

Nicaragua adopts historic autonomy plan

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua has become the first country in this hemisphere to adopt a sweeping law guaranteeing the political, economic, language, cultural, and religious rights of Indians and Blacks.

The law establishes autonomous governments on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, where most Nicaraguan Indians and Blacks live. It was adopted overwhelmingly by the National Assembly September 2.

"This is an historic decision without precedent in this part of the world," said Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, president of Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission. Autonomy for the Atlantic Coast, he explained, is "a kick in the gut of the Buffalo Bills and the scalp collectors." It is the hope for victims of racism "from the North Pole to the South Pole."

Borge stressed that autonomy is only possible here because Nicaragua has broken the chains of U.S. domination and carried out a revolution that placed workers and peasants in political power.

A continental problem

Like most other countries in North and South America, Nicaragua has several distinct Indian and Black communities that have historically suffered theft of their lands, persecution of their languages and cultures, denial of political rights, and discrimination in employment and education.

In Nicaragua's case, the majority of the country's more than 3 million people are Spanish-speaking mestizos, concentrated on the Pacific Coast. On the Atlantic Coast there are 182,000 mestizos. But there are also 75,000 Miskito Indians, with their own language; 26,000 Creole Blacks, who speak English; 9,000 Sumo Indians, with their own language; and 1,750 Garífonas and 850 Rama Indians, who both speak English. The original languages of the Garífonas and Ramas have been lost by all except a few elderly people.

Until the 1979 Sandinista revolution, the Atlantic Coast was dominated by U.S. and Canadian corporations, with the complicity of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. They fostered mestizo prejudice against Indians and Blacks, and kept working people of the two coasts isolated from one another. In the eight years since Somoza

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7,000 in Calif. condemn attack on antiwar vet

BY DIANE WANG

CONCORD, Calif. — "Death squads/Death trains — The war comes home," read one banner carried at the September 5 antiwar march here. "In the U.S., we have trial by locomotive," read another. These expressed the mood of the 7,000 people who gathered to protest the attack on Brian Willson, a Vietnam veteran run down by a navy munitions train four days earlier. One

Interview with eyewitnesses to attack on Brian Willson appears on page 2.

of his legs was severed and the other amputated as a result.

Willson and the local antiwar office have been getting messages of support and offers to help at a rate of 200 calls per hour.

Across the road from the rally, the U.S. Naval Weapons Station had strung barbed wire across its entrance and covered its sign with cloth.

The U.S. government was under such public pressure that it granted a visa to Rosario Murillo, a Sandinista leader who is married to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. She came on behalf of Ortega to give his message of solidarity to Willson's work opposing the U.S.-run war in Central America. Murillo spoke with Willson in the hospital and visited the site where he was hit.

For many this rally was their first antiwar demonstration.

"A lot of people in this country are on the edge of action," said Pat McCallum, a demonstrator who had witnessed the train run over Willson. "Many don't normally see themselves as activists, but now is the time to begin."



Demonstrators assist Brian Willson after he was run down by munitions train during September 1 protest at naval base in Concord, California. Evidence shows naval officials' responsibility for attack.

Speakers included Holly Rauen, Willson's wife; Duncan Murphy, a veteran who was with Willson when the train ran him down; Ken Butigan of the Pledge of Resistance; singer Joan Baez; and Jesse Jackson.

Rally organizers had planned to have Miriam Linder, Daniel Ellsberg, and a spokesperson for Rep. Ron Dellums speak. They also intended to read greetings from

Rosario Murillo. However, when Jackson concluded his speech with a call to join him in a procession to the tracks, most of the crowd took it for a signal to adjourn the rally and go immediately.

As people crowded about, music played, many sat on the tracks, and a large group set about tearing up several hundred yards of rail.

Iraq steps up war as U.S. fleet grows

BY FRED FELDMAN

Iraqi warplanes bombed 13 cities, power plants, oil centers, and factories in Iran September 9. Iranian radio said 105 people had been killed or wounded.

The government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq said the attacks on civilian targets would continue as "revenge" for Iranian missiles that have reportedly landed on the territory of Kuwait, which borders on Iraq. The reported Iranian missile strikes caused no casualties.

As the Iraqi regime reopened its air war against shipping bound to or from Iran in the Persian Gulf, the battleship *Missouri*

and five other warships joined the U.S. fleet now menacing Iran.

The arrival of the *Missouri* group raised the number of U.S. warships in the region to more than two dozen. This includes an aircraft carrier, guided missile cruisers, destroyers, an amphibious-assault ship, and minesweepers — backed up by fighter planes, bombers, helicopters, and thousands of military personnel.

The pretext for the build-up was the decision to place 11 Kuwaiti oil tankers under the U.S. flag and command. Washington has threatened military strikes against Iran if Iranian forces menace the tankers, which

Washington attempts to pass off as "neutral" shipping.

The naval build-up represents a massive U.S. military intervention on the side of the Iraqi regime, which has waged war on Iran since invading that country in 1980.

The regime in Kuwait is a close ally of the Iraqi rulers in the war. Kuwait provides Iraq with its only operating ports, devotes much of its oil revenue to bankrolling the Iraqi war, and allows Iraqi planes to overfly Kuwaiti territory for attacks on gulf shipping or Iranian territory.

The French and British governments have also sent smaller war fleets to the gulf area. And Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone claimed August 29 that the country's constitution — which bars the regime from waging war — did not forbid it from sending minesweepers to aid U.S. war moves in the gulf war zone. Nakasone said that no warships would be sent at this time.

The Saudi Arabian monarchy is also increasingly involved in the U.S. naval buildup. "The Saudi military has been working closely with U.S. forces in the gulf, monitoring the waterway with U.S.-supplied AWACS surveillance planes and reportedly providing case-by-case landing rights for carrier-based U.S. planes," reported the September 3 *Washington Post*.

The Iraqi regime reopened the air war against shipping in the Persian Gulf on August 29, after halting attacks for 45 days at U.S. urging. Washington feared that Iraqi attacks on gulf shipping would deepen opposition in the United States and internationally to the massive U.S. military pres-

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Mass strikes, protests shake South Korea

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Though the South Korean police have launched a new roundup of strikers and political activists, workers and other opponents of the authoritarian regime have not been intimidated.

In the southern city of Kwangju, hundreds of thousands of people poured out September 8 for one of the largest street demonstrations ever to take place in the country.

The action was held to welcome opposition party leader Kim Dae Jung. A native of Cholla Province, of which Kwangju is the capital, Kim had not been able to visit the region for 15 years, having been repeatedly detained, exiled, held under death sentence, or placed under house arrest for his political activities.

One of Kim's stops was Mangwol

Cemetery, where many victims of the 1980 Kwangju massacre are buried. That slaughter took some 2,000 lives and was ordered by now-president Chun Doo Hwan. It followed a massive popular revolt sparked, among other things, by Kim's arrest.

Referring to the martyrs of 1980, Kim told the crowd, "We have to fulfill their dreams. We have to try to make it possible for the entire nation to sing the song of freedom."

'Treated like human beings'

Meanwhile, workers throughout the country have continued to strike in record numbers.

The strike wave began in late June, inspired by the massive demonstrations for democratic rights that forced the Chun re-

gime to ease its repression and promise direct presidential elections. Since then, some 3,200 strikes have been officially recorded, most of which were settled within a few days. As of September 5, nearly 600 strikes were still under way.

Fueled by an average wage of \$1.75 an hour, an average workweek of 57 hours, and labor restrictions that allowed only company unions (if any unions at all), the strikes have hit all sectors of the economy.

Repeatedly, workers have said that they are also fighting for respect and dignity. "We just want to be treated like human beings," one worker at the Daewoo shipyard in Okpo told a reporter.

One of the most spectacular walkouts hit Hyundai, South Korea's largest industrial conglomerate. After tens of thousands of

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Navy had two spotters on front of train

Interview with vets who saw Brian Willson run over by arms train

BY DIANE WANG

CONCORD, Calif. — Was Brian Willson a fanatic who threw himself under a train to grab publicity for the antiwar movement? That's how a navy commander and big-business papers have portrayed the September 1 incident here, when a weapons cargo train hit the Vietnam veteran.

Firsthand accounts, backed up by a video tape and documents, refute this cynical version. The *Militant* spoke with David Duncombe and Duncan Murphy, two veterans who sat with Willson on the tracks that day, and other eyewitnesses.

Since June 10, antiwar veterans and supporters have held daily vigils as trains leave the U.S. Naval Weapons Station at Concord, the largest munitions depot on the West Coast.

The trains carry weapons to Washington's mercenaries and puppet regimes abroad. A document listing some war matériel shipped from the base was pried from the government through the Freedom of Information Act. The documents showed that in only two days, the U.S. government had sent El Salvador \$6,394,434 worth of demolition bombs, machine-gun ammunition, and white phosphorous rockets (which the Salvadoran government has denied using).

"All summer we held up signs and gave the peace symbol as the trains went by, trying to win people over," explained Duncombe.

Only once had someone from the vigils ventured onto the rails. The train was hardly moving then and stopped; the protester left the tracks.

On August 21, 10 days before he was hit, Willson sent the base commander, Capt. Lonnie Cagle, a letter explaining that he and others would be on the tracks for 40 days beginning September 1. Copies of the letter were sent to state and county police, as well as to politicians and the press.

Willson called three times to make an appointment with Cagle, but was rebuffed. Moreover, when the protesters arrived September 1, they gave the guard at the main gate a copy of the letter.

The county sheriff's office, eager to avoid blame for the violence, says the naval base called them at 11:33 a.m. that day. Previously, the sheriff had asked base personnel to call 30 minutes before they wanted help in clearing the tracks. In fact, the train moved out only 17 minutes later, at 11:50 a.m.

The navy had two civilian spotters riding outside in the front of the locomotive. Their usual job, Duncombe said, was "to make sure no obstruction was on the track, whether a log to derail the train, or people."

"We could see the observers and they could see we were kneeling on the tracks," recalled Murphy.

So much for Cagle's claim that the veterans may have "jumped on the tracks at the last moment."

"I've watched the trains all summer," said Duncombe. "They usually stop at the guard gate for a few minutes, then start out. This is the only time I've seen them stop and have a conference. We thought they were deciding where to stop."

"We expected to be arrested, as we had

been before," said Murphy.

Even the navy spokesperson has agreed, "When a train approaches a hazardous situation, navy procedure says the train shouldn't proceed until the hazard is clear."

Instead, the train started up. Eyewitnesses report the train sounded its horn but did not slow down; it seemed to pick up speed. As the train suddenly bore down, the three veterans did what they could to save themselves. "I grabbed the guard rail; Brian dived down," said Murphy. Duncombe was able to jump aside. Willson suffered a fractured skull, and lost both his legs.

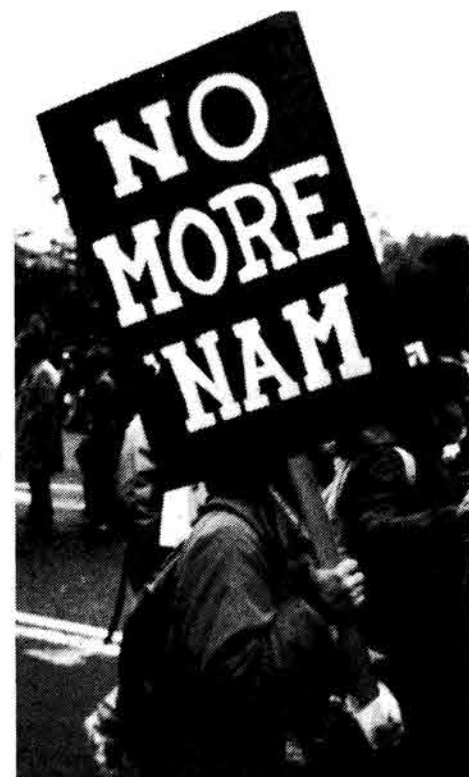
To Duncombe, it was a vivid example of the war brought home. "We've been doing this, have killed hundreds of thousands in Central America, run over them like a train."

Duncombe said police questioning him had fished for evidence to show Willson was suicidal, but Duncombe denied that.

Willson was simply a veteran whose experience in Vietnam had converted him from being a "Goldwater Republican." After the war Willson went to law school, and later was a dairy farmer.

As the war heated up in Central America, Willson opposed it. As he explained in his letter to Captain Cagle, he has been to Nicaragua five times and to El Salvador and Honduras once. "I have walked and ridden 700 kilometers in the northern war zones of Nicaragua. . . . I have talked with several hundred victims of the contra terrorists, most of them civilian casualties."

Willson, Murphy, and two other veterans carried out a nationally publicized



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Veterans marching in April 25, 1987, antiwar protest in Washington, D.C.

fast against the war last year on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, and later organized the Veterans Peace Action Teams to go to Nicaragua.

David Duncombe, now a clergyman, came from a military family and was a weapons designer in the army. He is a veteran of both World War II and Korea.

Duncan Murphy explained that as a veteran of World War II, he had helped liberate the German concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen. "I vowed then I would do everything I could to prevent such atrocities," he said. He has been to Nicaragua every year since 1983. "I learned from the Nicaraguans that the same things the Nazis did our tax money is now doing through the contras."

Protests against the assault on Brian Willson have taken place in a number of cities.

In Boston, 10 veterans staged a sit-in September 2 on the tracks of the Green Line, one of the city's main subway routes. Two days later, more than a hundred veterans and supporters held a vigil at the Park Street subway station.

Some 250 people, mostly youth, held a rally September 4 in Manhattan to protest the government's role in running down Willson.

In Washington, D.C., 50 people picketed the office of the main Nicaraguan contra organization. On September 4, a hundred picketed the White Oak Naval Surface Weapons Center in Maryland.

British anti-apartheid conference planned

BY JON SILBERMAN

LONDON — Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers, will be a featured speaker at a September 19 anti-apartheid conference in Sheffield, England.

The conference is jointly organized by Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement to demand an end to the import of South African coal into Britain.

A preconference rally on September 18 will feature Ramaphosa and Arthur Scargill, president of Britain's NUM.

The British NUM has been waging a campaign in support of the struggling South African miners. It was initiated at the union's 1986 conference when Ramaphosa made his first public appearance following the Pretoria regime's declaration of a state of emergency. Since then, the British mine union has issued a handbook, *Miners United Against Apartheid*, that has been distributed to every union member.

Britain's NUM has also been a driving force behind the establishment of the International Miners Organization (IMO). Solidarity with the struggle against apartheid was put at the center of the IMO conference in London last November.

At the conference, James Motlatsi, president of the South African miners' union, described the conditions workers face in the mines and in the hostels where they are forced to live in appalling conditions hundreds of miles away from their families.

During the recent South African miners' strike, the British miners' union established a national solidarity fund and began to mobilize its members. To date, over \$100,000 has been collected and donations are still coming in.

Solidarity with the struggle in South Africa was a major theme of the September 5 Nottinghamshire NUM miners' gala in Mansfield.

Nottinghamshire is the area where the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM) is

based. UDM officials led a breakaway from the NUM following the 1984-1985 British miners' strike. NUM members are a minority in the mines there. The Notts Gala is seen as an important event for the NUM, and union members came from all over Britain. Marching in the gala parade were many activists from Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC).

Notts NUM President Ray Chadburn called for a minute of silence in memory of the South African miners killed during the strike, and for those who died in a mining accident immediately after it ended.

Godfrey Mokate from the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and Panduleni Itula from the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia, also spoke.

Some 55 British NUM locals have chosen delegates to attend the anti-apartheid conference. The National Union of Railwaymen and the WAPC will also be well represented. In the port city of Liverpool alone, 27 organizations have already registered for the event.

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If you already subscribe, by renewing for 6 months or longer you can receive the current issue of *New Internationalist* for \$3.50 (cover price \$6.50). It is a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. This issue features the article, "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark.

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: MALIK MIAH

Nicaragua Bureau Director: CINDY JAQUITH

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Ernest Harsch, Arthur Hughes, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harvey McArthur (Nicaragua), Roberto Kopeck (Nicaragua), Harry Ring, Norton Sandler.

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Ruling on spy files says Secret Service is not above law

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. Secret Service is not above the law. It may not use its stated function of protecting the president and vice-president, their families, and others as a license for spying on those opposed to the policies of the U.S. government.

This simple affirmation that the Secret Service must abide by the Bill of Rights was one of the victories for democratic rights upheld in an August 17 injunction issued in New York City by Judge Thomas Griesa.

The injunction barred the government from using files it had illegally gathered on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The documents had been accumulated through burglaries by FBI agents, thefts by informers planted in the organizations, illegal wiretaps, opening of mail, and other surveillance techniques.

The injunction reaffirmed and reinforced Griesa's August 1986 ruling in the suit brought by the SWP and YSA against the attorney general, and federal cop agencies. The ruling held that the FBI's spying and disruption operations against the SWP and YSA had been illegal and unconstitutional.

The Secret Service was one of 10 federal police agencies that submitted affidavits to Griesa after the 1986 ruling, urging him not to enjoin them from using the illegally obtained files. They sought to bolster the Justice Department's claim that an injunction might place "the nation's vital interest of self-preservation at risk."

The affidavits backed the Justice Department's proposal that the injunction — if one was issued — include an escape clause allowing the government to use the materials at its discretion in an "emergency."

The role of the Secret Service as a political police force has received much less publicity than that of the FBI or CIA. But like other government police agencies, the Secret Service uses its legally established functions as a license for wide-ranging surveillance and disruption against critics of government policy.

The agency justifies trampling on the Bill of Rights by smearing its targets as immediate or potential threats to the physical safety of top government officials.

The Secret Service was founded in 1865 in the wake of the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. It is authorized to protect the president and vice-president, their families, and the president-elect. The

agency, a division of the Treasury Department, is also mandated to suppress counterfeiting of currency, and the forging or illegal sale of government checks, bonds, and securities.

Purportedly to carry out these limited functions, the Secret Service has established a network of scores of offices in the United States and Puerto Rico.

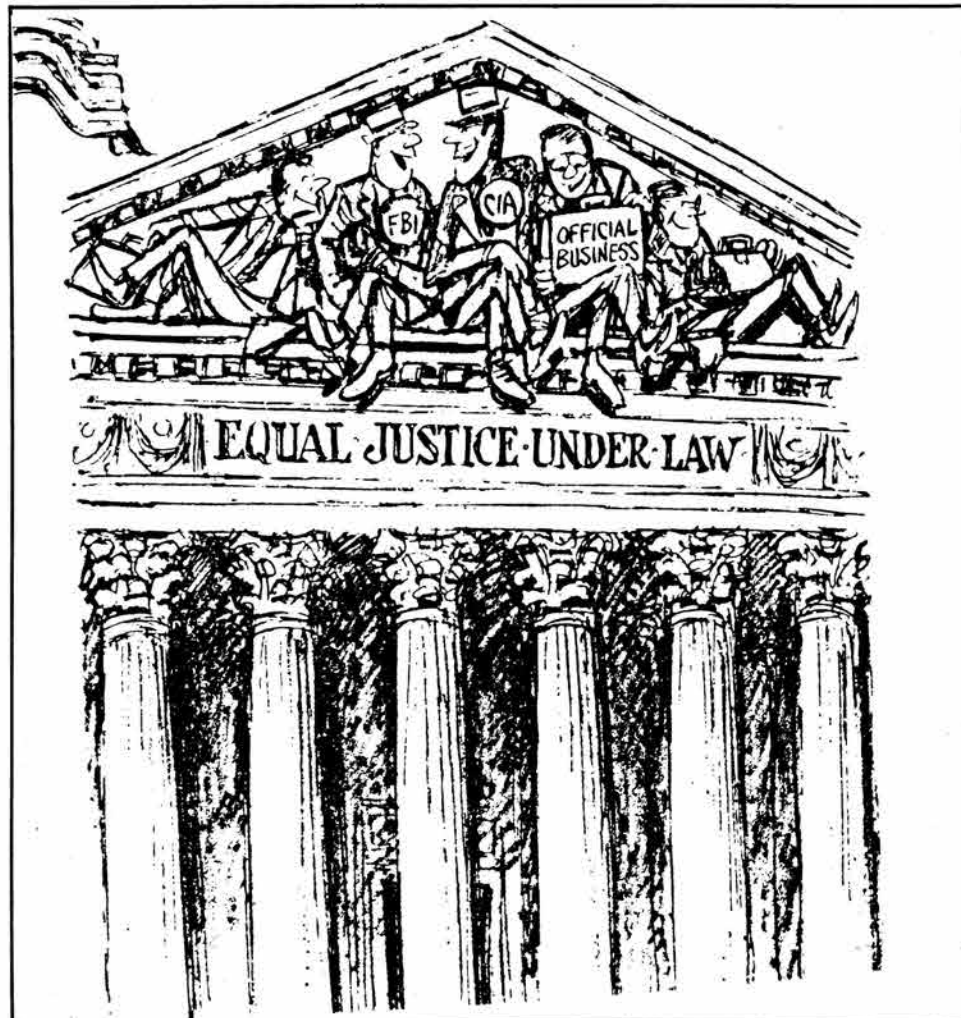
"Inherent in the performance of [the Secret Service's] protective function," claimed Richard McCann, head of its intelligence division, "is the need to determine and, to the extent possible anticipate the actions of those individuals and groups . . . who on the basis of their past history, ideology, or avowed goals, may constitute a possible threat to the physical safety of individuals receiving Secret Service protection." This assertion was made in the Secret Service affidavit submitted to Judge Griesa.

McCann went further than slandering the SWP and YSA as potential assassins, without a shred of proof. He insisted that the court concede the Secret Service's right to obtain spy data on any protest organization "regarding matters such as what type of demonstration activity may be expected from the group, the number of protesters which the group is capable of amassing and the group's ability as well as propensity to disrupt or otherwise interfere with the movement of a protectee."

This would amount to allowing the Secret Service to place any group or individual that protests government policy or advocates socialist, antiwar, or other dissenting views on a list of permanent "suspects" for potential offenses ranging from assassination to obstructing traffic. Those tagged as "suspects" because of their "ideology" or "avowed goals" would forfeit the right to meet, organize, picket, or speak without Secret Service surveillance.

Even before McCann's admission, the socialists' suit had produced evidence that the Secret Service was operating in this unconstitutional way. In 1971 the agency sent Special Agent Wayne Dean on an undercover assignment to the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Houston, Texas.

Carrying a hidden tape recorder and camera, and no identification, he tape-recorded the convention and photographed 44 speakers and others who attended the convention. His alleged reason: "to determine whether or not plans were being made to disrupt the National Democratic and Re-



Herblock

"Except for those of us who are above it"

publican Conventions" to be held the following year.

The Secret Service, of course, had no evidence that the SWP or YSA were planning such disruptions, and Dean found none. The pretext was just that: a pretext for political spying.

Griesa's injunction rejected the government claim that use of the documents might prove vital in an "emergency." He noted that the documents — accumulated over decades of intensive surveillance of the SWP and YSA — "contain little or no information bearing on national security, and no information about actual or planned vio-

lence against public officials, but rather a mass of information about peaceful political activities and the private lives of individuals."

He stated:

"As to matters such as protection of officials by the Secret Service or other agencies, there is no realistic suggestion of why there would be any need, including an emergency need, for information from the illegally obtained materials."

"The Secret Service," he concluded, "should be bound to perform their tasks on the basis of lawfully obtained information. . . ."

Puerto Rican activists' lawyer hails injunction in SWP suit

The following column, "Victories against repression", was written by Rafael Anglada López. It appeared in the August 28 *El Diario-La Prensa*, a Spanish-language New York daily. Anglada López is a member of the legal defense team for the 16 fighters for Puerto Rican independence who are facing trial in Hartford, Connecticut. The translation is by the Militant.

Last Monday, August 17, in a Manhattan court, 15 years of litigation culminated in a 16-page decision written by Judge Thomas P. Griesa that supports the civil rights of all U.S. residents and constitutes a victory for all of us fighting for the most fundamental rights of our peoples.

The Socialist Workers Party and the youth group affiliated to it, the Young Socialist Alliance, were infiltrated and harassed for decades by various U.S. police and intelligence agencies, under an FBI operation that supposedly ended in 1976.

Judge Griesa wrote a permanent injunction prohibiting the various U.S. agencies from using any information obtained on U.S. citizens and residents during the decades-long illegal operation.

On Aug. 25, 1986, this same federal magistrate had written an opinion, hundreds of pages long, documenting in detail the depth of the violations of the civil rights of tens of thousands of human beings who were exercising their constitutional right to belong to the political organizations mentioned above.

A month ago it was discovered that the New York City police intelligence division was recording the entire programming of two radio stations that carry knowledgeable coverage of the city's Afro-American community.

This was happening despite the fact that the police department maintained a citizen's panel of three, including a former

federal judge, to make sure no excesses were being committed.

A ruling by federal Judge Haight in Manhattan supposedly ended this method of compiling political intelligence on the Black community in New York City.

Meanwhile, in Puerto Rico, the Civil Rights Commission of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is continuing to examine the "subversives" list compiled by the Puerto Rican Police Intelligence Division with the collaboration of the FBI operating in Puerto Rico. Judge Armando López of the Superior Court of Puerto Rico has already ruled that the practice violates the civil rights of Puerto Ricans and has ordered it to cease immediately.

The police superintendent of Puerto Rico, lawyer Carlos López Feliciano, admitted to the press Monday, August 10, that the police have at least 74,000 names, including 19,000 in active files.

Psychologist and author Ronald Fernández has just discovered in the National Archives in Washington that in 1937 Luis Muñoz Marín was considered a "subversive" by the 65th Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army in Puerto Rico. As is known, at that time Luis Muñoz Marín was a pro-independence leader who would later triumph in the electoral arena at the head of a party that, at that time, was pro-independence.

None of these small victories arises out of the brilliance of judges and lawyers. They are a result of the people's struggle for its most basic, human demands. We have an excellent opportunity to share in these victories and continue fighting: Sunday, August 30, early in the morning, thousands of Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and North Americans will travel to Hartford to commemorate the August 30 arrest of independence fighters in Puerto Rico by the U.S. government. Great social struggles must be begun and sealed with the sweat and participation of all of us.

Join the fight for democratic rights

Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

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Cuba is topic of Austin, Minn. forum

Socialist discusses revolution's historic turning point

BY DOUG JENNESS

AUSTIN, Minn. — Seventy-five unionists and political activists from the Midwest celebrated Labor Day here by attending a talk on the significance of recent developments in Cuba for working people throughout the world.

The presentation, "Cuba: a Historic Turning Point," was given by Mary-Alice Waters, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and an editor of *New International*, a Marxist political magazine published in New York.

Hosted by the Austin Militant Labor Forum, the meeting was held on the evening of September 6 at the Cedars, a meeting hall on the edge of town.

Many of those attending were in Austin for a meeting of the Iowa District of the Socialist Workers Party. The district includes SWP members in Des Moines, Iowa; Austin, Minnesota; and Omaha, Nebraska. (Coverage of the district meeting will appear in a future issue.)

Others attending the forum came from Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Rochester, Minnesota; and Chicago. Most were unionists, some of them employed in the meat-packing industry.

Some 1,500 union meat-packers were on strike in Austin against Geo. Hormel & Co. in 1985-86. They fought a bitter battle for restoration of wages and benefits and for safer working conditions. This struggle helped inspire a fight by unionists in the meat-packing industry that continues today.

Waters noted that the newspapers and television in the United States have organized "a conspiracy of silence about Cuba." She said learning the truth about what's happening in Cuba is made even more difficult because Washington has banned travel to that country for most people in the United States.

Waters described the accomplishments the Cuban people have made since they overturned capitalist rule and broke from the domination of U.S. bankers, landlords, and manufacturers in 1959.

Waters explained that even with these impressive achievements that are the result of working people taking the ownership of industry, land, and commerce out of the hands of the capitalists, Cuba "still has to deal with the legacy of the past."

Cuba is now undergoing a historic process, she said, of attempting to overcome some of the difficulties that have arisen as a result of competing with the past. This particularly includes attempting to look out for one's self or immediate family, rather than working collectively for social answers to problems.

Waters referred to speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro stating that a major shift is being made away from a blind belief that some mechanism, like economic planning, can lead the way to socialism.

"The Cuban Communist Party leadership," Waters stated, "explains that mov-

ing away from capitalism and toward socialism must be the work of human beings — people who are conscious of where they are going and know how to get there."

One feature of this shift, she said, is attempting to inspire workers to volunteer their labor for building clinics, child-care centers, and housing.

Waters noted that Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution who was assassinated in Bolivia in October 1967, dealt a great deal with the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

During the course of her talk, Waters referred to several articles by Guevara. She said they will appear as part of a new book of speeches and writings by the communist leader that is being published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia. The book is due to come off the press at the end of October.

On the following day, the Militant Labor Forum held a discussion on the government's 50 years of harassment of the labor movement and on the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance's lawsuit against the FBI and other cop agencies.

Joe Swanson, Midwest labor spokesperson for the Political Rights Defense Fund, was scheduled to speak, but was unable to make the meeting. In his place Tom Leonard, PRDF spokesperson from St.

Louis, and Mac Warren, SWP national field organizer in the Midwest, made brief presentations.

Leonard emphasized the opportunities for winning support from unionists for the lawsuit. The successful effort the PRDF waged last spring and summer to sign up 4,000 new endorsers, he said, shows the potential. "It's also an excellent way to get into discussions with workers about other attacks on democratic rights and what's happening politically in the country," he said.

Warren summarized several sections of an article in the most recent issue of *New International*. The article by Larry Seigle, "Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation," Warren said, is "the best explanation of the origins of the SWP-YSA lawsuit and what it's all about." He urged all supporters of the suit to read and study it, and hold classes on it.

A chicken barbecue followed this event where discussion on Cuba, the fight for democratic rights, and other topics continued.

During the weekend's activities, the Pathfinder Bookstore in Austin organized a special literature display. The bookstore, which opened in June, is located on Austin's Main Street.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters was keynote speaker.

Subscription drive gets under way



Militant supporter in Lawrence, Kansas, discusses paper at literature table set up by Young Socialist Alliance.

BY MALIK MIAH

So far, supporters of the *Militant* in more than two dozen areas have taken subscription goals to help expand the socialist weekly's readership base.

The chart below also reports on goals

taken by distributors to increase the circulation of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

The objective is to win 6,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and 1,500 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and to sell 2,000 copies of *New International* by the end of November. The drive began in mid-August.

As of September 8, 581 *Militant* subscriptions, 52 *PM* subscriptions, and 212 copies of the *New International* had been sold. That's 9.7 percent of the *Militant*, 3.5 percent of the *PM*, and 10.6 percent of the *New International* goals.

While this is behind where we should be at this point in the campaign, it is a solid starting point to launch the target sales week September 12-18, which will provide every area with the chance to catch up.

Omari Musa, who helps organize *Militant* distribution in Chicago, explained in a September 8 telephone interview that a "big push is planned for this coming Saturday. Teams will be going to working-class communities as well as to the LTV and USX steel mills in Indiana."

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which help get out the *Militant* in Chicago, recently moved to new offices on the South Side.

Even during office construction, Musa continued, supporters of the *Militant* have organized four sales teams to area plants —

two steel mills, a meat-packing plant, and a garment shop. These worksite sales teams are regular week-to-week efforts to meet and discuss politics with unionized workers in important industries.

A *Militant* supporter from Milwaukee called in to report a highly successful *Militant* sale in De Pere, Wisconsin. At a solidarity rally for striking paper workers organized by the United Paperworkers International Union, 17 subscriptions were sold.

Mike Baumann, circulation director for *New International* in New York, reports extremely good sales of the magazine at the Caribbean Carnival in Brooklyn, September 7. Several people came up to the literature table, Baumann said, asking for the latest issue because of the article on "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark.

A total of 46 copies of *New International* were bought — 40 from the Pathfinder bookstore literature table, where \$800 worth of books and pamphlets were sold. With 150 copies sold, New York supporters have now made nearly half their goal of selling 350 copies of *New International*.

An important aspect of the subscription campaign is to talk with current subscribers to the *Militant* and *PM* about extending their subscriptions. To date, we've received a significant number of renewals — some 220 for the *Militant*. On average, the business office receives 40 *Militant* renewals per week.

We have received several new or extended international subscriptions, as well, including 11 *Militant* and 2 *PM* subscriptions from Canada and 5 *PM* renewals from Puerto Rico.

If you would like to take a *Militant*, *PM*, and/or *New International* goal for the fall drive, please clip and mail the coupon below.

- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *Militants* per issue.
- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *Perspectiva Mundials* per issue.
- ☐ Send me a bundle of ____ *New Internationals*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

**Subscribe to
the Militant**

Fall Sales Goals

Area	Goals		New
	<i>Perspectiva</i>	<i>Militant</i>	
Atlanta	120	20	35
Baltimore	140	10	40
Birmingham, Ala.	150	5	*
Boston	200	100	50
Charleston, W. Va.	125	0	20
Chicago	225	75	*
Cleveland	105	15	20
Des Moines, Iowa	110	15	35
Detroit	200	25	35
Greensboro, N.C.	115	10	20
Houston	160	40	50
Kansas City, Mo.	105	20	25
Los Angeles	300	175	*
Miami	120	40	40
Milwaukee	115	15	35

* New International goal not adopted yet

Area	Goals		New
	<i>Perspectiva</i>	<i>Militant</i>	
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	5	25
New York	600	150	350
Newark, N.J.	350	125	75
Oakland, Calif.	150	50	100
Omaha, Neb.	70	10	20
Philadelphia	200	50	50
Portland, Ore.	80	30	40
Price, Utah	48	2	10
Salt Lake City	125	25	25
San Diego	85	40	25
San Francisco	180	70	*
Seattle	300	50	50
St. Louis	175	10	*
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	20	100
Washington, D.C.	130	30	*

Goal Totals 5,093 1,232 1,275
Drive Goals 6,000 1,500 2,000

Utah demonstration protests execution

Death penalty condemned as 'cruel and unusual punishment'

BY GEORGE GILLIGAN

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — On August 27 some 150 people assembled on the hill overlooking the Utah State Penitentiary in a vigil of protest against the execution of Pierre Dale Selby.

Selby, a black carpenter originally from the West Indian country of Trinidad and Tobago, was killed by lethal injection at 1:18 a.m. on August 28, ending his 13-year struggle to get his death sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Convicted of murdering three people during a robbery of an Ogden hi-fi shop in 1974, Selby was sentenced to death by an all-white jury.

Selby's execution was the first one in Utah since the firing squad shot Gary Gilmore 10 years ago, signaling the return of capital punishment throughout the country. Selby had fought his death sentence to the bitter end. The state went on a public campaign to justify his execution.

As Selby said in a July 19 letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, "With this case especially, there's only one way to go: 'Hang the niggers.'" On August 21 the Utah Board of Pardons denied his last appeal for a life sentence.

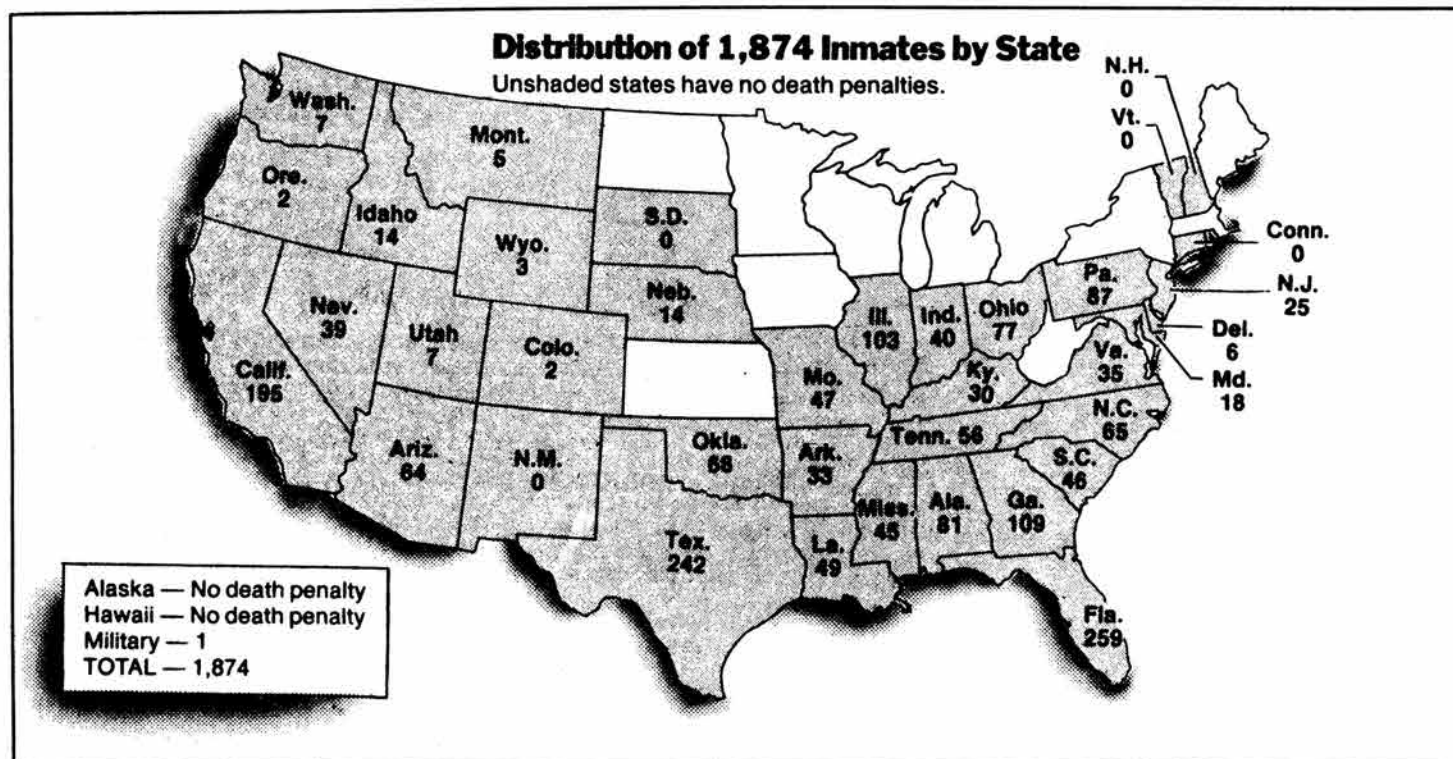
The day of Selby's execution, his attorneys' last chance to halt the death sentence, a fourth plea to the U.S. Supreme Court, was refused.

The protest vigil was organized by Amnesty International, which is conducting a worldwide campaign for abolition of the death penalty.

Despite the intimidating presence of state and local police at barricades that sealed off entrance to the penitentiary, and a camouflage-wearing SWAT team of 50 surrounding the vigil, the crowd of mostly youths listened through the program of a dozen speakers who denounced the execution.

A message protesting Selby's execution from Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers union, was read. The American Civil Liberties Union representative pointed out that the death penalty was a form of "cruel and unusual punishment," which is prohibited by the Constitution.

In response to recent polls claiming to show that 90 percent of Utahans support the execution of Selby, Jim Sunderland of the Colorado Coalition Against the Death



Number of people on death row as of April 22. Pierre Selby was one of three prisoners executed in United States in one day.

Penalty said, "Support for the death penalty may be a mile wide, but it's only an inch deep." He urged people to continue educating and organizing against it.

Scott Breen, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, also spoke, condemning the execution as a "racist legal lynching." Pointing out that there "is no death penalty for the rich," he declared, "While the attorney general's office spares no expense to insure Selby's death, they have not and will not lift a finger to prosecute a single management official of Emery Mining Co. and Utah Power &

Light responsible for the deaths of 19 coal miners at Wilber." Breen was referring to a 1984 Utah mine disaster.

In nearby Ogden, in an event described as "macabre" by the *Tribune*, a celebration of Selby's execution was held at Rowdicks Saloon & Grill, complete with a cake iced with "Bye, bye Pierre. It's about time." One patron interviewed said, "I had to come and join it. It's sick, but it's good."

On the same day Selby was killed, two other prisoners were executed — one in Alabama and one in Florida. It was the first time since the 1976 Supreme Court ruling

allowing reinstatement of the death penalty and the Gilmore execution that three people were put to death on the same day.

Meanwhile, William Andrews, Selby's accomplice and codefendant, awaits execution in January 1988. Although he did not murder anyone in the robbery attempt, he too was sentenced to die. Such sentences were upheld by a recent Supreme Court ruling that "major participation in the felony committed, combined with reckless indifference to human life, is sufficient" to justify a death penalty. He has not yet exhausted the appeals process.

Socialist campaigners well received in Boston's working-class areas

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON, Mass. — During a three-week petitioning drive to put Socialist Workers candidates Mark Emanation and Denise McInerney on the fall primary ballot, Boston campaign supporters visited every working-class neighborhood in the city. Emanation is running for mayor and McInerney for Boston School Committee.

In all, 5,300 signatures were netted for Emanation, along with 4,000 for McInerney. Thousands of the signatures were gathered in Boston's Black and Latino communities and other working-class neighborhoods. About a fifth of the signatures were collected in South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park, and the North End. These majority-white areas were noted for their sharp opposition to court-ordered school desegregation in 1974.

At that time, racist resistance in these neighborhoods flared into sustained anti-Black violence — physical abuse of Black students, rioting, and attacks on school buses bearing Black youth. The "anti-busing movement," organized by local Democratic Party politicians, was finally defeated by a mobilized Black community that inspired solidarity nationwide in marches and protests.

Emanation, who spent an afternoon on South Boston's main streets shaking hands and distributing flyers, reported, "I made a point not only of stressing our opposition to the war in Nicaragua and our support to the Sandinista government, but also talked about how working people had to oppose racist attacks and how labor had to lead the fight for jobs and democratic rights, from better housing to the right to abortion. The response was cordial and without incident."

A sign of the changes was the response by many South Boston residents to an attempt to bar a New York City rowing team from a Memorial Day regatta for Irish

crews. A local rowing club leader had announced the crew would not be welcome because it included "two niggers." In newspaper articles and television interviews, local residents slammed his action as unrepresentative of the community.

A crowd of 400 Blacks and whites watched the regatta at Carson Beach, which was the scene of rioting a decade ago by police and racist thugs attempting to prevent Blacks from swimming there. Today Black, Latino, and Asian children regularly use the beach.

In addition, Blacks and Latinos are slowly moving into the previously all-white areas, and many more are working there.

One of the top petitioners, Aaron — a coworker of Emanation's — signed up 130

people for the candidates one afternoon in South Boston.

"One worker asked for a leaflet to read before he would do anything," Aaron said. Later "he came over to me and said, 'I want to shake your hand. I didn't know you could do this here. But there are more people like me in South Boston.' Then he signed the petition," Aaron said.

In Charlestown, two young men strolled by as a petitioner quickly told them about the socialist candidates "who oppose a new Vietnam in Central America." One youth waved a hand. "Not interested," he said, and walked on. The other stopped, saying, "My father died in Vietnam. I'll sign anything to stop another one. We've got to keep our noses out of other people's business."

Tacoma machinists fight takebacks

BY DAN FEIN

TACOMA, Wash. — "The company wants all takeaways and we just want the same contract," strike captain Bob Jowders said. His union, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1152, has been on strike against Tam Engineering Corp. since July 22.

Tam, an engine rebuilding firm, wants to cut pensions 50 percent and wages from \$.50 to \$3 per hour; eliminate seniority rights; make workers pay for part of the medical coverage, to the tune of about \$30 per month; and change the contract expiration date from July to just before Christmas.

Company ads in the newspaper have netted 30 scabs. So far, 32 IAM members out of 146 have joined the outside scabs and crossed the picket line.

The owners of Tam Engineering own Titus-Will Ford-Toyota-Hyundai where members of IAM Local 1152 are also on strike. Local 1152, an amalgamated local,

represents the mechanics at the majority of car dealerships in nearby Tacoma, as well as workers at Tam and other smaller shops.

Mechanics at Titus-Will had been working without a contract since October 1986. On July 30 they began their strike. The dealership recently increased its shop rate to customers to \$42 per hour and then proposed a pay cut for new hires. The company wants to eliminate the apprenticeship program with automatic progression to journeyman and substitute a new classification for new hires — "utility mechanic" — which means helper. The pay for utility mechanic will be \$8 per hour and no benefits at all. The 14 workers struck over this issue as well as cuts in health and dental care, sick leave benefits, life insurance, and pension.

Strikers from Tam are helping Titus-Will mechanics with picket duty. Pickets say new car sales are down as a result of the picket signs.

Dan Fein is a member of IAM Local 289.

Support the Fall Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 14 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by Nov. 24.

Its purpose is to finance publication of the *Militant*, the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

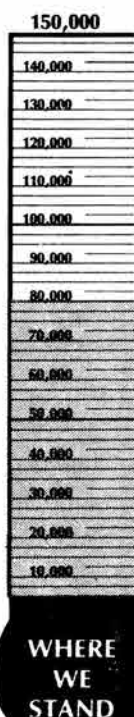
As of September 9, \$80,000 has been pledged and \$4,400 collected.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

— \$1,000 — \$500 — \$100
— \$25 \$ _____ other

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Mail to Fall Socialist Publications Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Auto bosses seek new round of concessions

Ford, GM propose lump-sum bonuses instead of wage increases

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — On August 31, the United Auto Workers announced that Ford Motor Co. has been chosen as its strike target when the union's contracts with the two largest U.S. auto companies expire September 14.

Those contracts cover 370,000 UAW members at General Motors and 104,000 at Ford.

UAW officials chose Ford as a target because it was the more profitable of the two in 1986, netting \$3.3 billion. GM raked in \$2.9 billion.

The union will try to negotiate a contract with Ford that can be used as a model for reaching an agreement with GM.

UAW negotiators say they rejected Ford's initial proposal, which included lump-sum bonuses instead of pay increases.

Union President Owen Bieber said Ford must also agree to a "meaningful job security program."

He means extending programs negotiated in previous contracts, such as the Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS), Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), and the Job Bank.

Under GIS and SUB, higher seniority workers could continue receiving checks and some benefits from the auto companies for a limited period of time in the event of a plant closing or a long shutdown. GIS also contained provisions that enabled some workers to transfer to other plants.

The Job Bank provided company-funded payments to retrain a limited number of workers.

GM pleads poverty

GM's billionaire owners are pleading poverty. They are demanding a new round of concessions regardless of what happens in the Ford negotiations.

Auto workers have not had a contractual pay increase since 1984. Like Ford, GM wants to continue paying lump-sum bonuses instead of wage increases. GM says the size of the bonuses should be tied to both profits and productivity at individual plants.

Auto workers protest closing of Ohio plant

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

ELYRIA, Ohio — Some 600 protested here August 22 following General Motors' announcement that it will close its Fisher Guide plant in 1988.

The march went from the United Auto Workers Local 780 hall to downtown Elyria. Members of other UAW locals and several other unions participated along with Local 780 members.

Many workers carried signs reading, "Fight for jobs" and "People before profits." Several drivers along the way honked their horns in support, as did an engineer in a locomotive passing overhead.

At a downtown rally, union officials and politicians urged GM to keep the plant open. "This is a viable productive plant in the GM chain," said Warren Davis, director of UAW Region 2. "The blame belongs in the lap of the GM corporation. Eleven GM plants are closing while they are opening about a dozen in Mexico where they pay workers \$3.00 a day. We must do everything we can to stop GM running out on this community," Davis stated.

GM first announced last year that it intended to close its Fisher Guide plants, including the one in Elyria. Potential buyers were encouraged to look over the facility. GM launched a publicity campaign designed to convince the workers and the community that sale of the plant was a good deal for everyone concerned.

Eventually Johnson Controls Co. emerged as a likely buyer. GM immediately began pressuring the union to accept a contract that would be attractive to the prospective owner. The workers saw this as a tactic to cut wages and benefits.

Then Johnson Controls gave the union two weeks to agree on a takeback deal. When the local rejected the ultimatum, Johnson pulled out of the deal and GM announced the plant will be closed down.



Members of UAW Local 594 in Pontiac, Michigan, on strike over local issues at beginning of year. Negotiations on local issues are now under way at 182 GM plants.

Lump-sum payments are especially beneficial to the auto companies. Until 1984, auto union members customarily expected to receive an annual 3 percent wage increase. The lump sums introduced in the 1984 contract amounted to 2 percent of a worker's yearly wage.

A frozen base pay assures workers a drop in their standard of living. Even in a contract with cost-of-living provisions, without increases in base pay, workers lose ground to inflation because cost-of-living payments in union contracts almost never keep up with price rises. Pensions and

other benefits that are tied to the base wage rate also remain frozen.

Also, in earlier settlements, the auto companies have agreed to roll cost-of-living increases from previous years into the new base wage. This time around, GM says it won't roll in the 86 cents an hour that has accrued over the current contract.

If GM is successful in extending lump-sum bonuses for three more years, it would mean that auto workers begin the next set of negotiations receiving the same hourly pay they were getting in 1984.

The auto giant also wants to eliminate or substantially reduce cost-of-living payments. Other proposed takebacks include continuation of the two-tier pay scheme that starts newly hired workers at 85 percent of the normal base rate and a lower wage scale for workers in parts and components plants.

Ford manufactures 50 percent of its parts at its U.S. plants. The rest are obtained from either U.S. or foreign suppliers. GM, which manufactures 70 percent of its own parts, says a wage cut is necessary if its parts plants are to remain competitive.

If either company gets away with lowering wages for parts workers, it will undermine solidarity in the union.

In the negotiations, the auto bosses are placing emphasis on increasing productivity. They are trying to push through sweeping changes in work rules and eliminate or combine many job classifications. Much of this is being done at the local plant level. Negotiations on local contracts are taking place at GM's 182 plants. Agreements have been reached at 22 of them.

San Diego machinists suffer setbacks

BY MARI HAWKES

SAN DIEGO — Strikes by Machinists at two plants here in July and August ended in defeats for the union.

On August 13 International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1125 ended its strike at General Dynamics. Five days later Local 685 ended a walkout at Solar Turbines.

As soon as workers at General Dynamics' Convair and Space divisions voted to go on strike, General Dynamics began trying to scare workers into crossing the picket line.

Union members got letters and phone calls at home telling them if they didn't return to work they would be permanently replaced.

Full-page ads announcing 3,000 job openings appeared in the *San Diego Union*. Similar ads ran continuously on local radio.

The company distributed bulletins at the plant gate describing how many workers had returned and how well they were maintaining production in face of the strike.

By the fourth week, more than a thousand workers had returned to their jobs out of a work force of 4,000. And about 550 scabs had been hired.

On August 13, at the urging of the union's officers, the membership voted to end the strike.

Terms of the contract General Dynamics imposed included a three-year wage freeze, with lump-sum payments of \$2,400 the first year and \$1,200 the second and third years.

The starting pay rate was lowered, cost-of-living payments were lowered, and the workers now have to pay \$5 for each doctor visit.

The company was able to sever the common seniority lists between the Convair and Space divisions and instead establish separate lists.

In addition, those hired to break the strike remain in the plant, even though several hundred union members have not been recalled.

About 40 percent of those currently working at General Dynamics are not union members. Company personnel is doing work previously performed by union members and fear is rising that the company will try to have the union decertified.

As the strike developed, it was clear that a majority of the workers were not con-

vinced that they needed to wage a major fight against the company. Less than half the membership attended the July 18 pre-strike meeting and the July 26 meeting where a company offer was discussed.

The union officials did little to clarify the issues in dispute. They refused to make the two-tier wage scale a major issue.

The officials focused on lump-sum payments as the major monetary issue. They popularized the slogan, "Dump the lump" but their explanations didn't take into account how much \$2,400 up front is for someone making \$6 an hour. It's about 20 percent of his or her annual income. Union officials didn't put forward the need for a raise in the hourly rate along with the lump-sum payment.

On the heels of the General Dynamics defeat, workers at Solar decided to end their strike without a contract. Solar had begun hiring scabs and was subcontracting out work. About 23 percent of the workers had already crossed the picket line. When the strikers tried to return to work, they

were handed letters giving them a date they could come back or informing them that they were being put on a "recall list."

Solar used to be regarded as one of the better places to work in San Diego. The average age in the plant is 45 and most workers have about 12 years seniority. Now many are wondering if they will get their jobs back.

One worker who's been allowed back inside said it's "like there is no union. There are no shop stewards, no seniority. It seems like the company can do what it wants."

Workers in San Diego are drawing a variety of conclusions from these defeats. Some say the strikes were a mistake or that strikes in general are a bad idea. Others are discussing what it will take to wage a successful fight against takebacks and union-busting.

Mari Hawkes is a member of IAM local 1125 at the Electronics Division of General Dynamics.

Union food pantry aids strike by S. Dakota meat-packers

BY DEAN DENTON

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — Since June, the families of meat-packers on strike against the John Morrell & Co. plant here have been getting their weekly groceries from the union's Food Pantry.

The 2,700 members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 304A have been on a sympathy strike since May 1.

The strike began when roving pickets were set up outside the South Dakota plant by meat-packers on strike at Morrell's Sioux City, Iowa, operation some 90 miles from here.

Morrell hopes to defeat the strike by draining the union's fund and starving out the workers.

Fred Lea is the food service manager for Local 304A. He said the union set up the Food Pantry to help stretch the \$40 per week strike benefits the workers receive.

Lea explained that the strikers' families have been denied assistance from state,

county, and federal agencies. The Sioux Falls Food Bank, which is partially funded by the United Way, a national charity organization, is also denying aid to the strikers.

To add insult to injury, the same food bank is helping the scabs the company hired in its attempt to break the strike.

For this reason, Doc, a 304A member, told me he will no longer solicit funds from coworkers for the United Way.

Morris Buchholz, Local 304A treasurer, estimates that the union's members contributed about \$90,000 to the United Way last year.

Funds for the Local 304A Food Pantry have come from a number of area unions, including several UFCW locals.

Buchholz says the union's pantry helps insure that food is equitably distributed to workers who need it and that everyone gets served without being hassled.

Contributions can be sent to UFCW Local 304A, 101 S. Fairfax, Sioux Falls, S.D. 57103.

UN committee backs independence for Puerto Rico, Namibia

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization reaffirmed its stand in support of independence for Namibia and Puerto Rico at its hearings this year. It also backed independence for the Pacific island of New Caledonia.

The annual August hearings of the committee are an important international forum in the fight for independence and self-determination. According to a committee report, more than 3 million people still live under the colonial yoke.

The decolonization committee was formed in 1961, a year after the UN General Assembly adopted the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." Until that time the main body charged with the responsibility for overseeing the process of decolonization was the Trusteeship Council, comprised largely of the colonial powers.

The deliberations and decisions of this year's two-week-long meeting of the committee were summarized in a series of press releases, which the following report is based on.

Puerto Rico

More than 25 petitioners testified at the hearings on Puerto Rico. Among them were representatives of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, National Ecumenical Movement of Puerto Rico, United Committee Against Repression, and the Law College of Puerto Rico.

The U.S. government has consistently refused to cooperate with the committee in regards to Puerto Rico. In a Sept. 15, 1986, reply to a request for information on action taken or proposed to decolonize Puerto Rico, the U.S. permanent representative to the UN answered that the United States did not consider the issue of Puerto Rico to be a proper subject for examination by the UN. He charged that the committee had again sought "to invent a decolonization problem with respect to Puerto Rico."

Carlos Gallisá, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, reminded the committee that 15 years ago it had approved the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence.

The imperialists, he said, could no longer prevent the UN from considering the case of Puerto Rico. "Cuba's voice had never been hushed by the arrogance of the United States," he said, referring to revolutionary Cuba's vanguard role in bringing the issue of Puerto Rico's colonial status to the attention of the world.

Julio Icaza Gallard spoke to the committee on behalf of the Nicaraguan government. He said Washington was spending millions of dollars to use Puerto Rico as a military base. He demanded that the U.S. government apply UN Resolution 1514 (on the independence of Puerto Rico and other colonies) and respect the identity of Puerto Rico as a Latin American nation.

Much of the testimony centered on the campaign of surveillance, frame-ups, and imprisonments of independence activists and leaders carried out by Washington with the support of the government of Puerto Rico since the early 1950s.

The latest example of this dirty work is the arrest, jailing, and pending trial of 15 Puerto Rican independence supporters and a U.S. attorney. Eleven of them were arrested in an Aug. 30, 1985, raid on the island by more than 200 armed FBI agents.

María Dolores Fernos, of the Committee of Friends and Relatives of Those Arrested on August 30, told the committee that Puerto Rico would only achieve self-determination through independence. After describing the arrest and treatment of the 15 Puerto Rican independence supporters by U.S. authorities, she concluded that the 1952 Constitution of Puerto Rico had no legal or juridical value.

Rafael Cancel Miranda also appeared at the hearings. He is one of five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for 25 years beginning in 1954. Cancel Miranda accused the

colonial government of following Washington's lead in restricting democratic rights.

Awilda Palau, president of the Puerto Rican Committee of Intellectuals for the Sovereign Peoples of the Americas, said the U.S. State Department had denied visas to individuals from Cuba and the Dominican Republic who were to attend a conference organized by the University of Puerto Rico. From 1980 through this year, 200 writers, artists, professionals, and students were similarly denied visas.

Gerald Keogh, president of the Brehon Law Society, an Irish-American organization of judges and lawyers, compared the colonial status of Puerto Rico to the British occupation of Northern Ireland.

Two Puerto Rican defenders of U.S. domination of Puerto Rico were dredged up to testify before the committee. Elsie Valdés Ramos, of the Movement United in Face of Uncertainty asserted that the U.S. government wanted self-determination for Puerto Rico, and claimed that the standard of living was now very high in Puerto Rico thanks to Washington.

At the conclusion of the hearings on Puerto Rico the committee adopted by majority vote a resolution drafted and introduced by Cuba. It recommended the UN General Assembly reaffirm the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence and express its hope, and that of the international community, that the Puerto Rican people "may exercise without hindrance its right to self-determination with the express recognition of the people's sovereignty and full political equality."

Namibia

After several days of testimony the committee reaffirmed the "inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence." Namibia has been occupied by South Africa since the outbreak of World War I. There are currently 100,000 South African troops in Namibia. The South West Africa People's Organisation is leading a political struggle for Namibian independence, and an armed resistance to the South African occupation.

The resolution reiterated, according to a committee press release, "Namibia's accession to independence must be with its territorial integrity intact, including its offshore islands. Any action by South Af-



Thousands in San Juan welcome Puerto Rican nationalists released in 1979 after serving 25 years in U.S. prison. Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of former prisoners, testified at UN decolonization hearings.

rica to annex them would be illegal, null, and void."

In a separate resolution the committee condemned the activities and policies of governments that continued to support or collaborate with foreign economic interests illegally exploiting Namibia's mineral and sea resources.

In a third resolution the committee expressed its regret that the World Bank continued to maintain financial and technical links with South Africa, and called for them to be discontinued. It also condemned the collaboration between the International Monetary Fund and South Africa.

Stating that he generally supported the resolutions on Namibia, the Swedish member of the committee objected to support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people against South African occupation. The committee, however, "reaffirmed the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal to achieve freedom." The committee also strongly condemned collaboration with the South African regime in the nuclear field.

New Caledonia

At its closing session, the committee "affirmed the inalienable right of the people of New Caledonia to self-determination and independence." It stated that the French government was obligated to transmit information to the committee on New Caledonia and regretted that it had not done so.

It called on the French government to resume dialogue with all sections of the population of New Caledonia to facilitate rapid progress toward self-determination.

The French government has announced plans for a referendum on independence for the island. Originally scheduled for July, the referendum has been postponed several times due to protests against it led by the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). The referendum, which is currently scheduled for September 13, is rigged to prevent a vote for independence.

Yann Celene Uregei of the FLNKS told the committee that the referendum would achieve nothing. He condemned the 134-year legacy of French colonialism, stating that its sad balance had resulted in only one native Kanak doctor, two professors, and one judge in all of New Caledonia.

According to Uregei there is now one soldier for every three adult Kanaks on the island. He reported further that a significant number of young people had been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the colonial army.

Other decisions of the committee included:

- Reaffirmation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Pitcairn, Anguilla, and Bermuda, which are administered by Britain.

- Reaffirmation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Cayman Islands, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and St. Helena — administered by Britain; and of the Virgin Islands and Guam administered by the United States.

- Urged the governments of Argentina and Britain to resume negotiation in order to find a peaceful solution to the sovereignty dispute of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands.

Namibia Day meeting celebrates launching of fight against South African occupation

BY ED WARREN

NEW YORK — On Aug. 26, 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia took up arms against the racist South African regime, whose troops have occupied Namibia since 1915. This date is now observed throughout the world as Namibia Day.

Some 175 people attended a meeting at the Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199 hall here on August 27 to show their solidarity with the freedom fight led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). Representatives of United Auto Workers District Council 65; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37; and the General Union of Palestinian Women, Youth and Students gave greetings to the meeting. A message was read from Local 1199 President Georgianna Johnson.

Fred Dube represented the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Dube, a professor at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, is currently fighting an attempt to deny him tenure by the university's board of trustees. "The ANC is present to show the unity of the organizations fighting against the racist apartheid regime," said Dube.

"The U.S. government is trying to paint SWAPO and the ANC as terrorist. But it is the U.S. government itself which should be held in contempt for its continual support to the real terrorists, the apartheid regime of South Africa," Dube said. Condemning Washington's support to the contras in Nicaragua, he said, "They are killing peasants, women, and children. Isn't that terrorism?"

U.S. government officials are proposing reactionary legislation to prohibit representatives of the ANC, SWAPO, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from traveling beyond the confines of the cities where their United Nations missions are located. "This is supposed to be antiterrorist legislation," said Dube. "The fact is that the U.S. government is the biggest terrorist in the world."

The keynote speech was given by Hidipo Hamutenya, information secretary for SWAPO. He told the audience that on August 18 more than 10 leaders of SWAPO had been arrested in Namibia. Among them were Hendrik Witbooi, SWAPO's acting vice president; Daniel Tjongarero, acting national chairman; Nico Bessinger, coordinator of foreign affairs; Anton Lubowski of the National Union of Nami-

bian Workers; and John Pandeni, general secretary of the Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union.

They are all charged under the terrorism act. Under that law, they can be held indefinitely without access to their families, lawyers, or doctors. "We fear for their welfare and that of many other Namibians who remain under constant threat," Hamutenya said.

He solidarized with the miners' strike in South Africa. "Also in Namibia, 4,000 mine workers went on strike at the copper, lead, and zinc mines of Tsumeb Ltd. and were joined by several hundred others at the Kombat and Otjitlase copper mines," he reported.

The companies dismissed the workers and got a court order evicting them from company hostels. Army troops and cops were then used to transport the workers to the northern war zone, reported Hamutenya. The fate of these workers is not yet known.

He appealed to opponents of the apartheid regime to continue to support the struggles of workers in Namibia and South Africa and to insist on immediate implementation of United Nations resolution 435, which calls for independence for Namibia.

Nicaraguan contras continue terror attacks

Sandinista land reform further isolates mercenaries

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — While the process around the Central America peace accords has unfolded, the U.S.-run contra war against Nicaragua continues. The peace discussions show that Washington's contra mercenaries are more politically isolated inside Nicaragua and around the world than ever before. Yet the massive aid they receive from the U.S. government allows them to keep sowing death and destruction in Nicaragua.

Sabotage increasing

Between June 5 and July 5 the contras bombed eight electric towers in the Matagalpa, Estelí, and Chontales regions. A contra sabotage team managed to infiltrate Estelí itself, a northern town and one of the country's largest, to bomb a pylon.

During the same period, the mercenaries carried out a series of murderous assaults on civilians:

- **June 10:** a mortar attack on the Atlantic Coast town of Pearl Lagoon, wounding six.

- **June 14:** an assault on the northern peasant village of Panalí, wounding seven.

- **June 18:** an attack on a farm cooperative in the south-central Nicaragua Chontales region, killing five.

- **June 18:** an attack on a state farm, killing eight.

- **June 18:** the kidnapping of 12 peasants from the Chontales village of San Ubaldo.

- **June 24:** the murder of Chilean technician Manuel López Ibañez, near El Sauce, 15 miles south of Estelí.

- **July 1:** an attack on a farm cooperative in Chontales, killing one.

- **July 3:** an ambush of a bus near Nueva Guinea, also in south-central Nicaragua, killing 11.

- **July 3:** the assassination of Tomás Zavaleta, a Salvadoran priest working with peasant cooperatives in the north, killed when his truck hit a land mine.

The high point of these terror attacks, according to the CIA's script, was to be the spectacular seizure of an important peasant town, Quilalí, located about 35 miles northeast of Estelí. On June 25, up to 500 contras attempted to invade the town. U.S. reporters were even brought in from Honduras to cover "the taking of Quilalí."

But a well-organized militia of Quilalí workers and peasants responded immediately to repel the attack. Militias in surrounding villages also went on the alert.

As a result, more than 40 contras were killed. They succeeded only in partially damaging the main grain storage facility in town.

In a news conference June 25, Sandinista People's Army (EPS) political director Hugo Torres was asked about the increase in contra attacks. He pointed out that the mercenaries are concentrating their attacks on lightly defended peasant areas and that many of their victims have been unarmed women and children. One goal of the terror, he said, is to discourage peasants from taking advantage of the revolution's land reform program.

Torres also said that the increased aid approved by the U.S. Congress last year has allowed the CIA to give more sophisticated training to contra commanders.

Asked how the army is meeting this new challenge, Torres stressed deepening the participation of peasants in militias. He said that even some ex-contras who have received amnesty are joining militias. This development is most striking on the Atlantic Coast, he said, "where we have entire militia units made up of Miskito and Sumo Indians" who have left the contras.

Washington's goal for contras

On July 15 Gen. Humberto Ortega, head of the EPS, gave an overview of the current military situation. He explained that Washington's goal since the contra war began in 1981 has been to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. To do so, Washington has been trying for the last six years to lay the basis for using U.S. troops in Nicaragua.

The U.S. government has been successful on one count, Ortega explained. They have succeeded in carrying out a massive military build-up throughout Central America, constructing airports, bringing in



Land-distribution ceremony in San Marcos, Masaya Province, in January 1986. Banner declares, "Let there be no peasant without land in Nicaragua."

heavy weaponry, and running tens of thousands of U.S. troops through "exercises" in Honduras to prepare them for a possible intervention. The U.S. military presence in the region has become "routine" and almost "legitimate" Ortega warned.

But, he continued, the Nicaraguan people have also achieved something important: "We have basically broken up" the contra army.

Big contra military victories were supposed to create the conditions for a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, Ortega explained. Washington "thought that by now Nicaragua would be undergoing a deep destabilization due to a civil war, with a vigorous counterrevolutionary army capable of liberating zones, territories, and important towns, capable of tipping the military relationship of forces in its favor," he said.

"Had they achieved this, it would not only have facilitated the step of U.S. intervention — which remains a real danger — but brought it much closer in time."

After six years of trying, however, the contras have failed to take and hold a single town, much less start a civil war. Their ability to launch major military offensives has been shattered. The Sandinistas estimate they have reduced the number of mercenaries by almost two-thirds since 1984.

However, the contras "still maintain a certain capacity to replenish their ranks," Ortega said. At the beginning of 1987, the army estimated the number of contras at about 6,500. The Sandinistas have killed some 2,700 in battle in the last six months. But the current troop strength of the mercenaries is about 6,000.

Where do the new recruits come from? Ortega said that on the one hand, 12- and 13-year-old Nicaraguan boys living in "refugee" camps in Honduras are being pressed into the contra ranks.

"We should also not be afraid to say that [inside Nicaragua], where the majority of the population supports the revolutionary changes, there exist sectors that are against the revolution," he continued.

These sectors include peasants "who are manipulated, above all in the most isolated parts of the countryside, through pressure or by landlords. There are still sectors [providing] a certain social base, which grows smaller every day, for the mercenary forces," Ortega explained.

Political battle

The political struggle to win over peasants influenced by the contras has made big strides forward in the last three years. Carlos Zamora, head of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the northern Nicaragua Matagalpa region, described the progress in a recent interview in the Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

Zamora said 1984 through early 1985 was the worst period for the revolution in

the Matagalpa region. "The counterrevolution was building up a social base and had assassinated almost 600 peasants in cooperatives, [farm union] leaders, and teachers. They had forced almost 200 cooperatives to pull back or close down and had practically expelled us from some territories."

Things had reached this point, said Zamora, in part because of errors by the Sandinistas.

Following the victory of the revolution in 1979, the new government initially concentrated its scarce financial resources in the cities, not the countryside. "At the beginning," Zamora recalled, "we were thinking about organizing the economy of the cities, the problems of the Pacific, of Managua. The [economic] situation of the peasant began to deteriorate."

Although the revolutionary government quickly expropriated the properties of landlords close to Somoza, the redistribution of land to poor peasants went very slowly.

The ex-landlords organized a minority of peasants to resist the revolutionary changes taking place. These were poor peasants whose entire lives had been dependent on a big landlord "who was the godfather of their children, who took care of them when they were sick, who loaned them money to solve their problems, and who they did not see as tied to Somozaism," said Zamora.

Nor did these peasants "see the confis-

cated properties being turned over to them," he added. Instead the land went to state farms or cooperatives.

From the military standpoint, when the contras began their armed attacks in 1981 their troops included people from the rural Matagalpa region, while the Sandinista forces sent in to fight them came from the cities and were seen as "outsiders."

By 1984, said Zamora, the contras "had become a dangerous military force, with a certain hegemony among the peasantry, while we had had to abandon some areas" of the countryside.

"We sat down and did a profound criticism and self-criticism of our work in general. In 1984 there were 20,000 peasant families whose lack of land had not been resolved. We hadn't put together the necessary military forces to confront the enemy. At the same time, our presence as the revolution was weak, bureaucratic, and dispersed."

What progress has been made? Beginning in 1984, the national government reversed its prioritization of resources for the cities and began earmarking most funds and social services for the countryside.

Second, some 13,500 families in the Matagalpa region have received land. The government originally gave out land mainly to peasants willing to set up cooperatives. But, Zamora explained, "many peasants were afraid to till the land and form co-ops because the contras would attack them. So we said, okay, we're going to give you the land in the form you want it."

Over time, he said, more peasants have become convinced that they are safer and more productive working in cooperatives with organized militias.

On the military plane, the government established a national draft in 1984 and began expanding local militias and reserve units. Thousands of peasants have been incorporated into defense units, frequently fighting in the area where they grew up and are known by local residents.

The task now, Zamora told *Barricada*, "is to accelerate the defeat of the contras, redouble our mobilization, and win the war. We mustn't get accustomed to living forever with the counterrevolution."

The *Barricada* reporter asked, "But won't accelerating the defeat [of the contras] bring a direct aggression by the Yankees closer?"

"On the contrary," answered Zamora. The U.S. government "is taking into account the fact that we have thousands of youth who have gone through military training." Militias and reserve battalions have been organized throughout the rural areas "complete with their own commanders, combat training, defense plans, and mobilization capacity. And this is the very structure we are going to use against the gringos in the hour of an invasion."

Right-wing group boasts of murdering Vietnamese in Calif.

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — A right-wing Vietnamese group has claimed responsibility for the murder of the editor of a popular magazine in Orange County, just south of this city.

Tap Van Pham died August 9 when an arsonist-set fire swept through the offices of *Mai* in the Little Saigon area of Garden Grove.

A letter postmarked that same day and mailed from San Jose in Northern California claimed responsibility for the attack. Received by Vietnamese-language newspapers in Orange County, the letter was signed by the Vietnamese Party to Exterminate the Communists and Restore the Nation.

The letter said the magazine's offices were being "destroyed" because the editor had refused to heed warnings not to carry advertisements by Canadian-based firms that aid Vietnamese immigrants in sending funds to relatives in their homeland. Some 120,000 Vietnamese live in Orange County.

This same group has claimed responsi-

bility for several previous terrorist assaults. Last year in Orange County they shot an official in the former U.S.-backed regime in South Vietnam who now favors normalization of relations with Vietnam and who refused to turn over \$10,000 to them.

In 1981 they announced they had invoked the "death penalty" in the fatal shooting of Lam Trong Duong, who published a small pro-Vietnam newspaper in San Francisco.

The group also said it was responsible for shooting restaurant owner Nguyen Van Luy and murdering his wife in San Francisco. They had willed their estate to the Vietnamese government "to heal wounds and to rebuild the country."

After this latest murder, the editor of Orange County's largest Vietnamese-language newspaper reported, "Many businessmen also received [a threatening letter], and they and others are very, very frightened."

The police have so far not managed to bring any of the attackers to justice and say they are not sure that the group claiming credit really exists.

Borge: 'We have fought tirelessly to reach an accord'

On August 26 Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge addressed a conference in Managua of women scientists and technicians from Central America, the United States, and Europe. In his opening remarks, he took up the lies in the U.S. press about the Sandinistas' attitude toward the accords signed recently in Guatemala for an end to military conflicts in Central America.

A member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Borge refuted charges that the Sandinistas have ulterior motives in signing the accords. He also dispelled rumors that he personally opposes the Guatemala agreement. Finally, he appealed to the women present to intensify solidarity with Nicaragua's struggle to end the U.S.-imposed contra war.

The Sandinista leader devoted the remainder of his talk to a history of women's oppression, the rise of feminism, and its relationship to the class struggle.

Below we reprint excerpts from Borge's initial remarks. The transcription and translation is by the *Militant*.

* * *

It wouldn't be a bad idea to talk about the current conjuncture and read what the



Militant/Fred Murphy

Tomás Borge

international press is saying, particularly the U.S. news agencies.

The *Washington Post* says: "The sorry state of the Nicaraguan economy may have been a decisive factor in inducing the Sandinistas to accept an internal democratization as part of the Guatemala peace accords. The Soviet Union seems to be losing patience with Nicaragua's economic situation."

And the *New York Times* says: "Diplomatic sources have said that President Ortega phoned President Arias recently to explain the reasons behind his trip to Havana. They say Ortega had to seek Fidel's support in order to soften the pressures from the hard-liners in his own government. Ortega is concerned above all with the challenges coming from Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge, who controls the security and intelligence agencies."

A *New York Times* editorial reports that "there are signs that not all Sandinistas agree with the peace plan. One of them is Borge, whose cops beat up demonstrators and jail human rights activists, which may make the internal differences explode and help the pragmatic Sandinistas."

The *New York Times* also says: "Soviet frugality is beginning to make itself felt. The Soviet refusal to increase its aid to Nicaragua has caused an economic crisis."

The *Christian Science Monitor* asks: "Can the Sandinistas solve their internal divisions and carry out the reforms? Will they have the same incentive to maintain such a policy of [democracy] once U.S. aid to the contras is suspended?"

The *Wall Street Journal* says that "the Sandinistas will not allow the peace plan to force them out of power so easily." Of course not.

On the other hand, the *Washington Post* notes that "the police broke up a demonstration of 2,000 opponents through bloodshed and gunfire. Among the four or six arrested are two ..." and it mentions their names.

No blood or gunfire

I must tell you that the attempted demonstration was 400 people, not 2,000. And it was not broken up in bloodshed and gunfire. There was no blood and no gunfire. Nobody even got hit, except some police who received minor blows.

They're trying to exploit small and insignificant incidents, which in any other country in the world would have no significance. Four hundred people try to hold a demonstration. They're finally persuaded not to, and they don't. There's an exchange of words, some plastic bags filled with water are thrown at policemen, and nothing more. Two, not six, are arrested. They receive 30-day, noncommutable jail sentences.

In any other city in the world such an incident has no importance. No one picks it up, not even an insignificant gossip column. Yet this insignificant incident merited five columns in a U.S. daily. And it became a scandal in the United States and other parts of the world.

Divisions inside Sandinista Front?

They try to give the impression that inside the Sandinista Front there are those who oppose the peace accords and those who support them. As if there were bloodthirsty tigers on the one hand and meek lambs on the other. You should know, sisters, and the whole world should know: in this country we have neither tigers nor lambs. What we have are lions to defend the homeland.

You laughed when I read these news dispatches. But believe me, they do leave their imprint on the consciousness of the U.S. people.

Of course it's not possible that the revolutionary leadership in this country, the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front, has important differences over the decisions we make. Even so, these seemingly confused people — and they are not really confused, but deliberately trying to confuse public opinion — these people should know that in this country no one makes individual decisions, fortunately for Nicaragua and for the revolution. Decisions are made after being discussed.

And who could be against peace? Who could be against the Guatemala accords? Only those who are irresponsible, the provocateurs, those who have identified themselves with U.S. policy could be against this kind of miracle produced in Guatemala.

Nicaragua and the Sandinista Front support and will continue to support the Guatemala accords. At a meeting of the Sandinista Assembly, the Sandinista Front came out with a single position paper supporting the signing of this agreement by the president of Nicaragua.

Why accords were won

It is natural for us Nicaraguans to have a special interest in peace. We shouldn't ask why Nicaragua signed these agreements, but rather, how is it that the other Central American presidents finally signed them? Through all these years we've fought tirelessly to reach an accord. When the Contadora Act was proposed [in 1984], the Nicaraguans were the only ones willing to sign it.

These Guatemala agreements would not have been possible, of course, without the factors that contributed to this historic moment in Central America. And these include not only the internal crisis in the United States resulting from the Irangate scandal; not only the fact that there is a severe economic crisis in Central America, a great weariness with the tensions and constant pressure from the United States. But also the fact that the Nicaraguan people support the Sandinista revolution and that



Militant/Michael Baumann

Funeral of Nicaraguan victim of contras. "Who could be against peace, against the Guatemala accords?" asked Sandinista leader Tomás Borge. "Only those who are irresponsible, the provocateurs, those who have identified themselves with U.S. policy."

the counterrevolution has been defeated in strategic terms.

Because had the counterrevolution not been defeated, and had the people of Nicaragua turned their backs on the revolution, then we would not have any accord. The domestic relationship of forces inside this country has been decisive in reaching this reasonable and realistic agreement in Guatemala.

I am not pessimistic

What the future holds is unknown. There are those who are pessimistic about the stand that the U.S. government may take. And there are obvious, objective reasons to be pessimistic. The visceral policies of Mr. Reagan make one think that it's going to be very difficult for him to not somehow veto the Guatemala accords.

Nonetheless, I am not so pessimistic. Because Mr. Reagan also wanted to liquidate the revolution in Nicaragua, and he hasn't been able to. And there was a moment when in their concrete plans they had decided in the United States to invade Nicaragua, but certain factors arose that made it impossible, at that moment, to invade our country.

I don't think its enough for Mr. Reagan to want to liquidate the Guatemala accords. The support these accords have gotten has been so great, so unanimous, so universal, that it will muzzle imperialism's ferocious teeth and prevent it from chewing up these accords.

This is a real possibility — if humanity, conscious of the need to find a peaceful solution in Central America, unites to prevent obstacles to the development of peace. I believe we all must make new efforts everywhere to expose U.S. policy and to

block boycotts and traps aimed against the peace accords.

The support for the accords, which has been unanimous, is still lukewarm. It should be passionate, much hotter, more enthusiastic. If you can do something in your own countries in any way, it would be important. Do it for peace in this bloodied country, this country that has shed so much blood and so many tears in the cause for peace in the Central American countries. Because if a generalized war comes, no one knows what the consequences will be, including on the level of world peace.

Nicaragua's economic crisis

In Nicaragua we cannot hide the fact that we are in a difficult economic situation. The international news agencies speculate about this, and even say that we signed the accords because we are suffering an economic crisis.

What fools they are! We signed these accords because we support peace on principle.

And if there is a country to whom we are deeply grateful for its selfless and unconditional aid, that country is the Soviet Union. It has carried out all its agreements for solidarity with Nicaragua. It's even possible the Soviet Union will go beyond those agreements and increase its aid in this concrete situation.

But more important than the oil the Soviet Union has given us — or may give us by increasing its quota — is the respect with which it has treated us. They have never imposed the slightest conditions on us. Of course we would not accept conditions from anyone. The Soviet Union has been exemplary in this regard. And we have the moral obligation to say so.

Strikes, protests in S. Korea

Continued from front page

workers marched and rallied in Ulsan, where the Hyundai auto and shipbuilding complex is located, government officials felt compelled to urge the company to recognize the workers' union. Upon a company promise to do so, the workers went back to their jobs.

But on September 2 up to 30,000 Hyundai workers again staged marches and sit-ins in response to the company's foot-dragging on their wage demands.

Another major conflict occurred at the Daewoo shipyard. Strikers there won a wage increase, but at the cost of one worker killed by the police. When the workers attempted to stage a massive funeral march to Kwangju to bury the slain striker, police again intervened, hijacking the coffin to block the action.

Peasants, students protest

Other sectors of the population have also expressed their opposition to the regime's policies.

Peasants have staged protests, charging that they were cheated by the official agrarian programs.

On September 1 college campuses reopened for the fall semester, and within hours police massed at the gates of Seoul

National University, leading to renewed battles with student protesters.

With the rise in labor unrest, students have sought to build support for the workers' struggles. The National Federation of University Students, which was inaugurated August 19 and includes student leaders from nearly 100 campuses, pledged to make "common struggle and solidarity" with striking workers one of its key goals.

Alarmed by the continuing strikes and the moves to build a worker-student alliance, the Chun regime began to crack down more forcefully.

Claiming that "impure leftist forces" were infiltrating the labor movement, the police have seized scores of political activists, and announced that more than 1,000 are under investigation.

On September 4 riot police stormed the Hyundai shipyard in Ulsan and a Daewoo car plant in Puyong, detaining about 100 striking workers at each site. Another 300 workers were picked up for conducting sit-in strikes in seven other cities.

But this only succeeded in prompting a further response from the workers. On September 7 some 10,000 workers again occupied the Hyundai shipyard, demanding higher wages and the release of the arrested workers.

Salvador students and workers stage antigov't protest



Banners announce day of solidarity with students and people of El Salvador, marking anniversary of 1975 massacre of students on campus. Militant/Don Gurewitz

BY DON GUREWITZ

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Twenty thousand students and workers marched through the streets July 30 to commemorate the massacre of 20 students here 12 years ago. The action was organized by the General Association of Students of the University of El Salvador. A large contingent from the National Union of Salvadoran Workers joined the protest.

The march went by the national Social Security hospital, where workers have been conducting a militant strike for two months. As the demonstrators passed, members of the Salvadoran Institute of Social Security Workers, which is carrying out the occupation of the hospital, cheered wildly.

The march also passed the U.S. embassy, which had a huge phalanx of soldiers and cops in riot gear stationed outside. The walls of the embassy compound are covered with graffiti condemning U.S. intervention and the U.S.-backed regime of José Napoleón Duarte.

The protesters' colorful banners spanned the width of the streets. Referring to the shooting of the students in 1975, a banner carried by the high school students' federation read, "12 years after the vile genocide we raise our fists in struggle."

July 30 had been proclaimed "International Day of Solidarity with El Salvador" by the International Union of Students. Delegations from a number of countries, including Switzerland, Argentina, West Germany, and Canada joined the demonstration. A contingent of students and trade unionists from the United States also marched.

The day of protest was capped by a concert on the campus that night. During the spirited concert-rally, members of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), armed and with bandannas cov-

ering their faces, mounted the stage briefly to address the audience.

One of the most popular chants at the march was "presupuesto" ("budget"). This refers to the fact that the government refuses to provide an adequate budget for the 36,000-student university.

During the height of the repression of the early 1980s, the army invaded the campus with tanks, helicopters, and heavy arms and shut it down.

When the U.S. administration was subsequently trying to clean up the Salvadoran regime's image, the Salvadoran government allowed the university to reopen — but without funds.

Today, although teachers and campus workers are paid, there is no money for books, lab equipment, campus activities, etc. The students and faculty have had to rebuild the entire campus through donations. They still lack many essential materials.

Like the rest of the population, students face government and right-wing violence. In June, for instance, the infamous death squads announced over their clandestine radio station a list of popular leaders and activists who had 24 hours to leave the country or face execution. The student leaders answered the threats with redoubled efforts to build the popular movement, including the July 30 mass march.

The university has been singled out for repression by the regime because it is a center of popular protest. On July 20, for example, there was a campus rally celebrating the Nicaraguan revolution. The Sandinista anthem could be heard booming from the loudspeakers.

Another event that was advertised while we were there was a three-day seminar of student groups from all over Latin America on the issue of the foreign debt.

We were able to meet with two of the leaders of the General Association of Stu-

dents of the University of El Salvador (AGEUS). One had his arm in a sling, the result of being shot by the police at a demonstration for the striking hospital workers the week before.

The AGEUS leaders explained to us that they consider participation by the student movement in support actions for struggling workers, peasants, unemployed, and political prisoners as some of their most impor-

tant activities. That is why AGEUS is a member of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers.

Don Gurewitz is a member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. He has visited El Salvador on two other occasions as part of U.S. trade union delegations. He recently visited again as part of a labor-student delegation from Boston.

Mass. electrical unionists see Nicaragua for themselves

BY FRED FELDMAN

"UE Members Say Nicaragua Wants Peace and Progress, Not Contra War," read the headline on a full-page article in the August 10 *UE News*, published by the United Electrical Workers. The article — published also in Spanish in the same issue — describes the impressions of two factory workers who participated in a 15-member delegation to Nicaragua from New Bedford, Massachusetts last May.

The delegation, including an aide to the city's mayor, brought \$12,000 worth of medicines, paper, and pencils; and 36 baseballs and gloves to Telica, a town in the cotton-producing region northwest of Managua. The donations were raised from unions and other organizations in New Bedford, where proposals are under discussion to adopt Telica as a "sister city."

Teresa Almeida, president of UE Local 219 at Columbia Electronic Cables, and Frank Pina, a member of Local 277 who is a finish grinder at Morse Tool, were members of the delegation.

"The picture is not the one they're painting here," in the United States said Almeida, after discussions with Nicaraguan government officials, opposition leaders, farmers, workers, religious activists, and people on the street. Speaking Portuguese, she was able to communicate with the Spanish-speaking Nicaraguans.

"People spoke openly of their problems everywhere we went," Frank Pina told *UE News*. "You can oppose the government so long as you don't pick up arms against it."

Almeida stated, "People in Nicaragua have the right to choose what government they want. There is widespread support for the Sandinistas, the coalition responsible for the successful 1979 revolution against the Somoza dynasty."

"They have found a government that works for them," Pina added.

"Everyone is going to school, not just young people," Almeida reported. "Old people are going to school to learn how to read and write, farmers to learn how to administer their farms."

Unlike under the violently antilabor Somoza dictatorship, unions have prospered under the Sandinista government. "They have a lot of members right now in the unions," said Almeida. She suggested this is a reason why President Reagan "wants to keep the contras over there."

Summing up their views, the *UE News* reported: "The war stands in the way of progress. In nine years the Sandinista government has worked to improve the lives of the Nicaraguan people. There is much left to do."

Almeida described seeing "children with handicaps from the war. We met a woman who buried her two teenage sons, murdered by the contras, in her backyard. We met other women who told us of the torture of family members by the contras."

She described some of the economic effects of the U.S. war and economic em-

bargo. "Farmers don't have the machinery to work in the fields. In the pharmacies they don't have the medicine." They visited a health clinic that had medical supplies on hand totaling less than one-third the medicines that the delegation had brought.

Pina said they had feared Nicaraguans would be hostile to them because of Washington's role in the war, but he found instead that the people were "warm, friendly, open, honest, and receptive to questions."

Pina said the Nicaraguan people "do not blame Americans for the involvement of the U.S. government in Nicaragua. They know the people of America are just like they are."

"They just want to be left alone in peace. If they have to they will fight and die for peace and the future of Nicaragua, which is their children."

Mayor Young pledges Guatemala's cops can train in Atlanta

BY ELLEN BERMAN

ATLANTA — "Young's pledge a P.R. coup for Guatemala" read the lead headline in the *Atlanta Constitution* on August 6. The pledge is to train Guatemala's National Police in Atlanta. This city was specifically chosen as a possible training site because of Mayor Andrew Young's international reputation as a human rights figure.

From 1978 to 1985 an estimated 50,000-75,000 Guatemalans, out of a population of 8 million, were killed by the military, National Police, other police, and right-wing death squads. The 70 percent of the population that is Indian has been the primary target of this violence.

Although a civilian president was elected in 1985, real power still lies with the military, which works hand in hand with the National Police.

Despite a campaign to improve Guatemala's human rights image, of which the plan to train the police in Atlanta is the latest step, estimates are that more than 500 Guatemalans have been "disappeared" or killed since Vinicio Cerezo's election as president. No attempts have been made to find the killers.

Solidarity activists here held a meeting with the mayor in an attempt to dissuade him from taking a "fact-finding" trip to Guatemala. Among those attending the Atlanta meeting was Beto Rodríguez, a Guatemalan exile who was in the army for three years coordinating counterinsurgency operations with the National Police. He left the army in protest against human rights violations. Since then, eight members of his family, including his father, brother, sister, nephews, and fiancée, have been kidnapped. They have not been heard from since.

In Guatemala, Young was met by a demonstration of human rights activists.

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The September issue of PM features an interview with Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Juan Segarra Palmer, two of the 16 fighters for Puerto Rican independence who are being framed up by the FBI.

Although no court has proven them guilty of anything, Ojeda and Segarra have been in jail for more than two years, without the right to bail and with no trial date in sight.

In the interview, the two defendants explain their struggle and the stakes for U.S. working people in this fight.

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Thousands in Toronto hear Oliver Tambo

ANC leader presses for sanctions

BY JOAN CAMPANA

TORONTO — A roar of welcome greeted Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, as he stepped forward to address a rally of more than 2,000 people here on August 29.

Tambo was invited to Canada to meet with representatives of the Canadian government. That Canadian officials felt compelled to receive him is a direct reflection of the deepening struggle of the South African masses and of the ANC's growing authority.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, in a tour of African countries earlier this year, promised to impose tough sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa. But, as little meaningful action has ensued, the government has come under pressure to put more substance into its criticisms.

In discussions with Tambo, however, Canadian government leaders backed away from action, citing the ANC's "use of violence" and its "connections to Marxism." New sanctions will "not necessarily" be imposed, stated Foreign Affairs Minister Joe Clark.

Tambo's address to the rally took these issues head on.

Apartheid has meant a violent, decades-long war against the Black people of South Africa, he explained. Now "there is an armed struggle taking place against this system. . . . Who is surprised that Blacks, who are the victims of this system, have decided to take up arms against it?"

"Who is the great promoter of the notion that the ANC should abandon the armed struggle? It is the criminals, the perpe-

trators of this system who say we must stop fighting.

"Why should we not use every means we can, every arm we can, against this system? When a slave, after generations of enslavement, at last decides to pick up a gun and fight, he's unlikely to put that gun away until he has freed himself."

Those who oppose sanctions, Tambo said, are those "who have a material interest" in maintaining apartheid.

Referring to the red-baiting of the ANC, Tambo continued, "For a long time the South African regime has been talking about this communism. Among the oppressed in South Africa this is utter nonsense and doesn't mean anything. Our objective is a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa. But that objective that we have stated for decades they regard as communism."

Tambo said he told Mulroney, "If indeed you are genuine . . . cut off your links to that country." But, he told the rally, "let us not even wait, let us tell the government to impose sanctions, and let us impose sanctions ourselves."

Tambo also called for support for the National Union of Mineworkers, which was then on strike in South Africa. He emphasized that "their stand of tremendous courage is of the kind that will defeat apartheid. We need that resistance, that resilience, that determination, that staying power; we need that to defeat apartheid."

"Apartheid will end. It depends on us. Let us go ahead as united as the miners of South Africa."

Tambo was joined on the platform by Dennis Cromarty, representing Georges



Militant/Roberto Kopeck

African National Congress President Oliver Tambo

Erasmus, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations of Canada. Cromarty condemned the South African government for "its manipulation of some of our people." The South African regime has demagogically tried to pose as a defender of Canada's Native peoples in order to undercut opposition to its racist order.

"The Assembly of First Nations stands

in support of the ANC and we call upon the Canadian government to impose full economic sanctions upon the government of South Africa," stated Cromarty.

Tambo also met with union officials, including Canadian Labour Congress President Shirley Carr, who promised an \$800,000 donation to unions in South Africa.

Stop S. Africa hangings!

BY SAM MANUEL

On September 1 the South African government began implementing death sentences for 32 Blacks convicted of murder by the apartheid courts. The first to be hanged were Moses Jantjies and Wellington Mielies. Along with 30 others, they were convicted of murder for alleged crimes committed during protests against apartheid since 1985.

Jantjies and Mielies were convicted for the murder of Ben Kinikini, a Black township councilman, and several members of his family. Township councillors are largely seen as collaborators with the apartheid regime. In March 1985 members of the Kwanobuhle council resigned in protest against attacks on the township by police and government-backed vigilantes. Kinikini alone refused to resign. According to reports in the big-business press, this was the reason for his death.

The real story, however, can be found in the April 1987 issue of *Sechaba*, which is published by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

Kinikini, owner of a supermarket and funeral parlor, along with members of his family, led an armed right-wing vigilante group known as the "Peacemakers." They often kidnapped, interrogated, and beat people who fought against the apartheid regime, later turning them over to the police.

Kinikini's wife had even traveled to London to demonstrate against "terrorism" outside the offices of the ANC. On the morning of March 23, 1985, the Peacemakers kidnapped four youths in the township at gunpoint and took them to Kinikini's funeral parlor. The funeral parlor was known as a place where the Peacemakers held their victims. A 16-year-old girl testified at the trial of Jantjies and Mielies that she had been taken there by one of the members of Kinikini's family, handcuffed, beaten, raped, and locked in a coffin overnight.

Police estimate that a crowd of at least a thousand people converged on the funeral parlor to demand the release of the youths. The Kinikinis fired shots at the crowd. The crowd then set fire to the building. The Kinikinis were captured and killed as they tried to escape.

No evidence was presented during the trial proving that Jantjies and Mielies had killed them. A video film made on that day by police spies showed only that the two were present during the incident. The crucial evidence against Mielies was a "confession" he was alleged to have made while under arrest.

The case against Jantjies and Mielies was similar to those of the remaining 30. The only "crime" in all these cases is having fought to bring down the hated apartheid regime.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee is continuing a campaign to save the lives of the 30. All opponents of apartheid should add their voices in protest.

U.S. miners' union backs S. Africa miners

The strike by 340,000 members of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers drew widespread solidarity from working people around the world.

In this country, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) helped collect funds from unions and individuals to aid the strikers. The AFL-CIO Executive Council issued a statement backing the strike.

Continued support to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is important. The South African miners had no strike fund to help them during the walkout. The agreement they reached with the mineowners lasts for one year. NUM General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa emphasized, "This strike was a dress rehearsal for further action; 1988 is already set as the year when the union makes gains."

The fund established by the UMWA to aid the South African miners is ongoing. Unions and individuals can continue to send checks to the South African Miners Aid Fund, c/o United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Israeli air strikes slay 41 in Lebanon

In the most devastating Israeli air raid into southern Lebanon this year, at least 41 people were killed September 5 when several Israeli jets bombed the Ain Khilwe district.

Reports from nearby Sidon said hospitals there were overflowing with casualties.

A local Muslim radio station described the attack as savage. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) said that the air strikes had caused "carnage."

The Israeli government claimed the targets were "terrorist" bases. But the Lebanese police cited civilian homes among the buildings that were bombed.

Ain Khilwe, with a population of 50,000, is the largest Palestinian district in southern Lebanon. Since the beginning of the year, it and other areas in and around Sidon have been the targets of 20 different Israeli air attacks.

French forces deepen intervention in Chad

Using a U.S.-made Hawk missile, French military forces near Chad's capital, Njamena, shot down a Libyan warplane September 7. This marked an escalation of direct French involvement in the Chadian conflict.

The war in that Central African country pits the Chadian regime of Hissène Habré against Libyan troops allied with Chadian forces seeking to overthrow Habré's proimperialist regime. Habré seized power in 1982 with covert U.S. assistance.

In late 1986, the war began to swing in Habré's favor. Most of the Chadian guerrilla groups allied with neighboring Libya deserted to Habré's side, enabling his troops to capture significant territory in the northern war zones.

Habré's advances were also made possible by increased French and U.S. assistance. Some 1,200 French troops are based in Chad, primarily in the south, as are French jet fighters, bombers, reconnaissance aircraft, radar units, and artillery. Since January alone, French aid to Habré has surpassed \$70 million.

Washington has provided Habré with anti-aircraft missiles and other military assistance.

In early August, Habré's forces captured Aozou, the main town in the Aozou Strip, a disputed 43,000-square-mile area along the Chad-Libya border that is claimed by both countries. But on August 28 Libyan forces retook the town.

Several days later, a company of French troops was reported to be in the region around Ounianga Kebir during a battle there. This contradicted French government claims that its troops would stay in the south, away from the war front.

On September 5 Habré's forces struck into Libya itself, attacking the Matan as Sarra air base.

Following this assault, the Libyan government sent a message to the United Nations Security Council warning of a wider conflict "resulting from the direct participation by France and the U.S.A."

Philippine rightist appeals for rebellion

Col. Gregorio Honasan, leader of the failed August 28 coup attempt against the Philippine government of Corazon Aquino, has issued a public appeal for renewed efforts to topple her.

The 15-minute appeal was telephoned to a Manila radio station, which broadcast it. It was Honasan's first public statement since the coup bid, which cost 53 lives and hundreds of wounded. Although more than 1,100 rebel soldiers were captured or surrendered, Honasan managed to escape and went into hiding.

Demagogically claiming that the Aquino government is corrupt, Honasan maintained that opposition to it is "an initial necessary step" to prevent a return to the abuses of former dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

Such claims seek to mask Honasan's rightist aims, which include closing off the democratic opening that the Philippine workers and peasants won with their overthrow of Marcos. One of Honasan's complaints against the Aquino government during the coup attempt was that it was not doing enough to militarily counter the rural-based guerrillas of the New People's Army.

Miami law'n order — The feds busted three more Miami cops, charging them with lifting 320 pounds of cocaine. Meanwhile, the Miami cops busted a woman for letting her hungry



Harry Ring

youngster eat a canned sausage on a "no eating" train. She was held for an hour and faces a possible 60-day sentence, plus \$500 fine.

Un-Korean — "The way young people dress today and let themselves be carried away by wild music is indicative of their frame of mind." — South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan, bemoaning the growing radicalization of workers and students there.

Memo to Col. North — Adnan Kashoggi, contragate arms middleman, wants to sell his \$35-million yacht. Eleven spacious rooms, marble baths with gold fixtures, and a helicopter landing pad — and the boat freshly repainted. Maybe it could be used as a floating retirement home for the top contra flunkies.

Expert opinion — Ex-dictator

of the Philippines Marcos saw the recent unsuccessful right-wing military coup as stemming from the fact that "the people are desperate, hungry, sick, and frustrated." Sure, and if the coup had succeeded it would have helped insure that things stay that way.

One for you, five for me — Since 1981, the wages of manufacturing workers increased an average of 0.8 percent a year. Meanwhile, during the same period, workers' productivity increased an average of 4 percent a year.

Professional what? — "Average income of ten most prosperous Wall Street professionals in 1986:

\$68,800,000." — *Harper's* magazine.

Their best-kept secret — As-suring there would be a prompt investigation of the CIA staffers who spotted those misprinted postage stamps and sold them to a dealer, an agency spokesperson advised: "We don't take questions of improprieties lightly. . . . We have very high standards here."

They're catching on — A Northern California woman was busted for raising a marijuana garden. She said she was doing it to raise money for the contras. The DA said, "The officers immediately searched the residence to make sure she didn't shred any documents."

No, just a good banker — During his Washington tenure as head of the Federal Reserve Board, banker Paul Volcker bought a washing machine for his daughter who lived nearby. He then brought over his laundry each week for her to do. "He's just sort of cheap," she explains.

Thought for the week — "New York attorney Stuart Speiser, a wrongful-death specialist who represents some families in the Northwest Airlines disaster, said the main criterion for determining damages is whether the victims had dependents. The value placed on young children and the elderly is generally much less." — News item.

—CALENDAR—

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Miners' Strike in South Africa and the Struggle Against Apartheid. Speakers: representative of African National Congress of South Africa; Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2368. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Solidarity With the South African Freedom Struggle. Speakers: Dumi Matabane, representative of the African National Congress of South Africa; Annapolis Councilman Carl Snowden, recently returned from a fact-finding trip to South Africa; G.I. Johnson, member Local 2610, United Steelworkers of America Civil Rights Committee. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation requested. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Protest the Attempted Murder of Vietnam Veteran and Antiwar Activist Brian Willson. Speakers: Bob Livesy, Veterans for Peace, Inc., recently returned from Nicaragua; Tom Ryan, Vietnam vet, friend of Willson's; Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, worked with Willson on 1986 coffee brigade in Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 13, 7 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Socialist Educational Conference "Episodes in the Struggle for Black Rights. Black Detroit, Where We Were, Where We Are, 1967-87." A forum with Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. "Slavery in the Ancient World," and "Slavery in the Western World, 1500s to 1865." Sun., Sept. 13, 11 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. Two classes by Maceo Dixon. All events translated to Spanish and held at 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2 for forum;

\$1.50 for each class. Sponsors: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Haiti Today: Duvalier is Gone but Dictatorship Remains. Speakers: Ramona Olson, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union; others. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Stop Contra Aid! Speaker: John Linder, brother of Benjamin Linder, the U.S. engineer murdered by the contras in Nicaragua. Tue., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. Wesley United Methodist Church, Marquette Ave. S and Grand St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: September 15 Coalition. For more information call (612) 378-1460 or 379-8799.

Cuba: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Rev. Curtis Herron, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, recently returned from tour of Cuba; Will Reissner, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Educational Series on Cuba. An eight-part series of classes held on Tuesdays at 10 a.m. and 7 p.m. starting Sept. 22. 508 N Snelling Ave. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Revolt in South Korea: Korean People Challenge Dictatorship. Panel followed by discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Haiti: An Eyewitness Report. Speakers: Art Young, reporter for the *Militant* newspaper; Merceda Rigaud, Haitian Community Services of Irvington. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

The Havana Bienal: A Discussion. Hear the viewpoints of artists who support the revolutionary process in Cuba and who attended the Bienal, a show with works by more than 800 artists from Latin America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Mike Alewitz, Newark artist and director of Pathfinder mural project; New York artists Marina Gutierrez (a Bienal prize-winner), Juan Sanchez, and Willie Birch. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

AIDS: Fact vs. Myth. Why the U.S. Government Treats AIDS Victims Like Criminals. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of the *Militant*, others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

New York City

No to apartheid tennis! Close the U.S. Open Tennis Match to Apartheid! Sanctions against apartheid tennis are sanctions against the apartheid system! Demonstration Sun., Sept. 13, 3-6 p.m. Assemble at Flushing Meadows Park Tennis Stadium, just off Shea Stadium Station. Take No. 7 Train. For more information call Gerald Horne, coordinator of the Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose Apartheid in U.S. Tennis, at (212) 828-2696.

Sponsors: South African Council on Sport, Tennis Association of South Africa, South African Non-racial Olympic Committee, American Committee on Africa, Brooklynites Against Apartheid, Communications Workers of America Local 1180, National Rainbow Coalition, November 29th Committee for Palestine, New York South Africa Solidarity Coalition, Socialist Workers Party, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, S.O.S. Racism, Westchester People's Action Coalition.

OHIO

Cleveland

Central America Peace Treaty: A Blow to U.S. War. Speakers: Ike Downs, Miskito Indian from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast; Ruth Gibson, chairperson, Central America Solidarity Association; Frank Kendrick, associate professor, Department of Urban Studies, University of Akron; Linda Mast, Cleveland-area coordinator, Quest for Peace; Marty Pettit, Socialist

Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 300. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6 p.m., sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

The U.S. and Central America: A Conference in the Spirit of Ben Linder. First Congregational Church, SW Park and Madison. Fri., Sept. 25 through Sunday, Sept. 27. Benefit feast with conference speakers, Sat., 6-8 p.m. Donation: \$12-\$30. Proceeds from conference go to the Ben Linder Memorial Fund. Sponsor: Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, others. For more information call (503) 236-7463.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Is Racism on the Rise? A panel discussion. Sun., Sept. 13, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Mine War at Blackberry Creek. Video showing. Sun., Sept. 20, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Plant Closings, Union-busting: What Can Working People Do? A panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Nicaragua Today. Eyewitness reports with recent videotape. Speakers: Dennis Chambers, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1199; Duane Bean, Pledge of Resistance. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Watsonville: How the Strike Was Won. Speaker: Carlos Hernandez, a leader of Watsonville strike. Forum in Spanish with translation to English. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **Lubbock:** YSA, c/o Amy Waugh, 2202 22nd St., Apt. B. Zip: 79411.

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, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 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.

New rights for Nicaragua Indians, Blacks

Continued from front page

was overthrown, Nicaraguans have struggled to find a way to overcome racial divisions and mutual suspicions in order to forge a united Nicaraguan nation that, at the same time, protects the identities of Indians and Blacks. The result is the new autonomy law, drafted by the Indians, Blacks, and mestizos of the Atlantic Coast.

Contents of new law

The preamble of the law explains that the Nicaraguan people are building "a new, multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual nation" that will "guarantee equality amidst diversity and strengthen national unity and the territorial integrity of the nation."

The following are some of the main provisions of the law:

- All residents of the Coast enjoy "absolute equality of rights and duties," regardless of the size of their community or its level of development. They have the right to develop their own culture, religion, language, and forms of organization.

- While Spanish remains the official language of Nicaragua, the languages spoken by Indians and Blacks are official languages on the Coast. Every child has the right to a bilingual education.

- Land that has traditionally belonged to Indian communities remains in their hands and cannot be sold or taken away. The communities have the right to benefit "in just proportion" from the wealth produced on their communally owned land.

- Residents of the Atlantic Coast will elect their own regional governments — one in the north and one in the south — in which each of the six racial groups is to have representation. The governments will be responsible for seeing that political, social, and economic projects are carried out respecting the traditions and aspirations of Coast residents.

'Tendencies toward paternalism'

Arriving at autonomy was not easy for the Sandinista revolution. When the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

took power in 1979, it was based on the Pacific Coast and had little knowledge of the Atlantic Coast and its history of racial oppression.

Sandinistas sent to the Atlantic Coast attempted to implement political and economic plans without taking into account the opinions and demands of the Indians and Blacks living there.

"There was a tendency toward paternalism and inflexibility," Borge told the National Assembly. This led to conflicts between local residents and the Sandinistas. Although the Sandinistas adopted legislation outlawing all forms of race discrimination, the conflicts persisted. The people of the Coast had still not won the right to determine for themselves how the revolution would be carried out in their region.

The U.S. government capitalized on these problems and managed to recruit some Indians to its contra army, turning what was a political clash into a military one. In the course of the ensuing armed confrontations, Borge said, there were abuses committed by Sandinista soldiers. "These were punished severely," he added, "a fact that is not sufficiently well known."

The military and political conflicts began to subside in 1984 when the Nicaraguan government adopted the perspective of autonomy for the Atlantic Coast. Testimony to the changed relationship of forces was the presence here in the National Assembly of Miskito members of the group Pro-Peace KISAN. At one time Pro-Peace KISAN was fighting the Nicaraguan government arms in hand and has now signed a cease-fire. There are only a few hundred Indians left in the contra ranks today.

'Many battles remain'

While the adoption of the autonomy law represents a big victory, Borge warned that "many battles remain," including "the battle to eliminate racism, its remnants, and reinfections."



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Sandinista youth in Bluefields on Atlantic Coast, where most Nicaraguan Indians and Blacks live. Nicaragua is first country in hemisphere to guarantee autonomy to native and Black population.

That became clear in the National Assembly debate over the law, during which some deputies of the capitalist parties objected to key provisions in the bill.

Most virulent in their opposition were members of the "Sicilian faction" of the Conservative Democratic Party, who voted against the law. One leader of this faction is Enrique Sotelo, who was the lawyer for CIA mercenary Eugene Hasenfus when he was put on trial here last year.

Sicilian deputy Sergio Torres protested making Miskito, Sumo, and English official languages on the Coast. He went so far as to read from an Atlantic Coast newspaper, making fun of words in the Sumo language.

Torres also challenged the right of Coast residents to use their natural resources for the development of their own com-

munities, complaining about the fact that the national government currently subsidizes food and transportation costs on the Atlantic.

Conservative Daniel Brenes opposed the rights given to the Coast regional governments, charging they would become a rival power to the National Assembly.

Leading the debate against detractors of the law were three deputies of the FSLN who are all from the Atlantic Coast: Ray Hooker, Dorothea Wilson, and Hazel Law. None of the six other parties in the National Assembly have any deputies from the Coast.

When the final vote was taken approving the law, Hazel Law gave a victory speech in Miskito, which was translated into Spanish. She called the law "a dawn for us on the Coast, for all of Nicaragua, and for the other peoples of the Americas."

Iraq escalates war on Iran

Continued from front page

ence. But the Iraqi attacks, which put pressure on Iran to retaliate, also help Washington by setting the stage for incidents that can provide pretexts for U.S. naval and air strikes against Iran.

During the six days after the Iraqi escalation, 20 ships were attacked in the gulf — 12 by Iraqi planes and 8 by Iranian or unidentified forces.

The Reagan administration attempted to dissociate itself from the latest Iraqi escalation. The State Department claimed August 31 to have made a "strong protest." The tone of the protest was indicated by the comments of Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armacost who described the Iraqi attacks as "understandable" while criticizing their "deplorable" timing.

The governments of the United States, Britain, and France, which make up the majority of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, have openly or covertly backed Iraq in the war as a means of weakening and containing the Iranian revolution.

They have used the Security Council to provide diplomatic aid to the Iraqi regime under the guise of peacemaking.

After the Iraqi military invaded Iran in September 1980, the Security Council adopted a resolution calling on both sides to stop fighting. The resolution did not call on Iraq to withdraw from the territory it had occupied. In effect, the resolution sought to help the Iraqi forces consolidate their initial gains on the battlefield by calling on the Iranian government to end its resistance.

The 1980 resolution dovetailed with Washington's initial hopes that the Iraqi invasion would deal a severe defeat to the Iranian revolution that had overthrown a U.S.-imposed monarchy in 1979, and perhaps even topple the regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

As Iranian forces succeeded in expelling the Iraqi occupiers, the Iraqi regime massively escalated its attacks on shipping bound to and from Iran in the gulf.

In 1984 the UN Security Council condemned Iran for its retaliatory attacks on shipping bound for Iraq's allies in the gulf, but made no criticism of the Iraqi regime for initiating the attacks.

The latest Security Council resolution, adopted July 20, marked an effort by Washington and its allies to prevent the defeat of the Iraqi regime in the face of continuing, although modest, gains by Iran in the ground war. Washington fears that an Iranian victory could bring down the Iraqi government, which has increasingly followed Washington's lead, and spur opposition to other reactionary governments in the area.

Unlike the 1980 resolution, the new Security Council measure does not call for an *unconditional* end to the fighting. Instead, it demands that a cease-fire include Iranian withdrawal from the strips of territory its troops have occupied in several parts of Iraq.

And while no sanctions were imposed on the regime of Saddam Hussein for invading Iran in 1980, the passage of the latest resolution has spurred a high powered U.S. campaign to have the Security Council impose an embargo on arms sales to Iran.

Despite the Security Council's tilt toward Iraq throughout the bloody seven-year war, the Khomeini regime in Iran has not rejected the latest Security Council resolution as a possible basis for ending the conflict.

On August 31, speaker of the parliament Hashemi Rafsanjani declared that Iran was willing to offer "all-out cooperation with the Security Council" provided that the body condemned the Iraqi government for having invaded Iran.

Washington opposes including any criticism of the Iraqi invasion in the resolution, since this might encourage opposition to the war in Iraq and make it more difficult for U.S. forces in the gulf to bolster Saddam Hussein by attacking Iran.

Iranian leaders also invited UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to come to Tehran to discuss ending the war.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 26¢
Sept. 16, 1977

On September 1 the United States and Cuba simultaneously opened limited diplomatic missions to restore some of the official relations that were broken after the Cuban revolution 16 years ago.

Ramón Sánchez Parodi, head of the Cuban [Interests Section] in Washington, D.C., demanded that the United States lift the economic blockade it has imposed on Cuba. During the mission's opening ceremonies Sánchez Parodi said, "On our side, Cuba has always been open to establishing normal relations between the two countries."

THE MILITANT

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Sept. 12 — For three weeks the war drums have been pounding against Cuba. The Kennedy administration is feeding the flames of the destroy-Cuba hysteria being whipped up by the big-business press and the politicians of both capitalist parties.

It is not that President Kennedy yields to anyone in his hatred of Cuba and his desire to overthrow the Castro government. It is simply that after the April 1961 [Bay of Pigs] invasion debacle, whose plans and launching had been approved by him, bitter experience disposes him to approach cau-

tiously and weigh carefully plans to destroy the Cuban revolution by military attack.

He knows that such an attack could only succeed if U.S. troops and planes were used and that the U.S. casualty rate would be extremely high.

His administration has been giving the green light to Cuban counterrevolutionary groups in Florida for random shelling attacks on Cuban coastal cities and shipping, issuing public declarations about using military force to stop Cuban "aggression," and inflaming public opinion with accusations that "the Cubans are firing at our planes."

What is lost sight of in all the hysteria is what the Cubans have actually done. They have built up their defenses as much as they could. No country anywhere has a better right. They were invaded only a little more than a year ago. They face constant attacks from raiders operating with immunity from U.S. territory.

Facing this situation, the Cuban government obtained radar, antiaircraft, and coastal defense equipment. The several thousand technicians from the Soviet bloc are not an exorbitant number to install, maintain, and teach the use of this equipment. Yet this is parlayed by the U.S. press into a "threat."

It is a terrible commentary on the level to which U.S. politics has sunk that there is not a single congressman, not a single prominent political figure in the country who dares to get up and tell the truth about this "crisis," not a single Democrat or Republican officeholder anywhere, who has the courage to declare that the United States should keep its hands off Cuba.

End U.S. military aid to Haiti

Last July in Haiti, a demonstrator against the military junta there shouted to a reporter, "The United States put it in and is backing it to keep it in power against the people."

The truth of his charge was underlined by the recent State Department decision releasing a final military aid payment to the Haitian government, completing a \$1.7 million commitment for the year.

Described as "nonlethal," the military aid includes such items as trucks, riot shields, and tear gas.

The junta was appointed by Jean-Claude Duvalier, the U.S.-backed dictator, just before he fled an eruption of mass opposition in February 1986.

The junta consists of two top Duvalier officers, plus a window-dressing civilian. Its 19-month rule has been marked by savage repression.

It tried to rig slated elections by turning the election procedures over to the army. It tried to outlaw the unions and it jailed key union leaders. The powerful mass protest triggered by such moves has been answered with gunfire.

This summer, more than 35 peaceful protesters were murdered by government troops. In the countryside, gangs of armed thugs have reappeared. On July 24 they slaughtered at least 100 poor peasants demanding land.

U.S. military aid to the junta is supposed to be conditional on "human rights" progress. In March the first payment was made on the basis of a State Department report affirming of such progress.

A slated June report had to be "delayed" when the junta tried to rig the election and break the unions.

Now, to justify the military funding, a State Department official said, "You've got a problem with that army, but it's still the only institution in Haiti at the present time."

What he means is, the only institution in a position to try to thwart the popular movement for democracy.

That's why the Haitian people have been demonstrating in their thousands, calling for the ouster of the U.S.-sponsored junta. Working people in this country should join with the people of Haiti in demanding a halt to U.S. aid to the military government.

New anti-immigrant move

Under the new immigration law, those undocumented immigrants who finally succeed in becoming legal permanent residents will be less equal than other permanent residents of this country. Congress and the Reagan administration have joined hands to insure that this happens.

In passing the law, Congress wrote in a proviso that those who become legal permanent residents shall not be eligible for any kind of federally funded welfare. Now the administration proposes to expand this to cover other social programs and benefits for which permanent residents are normally eligible.

When Congress enacted the anti-immigrant law it decided to make it more palatable by including an "amnesty" provision.

Under this, undocumented immigrants who can prove to the satisfaction of the government that they have been here since before Jan. 1, 1982, are granted temporary legal residence.

Normally permanent residents have the same rights as citizens, except the rights to vote and hold office.

But the immigration law, for the first time, creates a new, unequal class of permanent residents.

Congressional action denies such residents Aid to Families With Dependent Children, federally supported

medical programs like Medicaid, and the food stamp program.

Now the Immigration and Naturalization Service has announced proposed new regulations substantially expanding this denial of rights. Under the proposed regulations, those who become permanent residents under the "amnesty" program would be denied access to such programs as job training for youth, rent and mortgage assistance programs, Small Business Administration loans, and even such things as home weatherization and other energy-conserving programs.

Combined with the law's no-welfare provisos (which applies to temporary and permanent legal residents alike), the new regulations are bad enough in themselves.

But, equally important, if the principal is established that some legal residents in this country have less rights than others, then that denial of rights can be extended to other areas as well.

Before such regulations are put into effect a period of public response is required. Organized labor, immigrant-rights groups, and all those concerned with equal rights should oppose these reactionary regulations.

All immigrant workers — undocumented, temporary legal residents, or permanent ones — should have full and complete legal rights in this country. Anything less leaves them vulnerable to victimization, and that weakens the cause of the entire working class.

Mayor Koch takes aim at homeless

In a move publicized as aiding the homeless, New York's Mayor Edward Koch has ordered the involuntary hospitalization of the mentally ill — or those deemed to be so.

This will be a serious encroachment on the rights of those targeted for confinement and has been properly scored by the New York Civil Liberties Union and others.

Officials estimate that 500 people a year will be hospitalized under the plan.

The mayor's proposal is intended to accomplish several purposes. For one, Koch hopes it will be viewed positively by those who voice the reactionary demand that the streets be swept clean of the growing numbers of homeless.

And Koch apparently hopes it will undercut the pending class-action suit filed against the city by the Coalition for the Homeless and the N.Y. Civil Liberties Union. The suit charges the city with failure to provide psychiatric care for the homeless and others who need it.

A growing homeless population is not a uniquely New York problem. There are an increasing number of homeless individuals and families in cities and towns across the country. Advocates for the homeless estimate the number as high as 3 million. A program of meaningful assistance is urgently needed for all of them.

Certainly, those who are ill should be a top priority. But it's no help to scoop people off the street into hospitals so overpacked and understaffed as to preclude adequate medical care.

A New York union of professional psychiatric workers points to the Manhattan Psychiatric Center where a lone nurse is assigned to half a dozen wards with an average of 30 patients each. And, a union spokesperson emphasizes, this is not "an isolated incident."

Experts agree that with proper care, perhaps a majority

of the seriously ill can be brought back to the point where they no longer need hospital care and can function in properly organized and supervised residences.

But it's a cruel travesty to speak of accomplishing anything with a term in a New York snake pit.

Indeed, a good number of the mentally ill who find themselves on the streets of New York are people who have already been dumped out of hospitals. By Koch's own figures, in recent years the number of mental patients in New York state hospitals has been slashed from 90,000 to 20,000, with a large number of the victimized 70,000 soon joining the ranks of the homeless.

Nor will there be any significant help for the mentally ill until the issue of all the homeless is tackled.

The reason for the escalating number of homeless is no big mystery. It boils down to an acute scarcity of affordable housing.

Across the country there is a growing number of long-term unemployed. Some have lost homes they were paying for. Others can't deal with steadily rising rents.

In urban areas, lower-cost housing is bulldozed or renovated in the name of "gentrification."

New York landlords are permitted to "warehouse" vacant apartments to escape rent regulations. And the city, which owns many buildings claimed for taxes, simply lets them sit rather than renovate and utilize them.

All of this needs to be turned around — in New York and nationwide.

Decent, affordable, federally subsidized housing must be made available. And for those occupants who can't be provided jobs, an adequate standard of unemployment, disability, or retirement assistance.

For the ill, there must be long-term medical care — competent and humane care.

As Mayor Koch's odious proposition confirms, such a program will not be initiated by Democratic or Republican politicians. It is something working people must wage a fight for.

Beware of bosses bearing gifts

BY DOUG JENNESS

There's scarcely anybody that wouldn't welcome a big chunk of money if it was offered to them. But most of us have learned from experience to be wary of such offerings, because there's usually a catch.

The current proposal of General Motors and Ford to give auto workers a lump sum payment is no exception (See article on page 6). Auto workers have little reason to trust employers bearing "gifts."

Lump-sum payments have become increasingly popular with employers in the last few years and many workers, including auto workers, have already had some ex-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

perience with them. So they know that these payments are usually offered in exchange for gutting cost-of-living clauses or freezing the wage base.

The owners of GM and Ford, for example, are proposing that over the next three years, the basic wage rate will remain the same. Instead of wage increases, workers will get a cash payment. GM wants the size to be determined by how profitable each plant is and how productive the workers are.

On the surface, this may not appear to be such a bad deal. Workers get their wage raise all at once and can use it right away to make purchases.

But there's a lot of flaws in this. For one thing, workers don't always get the lump-sum payment up front. This means that workers who are fired or laid off during the contract period, but before the "bonus" is paid, lose out.

Moreover, the amount of the lump-sum payment is rarely as much as the amount the wage increases would give a worker over the contract period. For example, auto workers generally used to expect to get a 3 percent wage increase every year. But the lump sums paid since 1984 have amounted to only 2 percent of workers' annual pay.

But even if the lump sum was equal to or even somewhat higher than the wage increase and it was paid as soon as the contract was signed, there would be problems.

One reason is the deterioration of the basic pay rate through inflation. If wages are frozen, the reality is that real wages will drop. The buying power of a \$10 an hour wage will be considerably less at the end of three years.

Auto workers, whose basic wage rate has been frozen for the past three years, are now being pressed to freeze them for another three years. This will amount to a substantial lowering of real wages by the end of the 1984-90 period, and will place workers in a much less favorable position from which to bargain for wage increases in the next contract.

And no one should have any doubts about the corrosive effects of inflation. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, workers whose wages went up 3 percent in the past year have suffered a drop of .7 percent in real wages as a result of price increases. Workers whose wages didn't go up at all are in an even worse position.

After a protracted erosion of the basic wage rate and pensions and other benefits, workers will be particularly vulnerable when the employers say, "Times are tough for us now. We can't give any more lump payments."

Instead of "bonus" payments workers need big wage increases to catch up with what they have lost from inflation. And they need regular cost-of-living adjustments in their wages that are pegged to increases in consumer prices.

Wage rates can also be indirectly lowered by increasing the intensity of work during the same working hours. GM and Ford, for example, are pushing for big changes in work rules in order to speed up production. When the auto employers speed up the assembly line, reduce rest breaks, and impose other changes of this sort, auto workers increase their daily output without any additional wages. The owners sell the increased number of cars at the same price and pocket the profit.

Workers, however, are not compensated for the additional medical, food, and other costs necessary to maintain their bodies in good enough shape to continue working as a result of the intensified work. This is, in effect, a cut in real wages.

The fight against this wear and tear is the day-to-day battleground where the fight over how much the employers will get from the workers takes place. This struggle does not cease when lump-sum payments are made.

Employers try to expand use of part-time workers

BY MARK FRIEDMAN
AND ED JOSEPHSON

In Detroit, as in many other cities, employers are trying to expand the use of part-time workers. This is in addition to trying to impose more two-tier contracts that pay new hires less than those with more seniority.

The issues in the one-week strike here by 5,000 clerks and cashiers at Farmer Jack's markets, organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 836, are an example. The union went on strike to try to

in the full-time work force. It also called for new hires to receive \$8.37 an hour.

The workers decisively rejected the contract and shut the store down tight. The 700 meatcutters from UFCW Local 539 honored their pickets as did the majority of shoppers.

A week later, union members approved a slightly improved contract after being offered bonuses of between \$350 and \$700 for each year of the agreement. After a two-year "moratorium," management will still be able to reduce full-time workers to part-time until 50 percent of the work force consists of part-timers.

The airline industry is also trying to force through part-time work.

This is one of the central demands Northwest Airlines is making on International Association of Machinists Local 141. In 1982 the local successfully struck Northwest and prevented the introduction of part-time work. Today, the IAM is fiercely battling management's attempts to introduce part-time work, a two-tier wage structure, and job combinations.

Union members have responded to management's threats with demonstrations, a "safety first" campaign,

and by not working voluntary overtime.

To keep up with flight schedules, the company has been forced to upgrade many part-time workers to full-time status and has had to hire others.

Many union members realize that the introduction of part-time work is a method of union-busting. Part-timers invariably receive lower wages and get little or no benefits.

Companies try to keep them out of the union. Then the threat of hiring more part-time workers is used as a club to get full-timers to moderate their demands and accept less and less.

We must unite to stop this union-busting scheme. This means not just fighting against the introduction of part-time work. It also means fighting to help part-timers win higher pay and benefits where part-time work has already been introduced. This approach can help strengthen our unions.

Mark Friedman is a baggage handler and member of IAM Local 141 at Northwest Airlines. Ed Josephson is a meat-packer and member of UFCW Local 26 at Thorn Apple Valley Meats.

UNION TALK

stop the company from reducing 1,000 full-time employees to part-time status. Workers currently getting paid the top rate of \$10.37 an hour were offered \$16,000 each if they would give up their jobs by October 3.

Those refusing would automatically be reduced to part-time status, which would mean losing many benefits.

This proposal would have led to a one-third reduction

One man's fight with 'medicine for profit' system

The following column is by Scott Ware, organizer of the Cleveland Socialist Workers Party. It is excerpts from a talk he gave at a recent meeting in Cleveland to celebrate the life of Julius Snipper, who died of heart failure July 25.

Among the emotions we feel today is anger — anger at a medical system that provides infinite, and often superfluous, treatment for the rich at the expense of even minimal care for poor and working people.

In his last months Julius had to fight not only his disease, but a set of bureaucratic and procedural barriers

rate." Julius' evaluation alone cost \$10,000. Its conclusion was that a heart transplant was necessary, at the cost of more than \$100,000. By some miracle, Julius' health insurance covered this cost.

So Julius made it through the first hurdle. He, unlike most workers, could pay.

At this point he was informed that there was a "shortage" of hearts. Very little money is spent nationally on public education campaigns to increase the number of potential donors. The money is all in artificial-heart technology, which has directly benefited from this "shortage" of real hearts.

Unlike wealthy patients, ordinary people face a stringent set of rules. You have to be under 55 and in perfect health — outside of your heart — in order to be considered. Big-shot hospitals like the clinic don't want their reputation sullied by less than the best track record for their "prestige" operation.

Health, however, is not enough. Julius also had to pass a vocational aptitude test, presumably to make sure that if he survived the operation, he would be worth something to the bosses.

Somehow Julius got through all this and was accepted into the program, and a new set of indignities began.

He was threatened for not following a diet he hadn't been given yet. His emergency beeper was taken away in June, supposedly because there was a beeper shortage as well as a heart shortage. In the last week before he died, he was told by the head nurse that the real reason his

beeper had been taken away was for "not complying with doctor's orders," and that he was off the list.

None of this tells us whether, under other circumstances, Julius would have lived or died, but it is a damning indictment of our current "medicine for profit" system. Julius devoted his life to changing a system like this — to creating a society based on the model of the Cuban revolution, where health care, whatever its technical limits, belongs to all the people.

Cuba has begun its own successful program of heart transplants. In a recent speech, Fidel Castro compared their program to the system in the United States and commented, "In Cuba it wouldn't cross anybody's mind that they need money to have a heart transplant, regardless of the cost and who the person is. The human side to our medical system cannot be compared to theirs, and we will take the lead — that's for sure."

This is what Julius fought for his entire life: a system that would take over the Cleveland Clinics of the world, build more in every city, and turn them into centers to provide care for all, regardless of income, aptitudes, or other criteria.

Two days before he died, I talked to him at the hospital, and he laid out his battle plan. He was going to fight for his health, and he was going to fight to force the clinic to let him back into the program. In his view, however, these battles were only preliminary. They were necessary to clear away the obstacles to what he really wanted to do, get back into the fight for a better world.

AS I SEE IT

thrown up by a medical system based on profit and prestige, not human needs.

Julius was a heart patient at the Cleveland Clinic, one of the most prestigious medical centers in the United States. It serves the rich and powerful in this country and around the world. U.S.-sponsored dictators like King Hussein of Jordan, consider the clinic "their" hospital.

Meanwhile, the population of Cleveland within a one-mile radius of the clinic has an infant mortality rate the same as that of Honduras.

The clinic's *Patient Guidebook* proudly proclaims, "We charge more than the usual and customary hospital

LETTERS

Haiti

Over the past couple of weeks there have been demonstrations in the Miami area against the military dictatorship in Haiti. They have averaged a hundred people each.

The picket lines at radio station WAVS in Davie, Florida, charged announcer Leon Veillard with crimes he committed as a former Tonton Macoute and for his current relations with the military junta. The Macoutes were a private army used to terrorize the workers and peasants under the overthrown Duvalier dictatorship.

Right-wing, Confederate flag waving mobs have organized counter protests 50 feet away. Shouting racist comments, they rallied to challenge the constitutional right of Haitians to express an opinion.

At a recent picket line at the station, more than 100 Haitians and anti-apartheid and antiwar activists assembled to reaffirm their right to protest. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center and organizer of the demonstration, promised to return the following week with even more support.

Julie Wolenski
Miami, Florida

Proud

Revolutionary greetings. I'm proud to see a newspaper such as the *Militant* come out in a country such as this one. I would like to extend to you my deepest solidar-

ity and appreciation.

As a Palestinian and a committed communist, who was pushed to the West in a manner beyond my control, I feel relieved to see your publication. I feel relieved to see the goals and objectives of Third World revolutionaries presented in your pages.

Revolution until victory!
E. Rishmani
Davis, California

Time is ripe

The time is ripe for the Socialist Workers Party and the American Communist Party to consider merging together. Total agreement is unnecessary, in fact, counterproductive.

The reason for two separate parties may no longer exist. What a step forward could be made!

C.L.
Stevens Point, Wisconsin

Women's center

I'm sad to report that the Women's Liberation Center of New York City, located on West 20th Street, has been closed after 16 years of loyal, devoted service to our women's development.

It seems that the city couldn't sell us the building that housed it for a reasonable enough price, one that we could afford. So they just closed the sale out from under us in favor of a nice profit-making business.

M. Pittsburgh
New York, New York

Nicaragua

Much thanks to Doug Jenness for his article recommending the interview with Tomás Borge in the latest *New Internationalist*.

I read the interview. It is short. It shows Borge has thought well about how art goes along with revolution. It shows why so many Nicaraguans are wonderful artists as well as the finest revolutionaries.

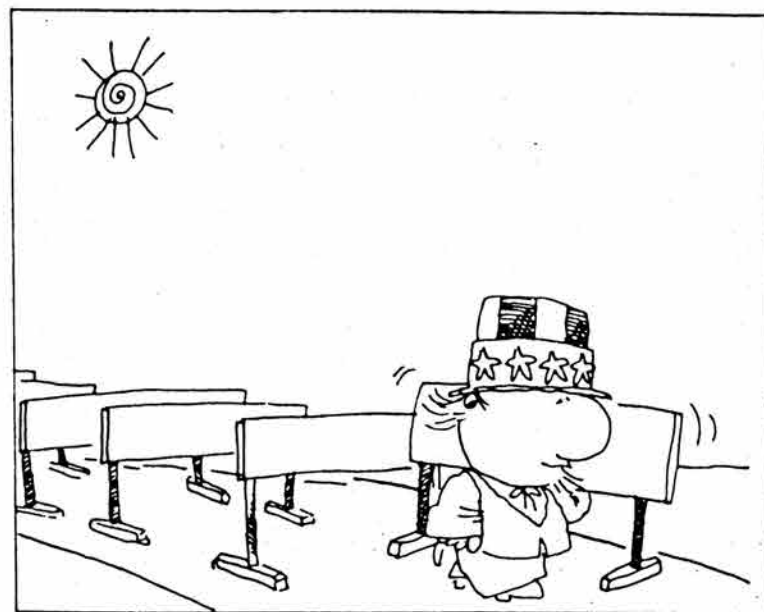
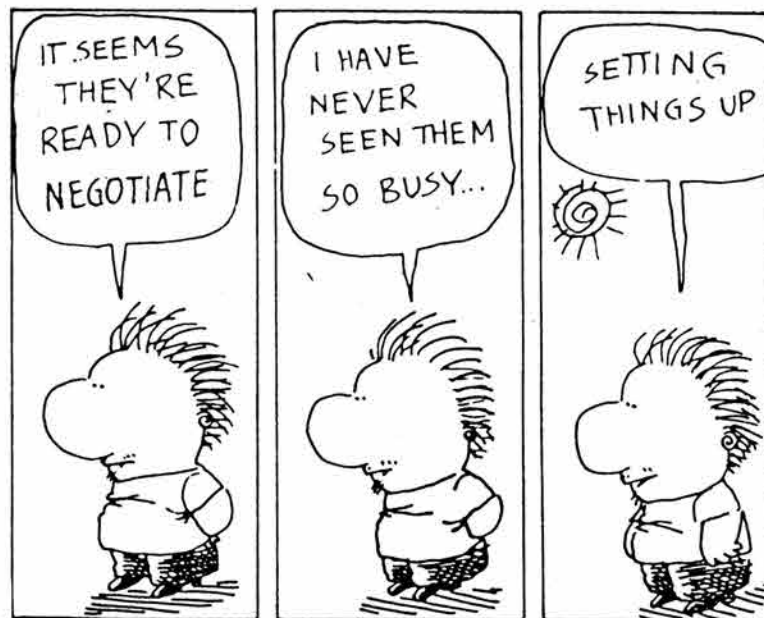
Borge says, "You cannot and should not separate artistic creation from the class struggle, but it is a crime to place it in the service of art dealers and bureaucrats."

I agree. Neither art nor the revolution itself should be placed in the control of businesspeople or bureaucrats. It would be a crime to do so.

Lee Oleson
Dallas, Texas

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.

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Barricada/Róger

Scab-run mill pollutes Maine river

Striking paperworkers demand governor shut down plant

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — International Paper Co.'s scab-run operation here became a major health hazard to area residents in the early morning hours of August 30 when the plant poured millions of gallons of treated and untreated mill waste into the Androscoggin River.

It turned the waterway brown and covered it with a thick layer of foam, according to the *Lewiston Daily Sun*. This act of environmental pollution prompted leaders of Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) to demand Maine Gov. John McKernan shut down the mill.

Local 14 was forced on strike June 16 against devastating concessions demanded by IP. Union leaders such as local President Bill Meserve have repeatedly warned that scab and supervisory personnel working 12-hour shifts could not operate the plant safely.

"With a skilled work force, an accident such as this would not have happened," Meserve told the media September 1. IP, he stated, has "put the health and safety of all people along the river in jeopardy."

Meserve termed the spill the "most massive" in memory, when he addressed more than 1,000 strikers and their supporters at Local 14's weekly union mass meeting September 3.

Teachers back paperworkers

At the September 3 meeting, Maine Teachers Association President Thomas Vassallo blasted IP for a television advertising campaign that depicts a classroom teacher supporting IP management against the union.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he told the crowd. "The average Maine teacher believes IP is wrong in Jay." Vassallo presented Local 14's president with a \$1,000 check and the endorsement of the strike from the 22,000-member teachers' union.

Local President Meserve reported that the strike remained strong in Jay, with 1,227 workers remaining out. No one, he said, referring to 23 "superscabs" — union members who've gone back to work — has followed their strikebreaking example in more than a month. This is despite a heavy campaign by IP to force highly paid maintenance workers back with scare tactics of permanent replacement by scab labor.

But with financial pressures mounting as the strike nears the conclusion of its third month, and the company claiming that the union is "stalling" in negotiations, the situation is getting "more tense every day," Meserve said. He pledged the local's support to workers and their families who need special support and counseling.

Joint work of 3 striking locals

Local 14 Vice-president Felix Jakes told the meeting that a joint delegation of Jay workers and UPIU strikers from other cities that went to Pine Bluff, Arkansas, had "awakened the members" about IP's efforts to divide and cripple the unions in the IP chain nationally. The Pine Bluff IP workers' contracts have expired as the unions continue to negotiate there.

Jakes reported increased scab hiring in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, where the union is also on strike against IP. A levy of a \$1,000-a-day fine against the union is in place and a stiff injunction limits Lock Haven pickets to three per gate.

He emphasized that the Local 14 Jay leadership would continue efforts nationally to stimulate greater joint work and common efforts by paperworkers across the country to stand up to the industry giants.

Union leaders and activists from across

Maine came to salute the Jay workers at their mass meeting. They included paperworkers from Millinocket, Maine, who raised nearly \$3,000 at a dance; a local Teamster official who brought the first official backing from that union; a vice-president of a Bath, Maine, local of shipyard workers who brought a check for \$1,500; and top AFL-CIO officials.

'Need to hear what's happening'

A common theme from these and other guests who took the floor and gave brief remarks, is the need for their coworkers "to hear what's happening in Jay."

As one Millinocket UPIU stalwart from the Great Northern paper mill explained, "every day there're more questions and we need you people to answer them."

Bill Meserve read a letter from the coordinator of transportation at the August 22 Lock Haven solidarity rally of 3,000. He described how in the past he'd lost a lot of hope in the labor movement. But the spirit and determination of the Jay strikers, 170 of whom drove more than 12 hours to Lock Haven for the march, turned him around.

"For the first time in 22 years" as a unionist, he wrote, "I know the meaning of the words 'united,' 'comrade,' and 'solidarity.'"

For more information on the Jay strike contact: UPIU Local 14, Box 272, Jay, Maine 04239.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Area unionists lining up to present contributions to Jay strikers at their August 4 meeting. Strike continues to draw strong solidarity from Maine unions.

Rally backs Wisconsin paperworkers

BY JESSE SMITH

DE PERE, Wis. — A three-month strike is hard on a union and its members, but the Nicolet paperworkers are hanging tough.

"We're not the same union we were the day we went out. We're a lot stronger and a lot more together," said Jerry Herwald, president of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 6288.

One reason the local is stronger is because of the support it has received from other Paperworker locals in the nearby Green Bay area and from other unions as well.

This was evident at the September 5 Labor Day rally here. Organizers of the day's event estimated that up to 4,000 attended.

Weekly union meetings are packed with wives, husbands, and children of the strikers. And since the Nicolet plant was purchased by International Paper (IP) a year ago, Local 6288 members are part of a larger family of IP workers who are on strike in several cities.

"It's a coordinated strike. There's strength in numbers," a union member explained. "For us in De Pere, it's our best shot at beating the company — now, when the people in Maine and Pennsylvania are on strike."

"We haven't taken big concessions here," he added, "but we can see what's happened other places."

Union members at the Nicolet plant are forced to work three out of every four Sundays. As is the case at the other IP plants, one of the company's key takeback demands is an end to double time pay for Sundays and holidays.

Herwald explained that the company also wants to get rid of "all existing side agreements and letters of understanding" and wipe out "pending grievances."

"If we went along with what they want, it would be the death of the union," he added.

This industrial area is surrounded by cornfields and dairy farms. Some farmers attended the Labor Day event.

"We as farmers know what it is to lose everything," explained John Bergum of the

Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance. "We're all in the same boat. We're all working people trying to make a living."

But, he added, "big business is trying to reduce everyone to Third World levels. The only way we're going to beat them is by our numbers."

Another contingent was made up of unionists from the Packerland packinghouse in Green Bay. They were led by their 32-year-old President Lewis Lambert. Like the Nicolet paperworkers, they see Packerland making big profits, but still trying to squeeze more from meat-packers.

"We just settled our contract, without having to take cuts," Lambert said. "We

didn't strike, but in the last days of negotiations, workers just walked off the job. The company knew we couldn't take much more."

The IP strike in De Pere is solid, with nearly all of the local's 370 members still out. IP claims the plant is being operated by 300 scabs and supervisors.

But John Ambrosius, a member of Local 6288's bargaining committee, said, "The main thing they are shipping out of there is waste."

Jesse Smith is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 76 in Milwaukee.

Mine workers force company to settle Colorado strike

BY DOUG HORD

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — "Everything was rolling, well planned, and ready to go," said Carl Petro, president of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2258. He was describing the situation at the Emerald Mine in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, on the eve of a sympathy strike scheduled to begin August 23.

These Pennsylvania miners were ready to go out in solidarity with United Mine Workers members on strike against Colorado Yampa Coal Co. in Colorado.

The target was Cyprus Minerals Co., owner of both the Emerald Mine and Colorado Yampa Coal.

UMWA members at Colorado Yampa rejected a concession contract and went on strike April 22. The company refused to settle the strike at the same time others in the West were resolved.

However, faced with the possibility of sympathy strikes at Emerald and at another UMWA-organized Cyprus mine in Colorado, Cyprus Minerals gave in at the last minute and offered a contract to the workers at Colorado Yampa.

Under the UMWA contract, miners can call memorial days and take off from work to honor those who have been killed in mine disasters. Over the previous month, production at the Emerald mine in Waynesburg had been halted by a series of 10 on-again, off-again memorial days. In the two weeks before the August 23 deadline for the sympathy strike, production had been halted five times.

Local President Petro explained that the memorial days and the sympathy strike were not steps taken lightly by the 220 members of Local 2258. But, he said, "everybody was basically in agreement once we explained what the ramifications would be for us. What would have been our chances of winning a good contract in January if we turned our backs on our brothers out there?"

UMWA President Richard Trumka announced the settlement at a Local 2258 meeting hours before the strike deadline.

Eleven members of Local 1344 from Colorado Yampa were also on hand for the meeting. They returned home in good spirits, satisfied because of a job well done.