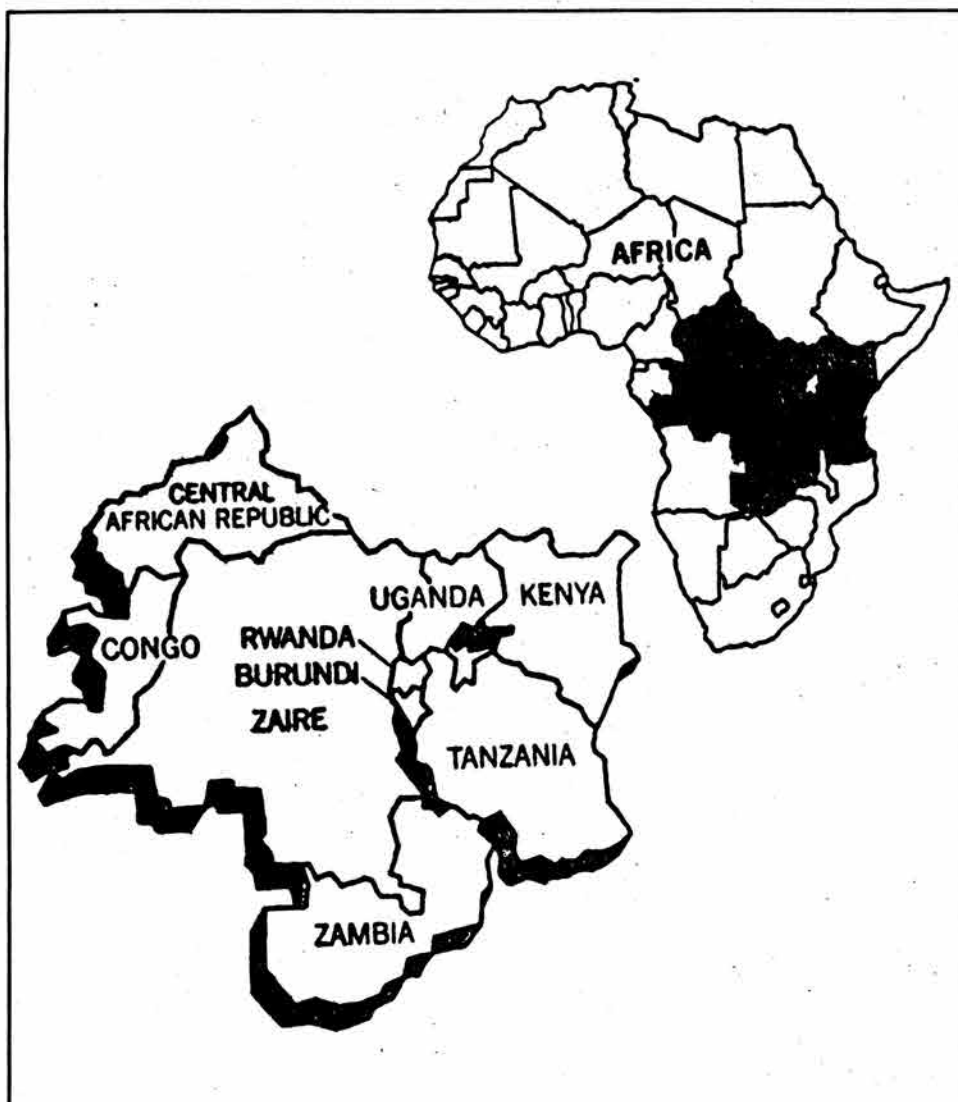
Several days later, South African President Pieter Botha announced that the state of emergency he imposed on the country on June 12, 1986, was being extended for another year.

Auto workers strike GM plant in Spain

Since April, some 6,200 workers at General Motors' automobile plant in Figueruelas, Spain, have staged a series of one-day work stoppages to back up their demands. There were five such strikes each in April and May, and seven have been scheduled for June.

The workers, represented by several unions, have been resisting management efforts to extend the workday and have been demanding safer conditions on the assembly line, more flexible vacation schedules, and more sick-pay coverage.

The plant is modern and computerized. GM located the plant in an area of Spain with very high unemployment and weak union organization, and carefully screened those it hired. "But we surprised them," a union leader commented. "They weren't expecting such an organized group."



CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Cuba: A Living Revolution. A report-back from a recent Venceremos Brigade dedicated to Winnie and Nelson Mandela given by three members of the brigade. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

The "Baby M" Case and Women's Rights. Speakers: Maura Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 565; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 21, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

End U.S.-Sponsored War in Nicaragua. Linder Family to Speak Out Against Ben Linder's Murder. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 7701 SW 76th Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Unitarian Church Social Concerns Committee, Miami Friends Meeting, La CASA, Postal Workers for Peace. For more information call (305) 666-9538.

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! The Role of Washington in the Iran-Iraq War. Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-0120.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Puerto Rico: Independence Now; Stop FBI Attacks; Free the Political Prisoners! Speaker: Marilee Taylor, Socialist Workers Party, recently toured Puerto Rico on *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* subscription team. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Future of the USSR: Lenin's Unfinished Fight. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

U.S. Warships Out of the Persian Gulf! Speakers: Reba Williams Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Dana Burroughs, SWP candidate for city council. Sat., June 20. Program, 7:30 p.m.; reception to meet candidates, 6 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Report-back from the Congress of the Cuban

Union of Young Communists. Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

The U.S. Constitution: A Document for the Rich or for Working People? A Marxist Analysis. Speaker: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party, professor of political science, University of Minnesota. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

American Labor at the Crossroads. Speaker: Mac Warren, national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 21, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis

The Truth About the Persian Gulf War. A panel discussion. Sat., June 20, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

The Facts About the AIDS Scare. Speaker to be announced. Sat., June 27, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

From Southeast Asia to Central America: No More Vietnam Wars! Speakers: Edward Damato, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, recently returned from fact-finding trip to Vietnam; Priscilla Schenk, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Roy Brown in Benefit Concert for Pathfinder Books. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$10. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Continuing Struggle in the Philippines. Speaker: Tim McGlawn, Friends of the Filipino People; representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 21, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! The Role of the U.S. Government in the Iran-Iraq War. Speaker: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists Local 63. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Youth Speak Out. A panel discussion of young

Rallies to Defend Democratic Rights Against Government Spying

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund; Michel Shehadeh, Committee for Justice, Palestinian immigrant, one of eight fighting McCarran-Walter Act deportation proceedings in Los Angeles; Don White, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES); representative from International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; others. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 675 Park View. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Speakers: Jarrod Hayes, coordinator of Emory Central America Network; Joe Beasley, Rainbow Coalition; James McKinney, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644; Greg Nelson, labor representative of the Political Rights Defense Fund, member International Association of Machinists Local 2225. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 27, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, 450 Auburn Ave. NE. Donation requested. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, national labor spokesperson for Political Rights Defense Fund, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367; Parren Mitchell, chair, Minority Business Legal Defense Fund; Rev. Mamie Williams, Centennial Caroline St. United Methodist Church; Councilman Carl Snowden, Annapolis, Maryland; Patricia Ireland, national treasurer for National Organization for Women; Evelyn Manning Handy, director of Racial Justice Center, YWCA; Rev. Theodore Williams, Shiloh AME Church; Lucretia Jefferson, mother of Jarrod Clayton, killed by Baltimore police. Sat., June 27, 7 p.m. Centennial Caroline St. United Methodist Church, 1029 E. Monument. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Political Rights Defense Fund; Anne Begay, Native American Indian activist with the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; Buddy Hogan, president of Omaha National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People; representatives of the Omaha Indian tribe. Sun., June 21. Reception, 5 p.m.; program, 6 p.m. St. John's A.M.E. Church, 2402 22nd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

OREGON

Portland

Speakers: Chris Horner, national labor spokesperson of Political Rights Defense Fund; Tomas Villanueva, president of United Farm Workers of Washington State; representative of Columbia River Defense Project; Kevin Czapl, member Reed Out of South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 28, 6 p.m., reception 5 p.m. 2205 N. Lombard. Donation: \$3, dinner, \$2. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (503) 233-5905.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Speakers: John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund; Lance Rogers, district chairman of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1472; representative of Philadelphia Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. SEIU Hall, 1313 Vine St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Dallas

Speakers: Fahim Minkah (Fred Bell), founder Dallas Black Panthers; Linda Hajek, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Salvador Ibarra, director of Proyecto Adelante; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. Bethany Presbyterian Church, 4523 Cedar Springs. Sponsor: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (214) 824-4943.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Speakers: Ervin Brisbon, Greensboro Coalition for Unity and Justice; Kipp Dawson, national labor spokesperson of Political Rights Defense Fund and member United Mine Workers of America; Dave Evans, Medical Aid for El Salvador; Nat Turner Lacy, West Virginia Coalition Against Apartheid. Sun., June 28, 7 p.m. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier. Sponsor: PRDF. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

activists. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

United States Out of the Persian Gulf! Speakers: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 289. Sat., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Witness to Apartheid: A Video Showing and Discussion in Commemoration of the 11th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. Sun., June 21, 6 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

U.S. Out of Persian Gulf: The Role of the U.S. Government in Iran-Iraq War. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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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 Almeda. 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.

Catch 22 — Two foreign exchange students in McComb, Mississippi, won't be allowed to graduate because they didn't take a required course in driver's education. Under the exchange program, recipients are barred from driving in the host country.



Harry Ring

Think you're crazy? — "The

search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence assumes that advanced civilizations out there might set up powerful radio beacons to announce their presence. Nonetheless, NASA has decided not to tell the universe that we are here. How can we be sure, it argues, that extraterrestrials who found out about us would be friendly? Worse, what if they chose to be friendly with the Soviet bloc?" — *The New York Times*.

Bunch of cynics — Country musician Ray Stevens' new record, "Would Jesus Wear a Rolex?" racked up a sale of 500,000 the first three weeks.

The rainmakers — Citizens

for Sensible Control of Acid Rain — a front for utility and coal barons opposed to controls — spent a record \$3 million lobbying against a congressional bill requiring some modest action to reduce acid rain. The bill, like the fish, is now dead in the water.

For their own good — Off-road, or all-terrain, vehicles claimed nearly 700 lives in the past five years, and caused hundreds of thousands of injuries. Responding to suggestions that they at least stop making small models for children, manufacturers said this would only increase the number of injuries since youngsters would turn to larger vehicles.

Like blackjack — When New York's posh "21" club rehires those waiters picketing out front, we might drop by and try their celebrated \$21 hamburger. (It's now \$22.75, but it's served on "grilled country bread.")

Something like chicken parts — "It seems stupid, but there really is a way of pointing to something." — Danielle Korwin, whose agency, Parts, provides specialized models for TV commercials. Their on-camera role is limited to hands, feet, noses, ears, lips and other "fragments."

We'll take six — Go to a thrift store and find a reasonable-looking \$3 shirt that fits, we used to

think, and it's one of a kind. But not really. A New York designer offers custom-made shirts of "sumptuous" fabrics, plus antique buttons. \$300.

Try a throat lozenge — When discussing an insurance claim over the phone bear in mind that, legally, the company is supposed to tell you if you're being taped. But they don't have to tell you the tape may then be run through a Voice Stress Analyzer, a "lie detector" gizmo that supposedly measures vocal tremors inaudible to the ear.

If you want to go in style — A New York shop offers a sterling silver ashtray with a black marble interior. \$650.

Air controllers unionize to press safety demands

Continued from front page

naled to the employers that they could sharply step up their drive to cut wages, worsen working conditions, reduce work forces, and weaken or bust unions.

Because the smashing of PATCO was a watershed, the struggle to reestablish a union attracted considerable media coverage, and was followed attentively by many unionists.

After its 1981 victory over the air traffic controllers, the government stepped up its offensive against their working conditions. A massive speedup was implemented, at the cost of a steady deterioration in air safety.

In 1981 there were 16,375 air traffic control personnel. More than 13,000 were full-performance level controllers. Today there are 15,132 workers. The government

concedes that only 9,563 of them are full-performance controllers who are primarily responsible for handling air traffic.

But the volume of commercial air traffic grew from 4.7 million flights in 1981 to 6.2 million last year.

"Staffing levels at nearly all facilities are below currently authorized levels," conceded a May 6 report by the U.S. General Accounting Office on the air traffic control centers.

The results include massive and virtually compulsory overtime — more than 900,000 hours in 1985 alone. "To call up for a day off or even an hour off is unheard of," said Joseph Leaseburg, a controller at the Palmdale center in California. The number of hours per shift spent at a radar screen has jumped 50 percent.

"Some sectors are so intense," another

Palmdale controller said, "that after 45 minutes you feel like your eyes are being pushed out of your head."

The number of "operational errors" rose to 313 in the first quarter of this year, up from 265 in the first quarter of 1986. The number of such errors was 1,207 in 1986, according to FAA officials — up from 457 in 1981.

Near collisions rose from 395 in 1981 to 839 last year.

In addition to the shortage of controllers, equipment failure is a growing problem. Controllers' radar screens go blank, sometimes at potentially crucial moments, or provide false information about the location of aircraft.

Controller Michael Caldwell told the *Wall Street Journal*, "With the responsibility we have for lives, you'd think we'd get the best possible equipment."

University of Pennsylvania sociologist Arthur Shostak has cited an estimate that 232 people have died since 1981 because of breakdowns in air traffic control.

The trend led the National Transportation Safety Board to warn May 13 that the "erosion of safety" in the air lanes could

worsen substantially with increasing summer traffic.

There is a simple solution to the shortage of controllers — rehire the thousands of experienced people who were fired in 1981 and have been blacklisted ever since. But Congress and the White House have thus far refused to lift the antiunion blacklist applied to them.

Despite the blow dealt the controllers and the rest of the union movement by the smashing of PATCO, steadily worsening work and safety conditions impelled controllers to put up resistance and start reorganizing a union to represent them. Last September, 200 controllers met to formally establish NATCA. More than 4,000 petitioned for the representation election that NATCA just won.

"This election is a turning point," declared C.E. DeFries — president of the National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, which backed NATCA's organizing drive — after the vote was announced. He called the result a victory for those "who have carried the nation's air traffic system on their backs for nearly six years with excessive overtime and tremendous stress."

Farm workers' union anniversary

Continued from back page

members. However, in recent years the union has been under heavy attack, and the number is down to 30,000.

A Filipino organizer explained to participants in the anniversary rally that in the Delano area, once a union stronghold, the union currently doesn't have any contracts with the growers, although many individual union members are working in the fields.

Union appeals to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board are being ignored. Union President César Chávez told a press conference that there has not been a single representation election in the last four years where the grower's thugs have not been unleashed on the UFW. Chavez said thugs

have attacked polling places and stolen and burned ballots. Rene Lopez was shot and killed in 1983 as he attempted to organize dairy farm workers.

In addition, a California judge ruled in January that the union has to pay Maggio Inc., a large grower, \$1.7 million because of alleged violence during a 1979 strike. The union has explained that Maggio's private security guards and scabs were responsible for the violence that led to one union member being killed and many being hurt.

The judge ordered the union to post a \$3.3-million bond while the decision is being appealed.

Recent studies show that thousands of farm workers have illnesses directly attributable to the use of pesticides. A total of 130 different pesticides are used on California grapes. Nearly a third of them are suspected of being carcinogenic. Yet farm workers are not protected by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration Act.

At the press conference Chávez said the union's international grape boycott campaign will focus on three demands. The first is that the growers allow fair elections and bargain in good faith with the union. The second is for an end to the use of five of the most dangerous pesticides. The UFW is also demanding a joint union and grower program for testing poisonous residues on grapes sold to grocery stores.

A number of union officials attended the celebration to express their support for the international boycott. They included Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labour Congress; Borge Svensson from the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers union based in Switzerland; and AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue.

The day also served as a memorial to UFW members killed during the course of union organizing activity. Five large banners depicting the faces of Rufino Contreras, Nan Freeman, Rene Lopez, Naji Daifallah, and Juan de la Cruz adorned the stage. Inscribed on the banners were quotations in Spanish, English, Arabic, and Tagalog — the native languages of the unionists.

Socialist workers announce candidates in Baltimore race

BALTIMORE — An aerospace worker and a sewing-machine operator have announced their campaigns for mayor and city council president here on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The candidates for the fall elections are Reba Williams Dixon, a member of United Auto Workers Local 738 at Martin Marietta, and Dana Burroughs, a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 775 at London Town.

Dixon called for an independent commission of inquiry into the police killing of Jarrod Clayton, whose murderers were exonerated by Dixon's opponents, Democratic Mayor Clarence Burns and State's Attorney Kurt Schmoke who is also a Democrat.

She blasted the trustees of city pension funds for their refusal to divest from corporations doing business in South Africa. Burns and Schmoke have been silent on this issue.

Burroughs, chairperson of the Baltimore Young Socialist Alliance, helped build the April 25 march in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in Central America and support to apartheid in South Africa.

10 AND 25 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE June 24, 1977

WASHINGTON — It's the oldest trick in the book. Right-wingers in Congress propose some monstrous piece of legislation. There is a big outcry, so some "reasonable" right-wingers get together with some "responsible" liberals and come up with a compromise. The result is only very bad instead of horrible, so naturally everybody is expected to support the "less-evil."

The latest example of this hard cop, soft cop approach is Senate Bill 1437. Presented as a reform of the federal criminal code, it is a wholesale assault on the Bill of Rights.

In March 1976 right-wing senators Roman Hruska and John McClellan entered into negotiations with Senate liberals Edward Kennedy, Philip Hart, and James Abourezk.

The results of this collaboration have now been unveiled. On May 2 a Washington, D.C., news conference announced the introduction of the new bill, which is jointly sponsored by senators Kennedy and McClellan. Among its proposals whose only purpose is to inhibit dissent are the following:

- "Demonstrating to Influence a Judicial Proceeding." Under this section, "A person is guilty of an offense if, with intent to influence . . . a judicial proceeding, he pickets, parades, displays a sign, uses a sound amplifying device, or otherwise engages in a demonstration" within 200 feet of a federal courthouse while a trial is going on.

- "Obstructing Military Recruitment or Induction" — a section that was undoubtedly considered in light of the government's problems during the Vietnam War — would allow imprisonment of anyone who "incites others to engage in conduct" hindering recruitment or conscription for

the armed forces.

- The two sections on "Leading a Riot" and "Engaging in a Riot" are also threats to basic rights of free speech and protest. A riot is defined as 10 or more persons engaged in "violent and tumultuous conduct" that "creates a grave danger of imminently causing injury to persons or damage to property."

THE MILITANT
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June 25, 1962 Price 10c

In a direct and unmistakable slap at Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association has invited foreign correspondent William Worthy to address its annual meeting on June 23.

The president's brother will speak at the same conference on the previous evening.

The attorney general is responsible for the criminal indictment of Worthy for returning to his country of birth last October 10 "without a valid passport." When Robert Kennedy appears at the conference to speak, he will be "greeted" by Negro and white pickets protesting the novel indictment as an attempted interference with freedom of the press and as an act of racial discrimination against a Negro newsman. None of the numerous white citizens who have come home "without a valid passport" has ever been indicted.

William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, pleaded not guilty in Miami on June 15 in United States district court. On April 24 Worthy had been indicted in Miami for reentering his native land from Cuba last October 10. The newsman lost his passport in 1957 as a result of his trip to China in defiance of a State Department travel ban.

Hair trigger in Persian Gulf

The hair-trigger rules of engagement for U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, presented June 16 by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to a closed session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, are a further step toward a U.S. air and naval assault on Iran. They grant U.S. commanders in the Persian Gulf wide authority to launch "preemptive" strikes against Iranian planes, ships, and territory.

The closed session followed President Reagan's June 15 speech, in which he voiced the government's determination to press ahead with placing Kuwaiti tankers under U.S. flags, commanders, and naval escorts in the Persian Gulf.

The emir of Kuwait is a close ally of the Iraqi regime in its nearly seven-year war against Iran. The reflagging of the tankers is intended to set the stage for a clash with Iran.

Weinberger admitted in his report that the rules-of-engagement plan "is not risk-free." This is a delicate formulation for the death trap Washington is setting up in the Persian Gulf for the U.S. sailors and other military personnel who are being used as pawns in the war provocation. The aim is to use a trumped-up incident to force U.S. working people into a military conflict with Iran.

The so-called rules of engagement were reported in the June 17 *New York Times* as providing that "any aircraft or surface ship that moves within shooting distance of the American convoys in the gulf could be subject to attack at the decision of an American warship's commander."

"Even the act of focusing a radar on an American ship in a manner suggesting that a weapon is being pointed would be viewed as a sign of hostile intent and would justify shooting by the Navy in self-defense."

U.S. sailors are to man all battle stations when passing through the Strait of Hormuz at the entrance of the gulf.

The "rules of engagement" authorize commanders to strike at missile bases on Iranian territory. President Reagan has openly threatened "preemptive strikes" at Iranian missile bases near the Strait of Hormuz.

And a U.S. battleship, capable of carrying out artillery and cruise missile strikes against Iranian territory, may be assigned to the gulf.

The preparations for preemptive strikes reflect the U.S. rulers estimate that escorting the Kuwaiti tankers may not provoke the clash they seek. Iranian forces have not attacked a Kuwaiti tanker since October, and neither Iraq — which began the war against gulf shipping — nor Iran has attacked any ship in the gulf since May 21.

Iran has been targeted for attack because the U.S. rulers fear that an Iranian victory in the war with Iraq will bring down the Iraqi regime, which has become increasingly open about its dependence on Washington's support, as well as encourage opposition to other unpopular regimes in the region.

Washington's war buildup in the gulf has thus far won bipartisan support in Congress. Debate there revolves primarily around the timing of the war moves and whether the administration has done enough to win support for them at home.

Washington's war moves against Iran are a deadly threat to U.S. working people as well. Foes of U.S. aggression need to get out the truth about Washington's actions in the Persian Gulf region.

U.S. Navy out of the Persian Gulf!
Hands off Iran!

Halt arms to Angolan terrorists

In a reaffirmation of its support for the contras of Angola, the Reagan administration announced June 10 that it will provide another \$15 million in military aid to the rightist forces seeking to topple the Angolan government. This will include Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, a White House official revealed. Last year, Washington also gave \$15 million to the Angolan terrorists.

Reagan has tried to justify this aid by painting the so-called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) as a "Black liberation movement." Nothing could be further from the truth.

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

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

The close ties between UNITA and Pretoria were underlined just a few days before the White House's announcement of continued arms supplies.

Visiting Johannesburg, UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, praised South African President Pieter Botha. "President Botha needs support now," Savimbi declared.

In backing this South African puppet, the Reagan administration has the approval of both capitalist parties. When a vote came up in the House of Representatives last September on whether to make aid to UNITA subject to congressional approval, a bipartisan majority voted to allow the White House to continue giving the aid covertly.

More recently, a feeble move by some members of the House intelligence committee to block aid to UNITA collapsed when four Democrats switched their positions to vote with the committee's Republican majority. And Senator Dennis DeConcini (D.-Ariz.), who has raised questions about sending Stingers to UNITA, is supporting a resolution calling on the White House to impose full-scale economic sanctions against Angola.

Whether through military aid to UNITA or through economic pressures on Angola, the U.S. rulers are direct participants in Pretoria's war of terror against the people of that country. Such acts of aggression must be vigorously condemned.

Goetz verdict blow to rights

Continued from front page

"crime." This included Mayor Edward Koch, who declared at the time, "The frustration and anger are so obvious. . . . The rights of society have been impinged upon, and what they're saying is they're fed up. I'm fed up too."

Ever since the shootings, there has been a concerted drive to put the victims on trial. The Black youths were depicted as "animals." Charges against two of them for totally unrelated offenses were spotlighted, as though that somehow justified Goetz shooting them.

This poisonous smokescreen was necessary because the case against Goetz was clear-cut.

There were 10 other passengers in the subway car at the time of the shooting. None said they saw the youths threaten Goetz or anyone else.

One passenger, Christopher Boucher, described how Goetz had stood over the already wounded Darrell Cabey and fired the added shot that severed his spinal cord.

Boucher's testimony confirmed what Goetz had told police in a videotaped statement — that he had fired at the seated youth, saying, "You seem to be all right, here's another."

Goetz had also told the cops, "When I saw this one fellow, when I saw the gleam in his eye and the smile on his face . . . I decided I was going to kill them."

This evidence was brushed aside by the jury.

"The public may wonder why we reached this verdict," one juror said. "They may wonder why we didn't believe Goetz when he said he did it, himself."

Why didn't they believe his admission?
"We felt that he may have gotten confused."

"The jury basically discounted the whole videotaped statement," another juror added.

Acting Justice Stephen Crane did his best to make sure Goetz was acquitted.

Last year, Crane threw out the attempted murder and assault charges. But he was reversed on this by a state appeals court.

During the trial, Crane permitted the defense to goad one of the victims, James Ramseur, with totally irrelevant questions designed to discredit him. When Ramseur finally balked, Crane gave him six months and a fine for contempt of court.

Crane's charge to the jury was weighted toward Goetz, and in response to requests for points of clarification by the jury, it became more so.

The entire conduct of the case gave testimony to how deeply racism is woven into the fabric of this society. And it points to why supporters of Black equality are becoming increasingly determined to push the racists back.

That determination was registered in the outcry against the lynch murder last December by a racist gang in New York's Howard Beach — an outcry sufficient to force a reluctant governor to appoint a special prosecutor and obtain murder indictments in the case.

And it was expressed last January when 30,000 people marched in Forsyth County, Georgia, against the violence of the Ku Klux Klan.

That was followed this June by significant demonstrations against the KKK in several North Carolina towns.

Those indicted in the Howard Beach lynch assault, including the admitted ringleaders, are now awaiting trial. The outcome of the Goetz case makes it especially important that strong public pressure be organized to ensure that the killers are put behind bars.

Why profiteers on the land are celebrating

BY DOUG JENNESS

On June 9 the sound of clinking champagne glasses could be heard in the offices of real estate firms, land developers, and construction companies across the country.

They had something very profitable to celebrate. A Supreme Court ruling that day opened the door to land development with little regard for government restraints

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

aimed at protecting public health and safety and the environment.

The court ruled that when property owners are deprived use of land by zoning, environmental restrictions, or other regulations, they are entitled to collect damages for the amount they would have received as a result of developing the land. The justices based their decision on the long-established mandate that private property may not be "taken for public use, without just compensation."

The new ruling will clearly have a chilling effect on government agencies attempting to curtail land use that is harmful to the public interest.

Within a day after the court ruling, for example, property owners on Staten Island in New York City were banding together to demand compensation for any parcels designated as freshwater wetlands. This kind of response is occurring throughout the country.

The ruling will also affect land on which government agencies have barred construction or development because of the danger of floods or other hazards.

If government agencies are forced to pay millions of dollars in compensation, they will be much more reluctant to restrict the efforts of landlords and real estate sharks to use land for socially harmful purposes.

Gus Bauman, attorney for the National Association of Homebuilders, hailed the court ruling, declaring the question of land use "an individual rights issue." The decision just "brings some reasonable balance between the individual and the government," he said.

Something seems awry here. A representative for the highly lucrative construction industry is championing "individual rights." But what do he and others of his breed say about the individual rights of working-class homeowners, who are kicked out of their homes if they can't make interest payments on their mortgages because of layoffs, sickness, etc?

Are they entitled to compensation when the banks, with the blessing of the courts, take over their houses and the lots they sit on?

And what about working farmers who depend on the land they work to make a living? Should they be compensated for the forcible takeover of their land when they get behind in bank payments? Should they be compensated for the value of what could have been produced on the land during the rest of their lives?

Working-class homeowners and working farm families are not what the real estate and construction sharks have in mind when they talk about "individual rights" and remuneration for land. To the contrary, they are celebrating the Supreme Court ruling on land use because it gives more opportunities to capitalist property owners — to those who are seeking to accumulate capital and make a profit from using the land.

The issue is not individual rights in general but capitalist property rights versus the protection and use of the land — in the cities and the countryside — for the entire people.

To halt the big timber companies, banks, insurance peddlers, capitalist ranchers, and real estate speculators from abusing the land and water and exploiting these resources for their own gain, the government should take over all the land and water and make them a public trust.

This would accomplish two things in one fell swoop. First, it would end the current situation, reinforced by the Supreme Court ruling, of profits coming before public interests in use of the land. It could bring an end to needless despoilation of forests, lakes and rivers, and of top soil.

Second, making all land public would end the buying, selling, and renting of land or the use of land as collateral for loans. This would smash the rents and mortgages system. And it would lay the basis for guaranteeing to working farmers, who do not accumulate wealth from land, but use it to make a living, continued use of the land without threat of foreclosure. It would place the soil at the service of working farmers, not profiteers.

Moreover, it would guarantee that single-home families could live in their homes without fear of being put out into the street by those getting rich off mortgage interests.

Winning this would be worth more than a champagne toast.

How oil workers pushed back employer on drug testing

BY PAT NIXON

Several days before a union-sponsored rally against the company's drug-testing program, Chevron USA, Inc. backed off from its attempt to victimize a worker who had been forced to undergo a drug test and suspended without pay for two days. Company officials admitted their "error," reimbursed the worker for the two days,

UNION TALK

and said they were removing all references to the incident from its files. The union is demanding, in addition, a formal apology.

On May 7 the rally went ahead as scheduled despite the company's retreat. One hundred workers represented by Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-547 at Chevron's El Segundo, California, refinery demonstrated during their lunch hour against the company's drug- and alcohol-testing program. The program was implemented earlier in the year over the union's objections.

The idea for a rally came up after Tom Baughman, a worker in the fire and security division, was tested following an argument with his boss. (Supposedly, workers were to be tested only for "probable cause".) Baughman, who was in training for the Los Angeles Marathon, and who in seven years had never been late to work nor missed one day sick, was forced to strip naked and walk from one room to another one in an open-backed apron in the presence of a female nurse. This was allegedly to prevent him from slipping the nurse someone else's urine.

News of this treatment outraged workers throughout the refinery. At the next union meeting a motion to hold a protest passed by unanimous vote.

Several days before the event, union members worked on picket signs at the union hall. Slogans included, "Don't sample away my rights," "Test for my health, not to protect your wealth," and "Negotiate, don't dictate."

The official position of the OCAW international is for "the protection of safety and health at the work place, the right of privacy, medical confidentiality, and protection of employees from interference with non-job related conduct." The union is opposed to "any form of random testing of employees in a program. The basis for testing any

employee must be on reasonable, objective, 'probable cause' evidence based on job performance." The union's position also calls for rehabilitation rather than discipline.

Paul Schrade — chairperson of the Worker's Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a former United Auto Workers official in the area — addressed the rally along with Baughman.

Chevron unit members were joined on the picket line by Local 1-547 Secretary-treasurer Thom Moss.

The protest was covered by Channel 5 TV news; the *Daily Breeze*, a local newspaper; and Associated Press news service.

We all agreed that the action was a very successful show of our strength and unity, especially in view of the coming contract talks with the company. One member suggested that we have another rally demanding fully paid medical coverage.

To my knowledge, the company has not tested anyone since.

Pat Nixon, an operator at the Chevron refinery, is a member of OCAW Local 1-547.

LETTERS

Nicaragua coverage

Can you explain why the reporting from Nicaragua is so shoddy and even irrelevant in the major media — notably in the *New York Times* — when a paper like yours, clearly with a much smaller budget, does so well?

It's like comparing WBAI's coverage of the hearings with the U.S. Congress's biased and woefully incomplete coverage of pertinent facts.

Kudos to you all!

B.M.

Long Island City, New York

Ku Klux Klan

Reading the *Militant* I saw that the hate-mongering Ku Klux Klan was planning a march through Greensboro, North Carolina, and that they were calling themselves "Christian."

These race-haters burn the cross, which to real Christians is a symbol of the ultimate sacrifice for salvation by Jesus' death.

The Catholic Church is the largest Christian body in the world, but the KKK hates Catholics too.

I thought I should speak up for the real Christians, who are supposed to love their enemy.

Gary McIntire

St. Paris, Ohio

Interested

After reading the current copy of the *Militant*, I'm interested. It would be a great help to me if you could tell me what your goals are.

The paper seems to indicate that you're interested in the conflicts taking place outside of the country. I feel that they are important and you should be interested. I would prefer to make an effort to make life better in this country.

I should tell you something about myself. I'm retired and trying to live on \$500 a month. During my working life, I was a machinist.

J.H.

Price, Utah

Fighting union-busting

Members of General Industrial Employees Local 42 in Novi, Michigan, are on strike against Mohawk Liquor Bottling Co., which is out to break their union. Management presented the union with 100 demands when the contract expired on May 29.

Forfeiture of between \$3,000 and \$5,000 per employee in accumulated cost-of-living adjustment pay due the workers since November 1986, a two-tier pay system for new hires, and co-pays on medical care and other changes that make it easier for the company to fire sick or injured workers are among the takebacks demanded.

Members of the local were known for their support to United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 when it struck Hormel last year in Austin, Minnesota, so their appeal for local solidarity has been met with a warm response. This included a rally organized by the Detroit Metro AFL-CIO on June 10.

Jerry Helton, a line worker at the plant, said, "This is union-busting pure and simple. They want us to give them back between \$3,000 and \$5,000 just to come back to work. This is money they already owe us."

Striker Ronald George said that management was trying to run the line, but with little success because the strike is solid. Only nonunion truckers have crossed the picket line. "Management has been harassing us with attempts to get injunctions against the pickets, and have even hit us with their cars," he added.

Another striker pointed out that the membership is fighting to save the union, "to save what has taken us 10 years to get."

Mohawk is a subsidiary of the giant McKesson Corp., which is very profitable in the pharmaceutical and chemical products field. Mohawk bottles Hiram Walker, Martin's V.O., and other brands and, according to the company itself, has been profitable. But it needs to remain "competitive."

Union President Ken Hall pointed out that Mohawk has attempted to frame workers for cutting a power line that was downed in a recent thunderstorm. "All talks have broken down, and the company is just shuffling papers," he said. "They forced us out on strike with their proposed work-rule changes and the total elimination of COLA. We need solidarity to stop this union-busting drive."

Messages of support, contributions, and requests for speakers can be sent to Ken Hall, General Industrial Employees, 380 Hilton Rd, Room 23, Ferndale, Mich. 48220. Telephone (313) 547-5855.

Mark Friedman
Detroit, Michigan

PLO

I can't believe what I'm reading. Your publication is obviously pro-Palestine Liberation Organization and anti-Israel. Being a Jew, I recognize the PLO as having one avowed purpose, the destruction of Israel. How can Arabs take land that was given to the Jews by God?

I received another *Militant* today with an article on Karl Linas. You also seem to be pro-Nazi and still condemn Israel. With articles like these, you can bet I

won't renew my subscription to your newspaper.

Jay Landau

Emerson, New Jersey

A political act

At a luncheon at the Sheraton Center in New York City May 19 some 500 labor leaders and other notables gathered under the sponsorship of the Sidney Hillman Foundation to present awards to journalists, writers, and broadcasters for their work on social issues. Present were Thomas Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council; Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Harrison Salisbury, formerly of the *New York Times*; Lois Gray, dean of Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations.

One of the awards was given to Conor Cruse O'Brien for his article in the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "God and Man in Nicaragua" about the interaction of the Sandinistas and liberation theology.

He described the role of the contras in Nicaragua and then went into the murder of Ben Linder. He angrily chided those who attack Ben Linder's parents as using their son's death for political reasons. He pointed out that since Linder's murder was a political act, the only moral thing his parents could do was speak out and tell how their son was murdered while bringing electrification to the poor of Nicaragua.

He concluded by asking the audience to stand for a moment of silence in memory of Ben Linder. The entire gathering stood.

E.B.L.

New York, New York

Oil workers strike

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-16000 in Houston answered Ethyl Corp.'s demand for a drug-testing program with a three-day strike.

All 400 members of the local walked off the job May 23 when company negotiators proposed that the union agree to have 10 workers selected each week by computer for drug and alcohol tests. The contract expired May 1.

Workers see the company's proposal as an invasion of privacy and an attempt to bust their unions. Electricians, pipefitters, and sheetmetal workers in the plant, organized by other unions, honored the picket lines.

Hundreds of workers rallied at the plant gate May 26. After showing the company their determination to fight the drug-testing proposal, at a special union meeting following the rally they de-



Cheer up, men, Mr. Reagan is with us!

cided to return to work together. The workers formed a four-mile car caravan to the plant.

Joanne Kuniansky

Houston, Texas

Death penalty

Please continue my subscription. Right now I cannot make any contributions to the *Militant*, but I will as soon as I can.

And I have one question: will you be writing any more about the death penalty in the United States, like the articles in May? I would like it very much if you do so.

A prisoner

Tamal, California

Challenging

More articles by Margaret Jayko. Her writing is clear, well-researched, and politically challenging. Jayko has a talent for presenting her views in an eminently respectable construction.

S.P.

Roswell, New Mexico

Debt crisis

I think the *Militant* is only covering half the story on the Latin America debt crisis.

The Cubans see the debt crisis as a two-part problem. First is getting rid of the current debts. They are uncollectable, not to mention immoral. But if all the debts were cancelled tomorrow, in 10 years, the countries of Latin America

would be right back where they are today. And that's because of the unequal terms of trade.

The Cubans always stress that right along with debt cancellation goes the creation of the New World Economic Order, as first proposed when Fidel Castro was head of the Nonaligned Movement.

Castro points out that for sugar-dependent economies, the current period is worse than the Great Depression. A ton of sugar buys fewer imported goods today than it did in the 1930s. And they point to the fact that COMECON has adopted equitable terms of trade as the biggest reason for Cuba's more favorable position than other sugar-producing nations.

Michael Pennock

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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

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

Union Carbide's 'Uranium Valley'

Abandoned town and poisoned land are monuments to company greed

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NUCLA, Colo. — During May, I traveled through the western part of this state as part of a *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* subscription team.

We had heard about a strike at a Peabody Coal mine in Nucla, so the day before the team ended we decided to take a trip down there and check it out.

Heading south from Grand Junction, we drove down Highway 141, which ran alongside the San Miguel River as it snaked through beautiful, red erosion-sculpted mountains. As we got closer to Nucla, we checked our road atlas for a town where we could gas up. We found Uravan, which was listed as having a population of 800.

As we got closer to what we expected would be Uravan, we noticed several old building foundations, a partially demolished motel, an abandoned tennis court, a deserted drive-in, and one empty house after another with doors banging in the wind.

Then we rounded the bend and saw a huge Union Carbide mill perched on the side of the mountain. This was Uravan.

Later in the day when we reached Nucla, several members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) gave us a little background information.

The area was known as the "Uranium Valley." In fact Uravan was the site of a Union Carbide uranium mine. The town has been deserted for several years, following the last layoff at the mill. It seems that the demand for uranium has dropped in recent years, and many mines are closed.

"The uranium miners never had a union," one of the UMWA members



Abandoned houses in Uravan, Colorado. Town has been deserted since Union Carbide shut down mining operations and laid off workers.

Militant/Nancy Burton

explained. "Now, they're laid off, and they have to deal with the health problems without medical insurance, without pensions, without anything," he said.

Although uranium mining is known to cause lung cancer, no one ever bothered to monitor the health of Uravan workers.

But there's more to the Uravan story.

Uranium and radium, both radioactive

elements, began to be mined here in the early 1900s. Later, vanadium, an element used in specialty steel, was also discovered. Hence the name Uravan.

Union Carbide began its mining operation here in 1928. For 56 years the company dumped contaminated waste from the mine into a small mountain above the town. It also put the deadly material into

open ponds along the river and used it as fill dirt in town. There are now more than 12 million tons of radioactive waste in Uravan. The area contains six times the radiation levels allowed under federal standards.

The state of Colorado brought suit against Union Carbide. Last fall, following 10 years of litigation, a federal court ordered the company to begin cleaning up the area. The project is expected to last 15 years and cost \$40 million.

Union Carbide is the same company that murdered and maimed thousands of workers and their families in the Bhopal, India, disaster in 1984. Not surprisingly, the company is trying to get the federal government to foot the bill for the cleanup. After all, it says, the majority of the uranium was mined for the federal Atomic Energy Commission.

In this part of the country, there are countless victims of the government's nuclear weapons programs. Entire families in southern Utah are afflicted by cancer caused by radioactive dust generated from atomic testing. Native American uranium miners have cancer rates that are much higher than the national average. Some 5,000 families in Grand Junction had their homes built with radioactive tailings. Former GI's have died from leukemia after being exposed to supposedly harmless nuclear tests.

Around here it's not unusual to see establishments with names like "Atomic Motel" or "Uranium Drive-In." They are reminders of a time when most working people didn't know much about radioactive material and were kept ignorant of its deadly effects. We know better now.

Iowa Pork workers protest antiunion shutdown

BY WENDY LYONS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn. — Meat-packers at the Iowa Pork Industries plant here are fighting to preserve their union and contract in the face of a plant shutdown designed to undermine them.

This plant is the last unionized packing-house in this town, once a major center for packing.

The IPI meat-packers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789.

On May 1 the sale of the IPI plant, a cut-and-kill operation, to Dakota Beef was announced. Dakota Beef is a subsidiary of Consolidated Beef of Green Bay, Wisconsin. The kill-floor workers met in the cafeteria that night to discuss the situation.

Kill workers at IPI decided to set up informational picket lines during the lunch break. They carried signs reading, "No contract, no work" and "We have a right to a union."

In the packing industry, the sale of plants has often been used to reopen plants with lower wages or without any union at all. Sometimes the original owner puts up the money for the sale.

Dakota Beef recently bought a Swift plant in Huron, South Dakota. After being shut out, the workers were forced to take a substantial wage cut. The Iowa Pork workers in South St. Paul are fighting to prevent that pattern from being applied to them.

On May 7 the company posted a notice stating that this was the last day of work for the kill, and tomorrow for the cut. The "no contract, no work" signs were out again at lunch break.

At a quickly called union meeting that night, the workers were informed that IPI owner Harry Weinstein had told union officials that the slaughterhouse might be up for sale to a different buyer than Dakota Beef.

The meeting decided that no matter who owns the plant, the workers would fight to preserve union recognition and the contract, and for the rehiring of all laid-off workers.

A committee was set up to keep all members informed of developments, contact them for activities, and to reach out for support.

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, representing most of the St. Paul unions, passed a resolution supporting the meat-packers. It stated, "Whereas: UFCW Local 789 shall resist any effort by anyone to open the IPI plant either without Union representation or full acceptance of the seniority and wages of the displaced workers; now therefore be it resolved: that the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly shall support UFCW Local 789 in all endeavors to preserve a Union environment at the IPI plant."

The South St. Paul City Council adopted the same resolution.

Workers at the other three packing-houses in the IPI chain have continued working. The two largest of these are nonunion.

Workers at the Mitchell, South Dakota, plant waged a struggle for union recognition that was unsuccessful in a recent vote. Their starting wage ranges from \$4.50 to \$4.75. Workers from South St. Paul traveled to Mitchell to discuss the fight they are waging and they also talked to them about the benefits of joining the union.

Workers from the John Morrell & Co. plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, also supported the organizing drive in Mitchell, sending volunteer organizers to work with them. The 2,700 Morrell workers are now on strike in support of striking workers at Morrell's Sioux City, Iowa, plant.

This is not the first time the company has

tried to force takebacks on the IPI workers in South St. Paul. In 1984 the workers refused to accept them and struck for 11 months. The workers won support throughout the Twin Cities and only two union members crossed the picket line. Scabs were hired, but without a core of experienced workers the company was unable to get anywhere near normal production levels.

The attempt to impose takebacks was defeated.

About five weeks later, however, the owner shut down the plant. He claimed it was unprofitable. After 10 months he said he could "afford" to reopen if the remaining workers voted to accept a two-tier wage system. This won a majority.

The low tier starts at \$6.00 an hour and

moves up to about \$8.00 for most jobs and close to \$9.00 for a few after a year and a half on the job. This was low pay when it was introduced, but it is now on the higher end of the meat-packing scale because of takebacks wrested from other packing-house workers and the spread of nonunion operations.

The organizing drive at the Mitchell plant, the wave of strikes going on in meat-packing in the Midwest, and the lessons of the last IPI strike are all being discussed as workers talk about ways to stick together and win support for this latest round of the fight.

Wendy Lyons is a member of UFCW Local 789, who worked at IPI in South St. Paul until the recent shutdown.

3,000 California farm workers celebrate union's anniversary

BY GEORGES SAYAD

DELANO, Calif. — More than 3,000 farm workers and their families from all over the state converged on this small farming town in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley May 23. They came to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW).

The event was held under a large tent set up on the UFW's sprawling Forty Acres complex just outside Delano. The main theme of the activities centered on the launching of an international boycott of table grapes. Delano is a major grape-growing center.

Many of the union members, both veterans and new UFW members, talked

about the challenges facing the union.

In the 1960s and 1970s the UFW won collective bargaining rights for California's farm workers by waging a struggle that won broad national support. This fight included a boycott of grapes and lettuce.

Passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975 made California the first, and still today, the only state where farm workers have the legal right to petition for union recognition. Farm workers have never been covered by the National Labor Relations Act, which gave bargaining rights to other workers in the 1930s.

After the 1975 victory, the UFW won many contracts and at its peak had 100,000

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