

Ortega presses cease-fire proposals

BY HARRY RING

Pressing its drive to bring an end to the bloody contra war, the Nicaraguan government proposed an 11-point plan for a cease-fire between the Sandinista armed forces and the U.S.-sponsored contras.

At a November 13 meeting in Washington, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega presented the cease-fire plan to Miguel Obando y Bravo, the Catholic cardinal of Nicaragua, who then flew to Miami to present it to contra officials.

Participating in the Washington meeting between Ortega and Obando was Rep. James Wright, Speaker of the House. The Texas Democrat has created a furor in the Reagan administration by getting involved in the peace negotiations, which the White House remains determined to thwart.

Administration attacks on Wright for his participation in the peace negotiations proved so counterproductive that Secretary of State George Shultz deemed it necessary to sign a truce with the House Speaker. Time will tell how durable this proves to be.

Earlier, in press interviews, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams had harshly assailed Wright for participating in the meeting with Ortega and Obando.

Responding to the Abrams attack, Wright commented, "Some people in the administration are scared to death that peace will break out. . . . They want a military solution."

Wright disclosed that Abrams had tried to force a cancellation of the meeting with Ortega and Obando. Abrams threatened to cancel a meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and Obando. And did.

The Nicaraguan government had announced. **Continued on Page 2**

What Congress report on Iran-contra deal shows

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Reagan administration and the president himself were the targets of sharp criticism in the report issued November 18 by a bipartisan majority of the joint congressional committee that investigated the Iran-contra arms deals.

The conclusions of the report, signed by all 15 of the Democratic members of the joint committee and three of the Republicans, were made public at a news conference addressed by Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana, the Democrats who cochaired the joint committee, and by Sen. Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, the top Republican on the panel.

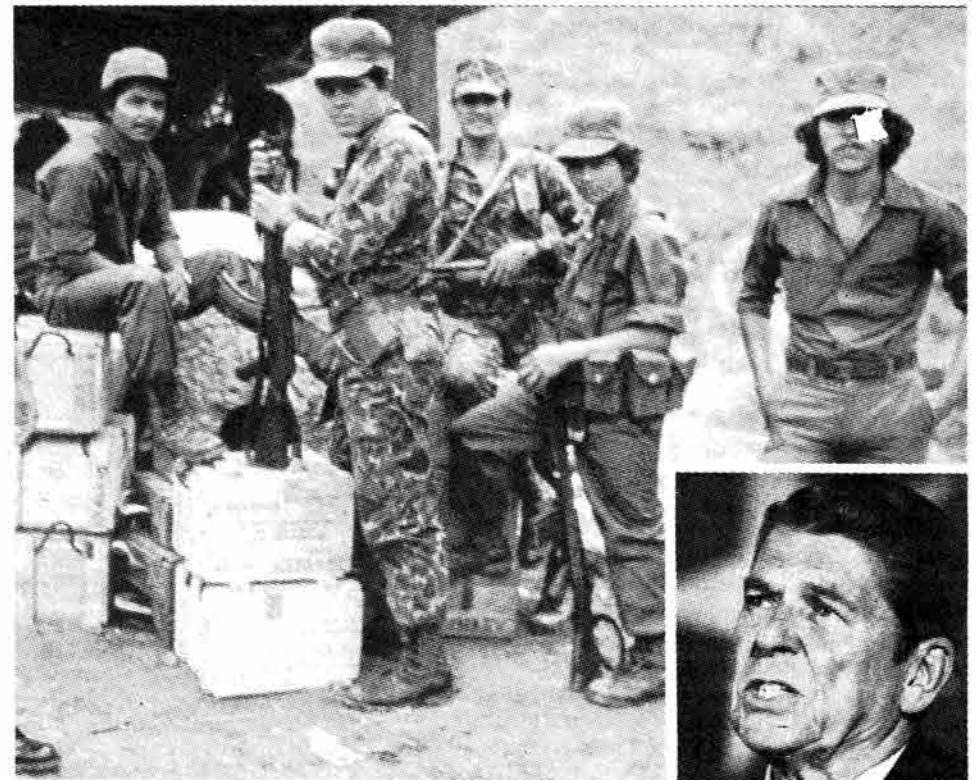
A minority report, signed by the rest of the Republicans on the committee, was also published.

The 690-page report marked the culmination of an 11-month congressional investigation that included extensive televised hearings. "We interviewed 500 witnesses," said Inouye, "and examined 300,000 documents."

"The committees conclude," he declared, "that the officials who participated in this scandal showed disdain for our laws and our constitutional system of government. They ran a government outside government. They conducted a secret foreign policy and concealed it through a concerted campaign of dishonesty and deception, and, when the affair began to unravel, they attempted to cover up their deeds. . . ."

"Fundamental processes of governance were disregarded and the rule of law was subverted," the report stated.

The report concludes that the death of former CIA director William Casey, the shredding of evidence by Reagan's aides, and other factors made it impossible to reach a definitive conclusion on whether President Reagan knew that proceeds from the sale of arms to Iran had been used to illegally arm the contras.



Contras unload crates of supplies. Exposure of illegal U.S. operations to arm anti-Nicaragua terrorists dealt big blow to Reagan administration, forcing president to dump many high aides.

"The question whether the President knew of the diversion is not conclusive on the issue of his responsibility," the report states. "The President created or at least tolerated an environment where those who did know of the diversion believed with certainty that they were carrying out the President's policies." He had flouted his duty, as the Constitution states, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The committee's report also points out that Reagan played a direct role in the initial efforts to keep a lid on the revelations.

The facts about the arms deals began to

seep out in October 1986, when three young Nicaraguan soldiers shot down a U.S. plane carrying arms for the contras and captured U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus.

The scandal deepened when a Beirut, Lebanon, magazine revealed the next month that top administration officials had met secretly with Iranian leaders. This led to exposure of the secret U.S. shipments of arms to Iran.

A full-scale government crisis opened November 25 when Reagan conceded publicly that National Security Adviser John Poindexter and White House aide Oliver North had been involved in using proceeds from the arms deals with Iran to provide arms for the contras, at a time when legislation barred the government from providing such aid. North was fired and Poindexter resigned.

This led to the exposure of an extralegal network, described in the congressional report, that was run from the White House to arm the contras, participate in secret deals with Iran, and engage in other covert operations.

"The President himself told the public that the U.S. Government had no connection to the Hasenfus airplane," the report states. "He told the public that early reports

Continued on Page 4

All-out push to win new subscribers

BY NORTON SANDLER

Our distributors are going all out during the final target days to win new readers to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

To go over the top in the homestretch of the fall circulation drive, we need to sign up 1,236 new *Militant* subscribers, 521 new *PM* subscribers, and sell 1,035 copies of *New International*.

In mid-August, we set the ambitious goals for the fall of winning 6,000 *Militant* readers, 1,500 new *PM* readers, and selling 2,000 copies of *New International* by November 24. That's a combined total of 9,500 for the three periodicals.

Each of the publications plays a unique role. The *Militant* is an English-language communist weekly with news and analysis that is indispensable to unionists, students, and farmers struggling against capitalist exploitation in this country and around the world.

Militant supporters also distribute the monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* to the growing number of working-class fighters in the United States whose first language is Spanish. It also has a growing readership in Canada. And our Managua Bureau distributes *PM* in Nicaragua.

Six issues of *New International* have been printed since 1983. Through the fall drive we've been concentrating on selling the current issue that contains "Cuba: A Historic Moment," two speeches by Fidel Castro; and articles titled "The Second As-

sassination of Maurice Bishop," "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution," and "The FBI's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation."

The articles in *New International* go into more depth on topics covered in the *Militant* and are of interest to workers, farmers, students, and other activists open to revolutionary politics. A few of the *New International*'s articles are translated into Spanish and run in *PM*.

This is the first time we have campaigned to distribute the *New International* in the same way as the other two periodicals and supporters are reporting good results.

Scoreboard changes

Over the course of the fall, the order local areas have been listed in the weekly circulation scoreboard has been based on their performance in selling *Militant* subscriptions.

This, however, did not accurately reflect how each area was doing overall in the drive to sell all three publications.

With this in mind, we want to alert our readers to changes we are introducing in the scoreboard this week.

The order in which local areas now appear will be based on their combined effort to increase the readership of the three periodicals.

Supporters in other areas who have not taken a goal for all three, but whose effort to increase the readership of the *Militant* is

greatly appreciated, are listed in another portion of the scoreboard, as are our distributors in other countries.

We realize that our supporters will be organizing right up until the end to make, and in many cases go over, the goals they set at the beginning of the drive.

The final figures will not be tabulated until Wednesday, December 2. We would appreciate it if distributors would confirm their final totals by mail or telephone by

Continued on Page 6

Campaign mounted to increase pledges and reach fund goal

BY FRED FELDMAN

As the drive to raise \$150,000 for the Socialist Publications Fund draws toward its December 1 deadline, supporters of the publications are stepping up efforts to obtain and get increases of pledges and to collect contributions. Public meetings to support the publications that have been held or will soon take place in 30 cities are at the center of this effort.

"Pathfinder Press is one of the real great communicators," Ted Braun, an activist in the Southern Illinois Latin America Solidarity Committee, told a September 14 public meeting in St. Louis to support the socialist publications.

Ridiculing the big-business media's por-

trayal of President Reagan as "the great communicator," he contrasted Reagan's lies to the truth told by figures like Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Daniel Ortega. "Pathfinder books have filled the gap of information about what these great communicators are saying."

The St. Louis rally raised \$350 in new or increased pledges to the Socialist Publications Fund and collected more than \$700.

Braun's support was echoed by speakers at Socialist Publications Fund meetings in other cities. In Boston, Franz Minuty, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with Haiti, described how he uses the *Militant* to help prepare a weekly radio show aimed at

Continued on Page 7

Ortega's cease-fire proposals

Continued from front page

nounced November 5 that it would seek indirect negotiations with the contras for a cease-fire. This was in accord with the regional peace plan agreed on in Guatemala by the five Central American governments last August.

The terms of the cease-fire proposal by the Sandinista government concretize what was agreed to in Guatemala.

That agreement stipulates that forces opposing the governments in the Central American countries agree to a cease-fire, lay down their arms, and accept an amnesty. No government is to provide a base of operations for forces trying to overthrow a neighboring government. (This would mean that Honduras would be obligated to shut down the U.S.-organized and supplied contra bases there.)

To take the next step in implementing the August accords, the Nicaraguan government proposes that a cease-fire go into effect no later than December 5 and last until at least January 5.

Three cease-fire zones would be established within Nicaragua. Fifteen days beforehand, the Sandinista armed forces would suspend operations so the contra bands could move into these areas.

In accepting the cease-fire offer, the contras could not continue to receive supplies and equipment from Washington. Food, clothing, and medical supplies could be provided through an agreed-on neutral agency.

Those who accept amnesty "then may join in the political life of the nation."

Meanwhile, the Guatemala accords provide for creation of an international verification commission to conduct on-site inspection in the various countries to oversee compliance with the agreement. This will include representatives of the Organization of American States, and United Nations, as well as representatives of 13 Latin American countries.

If the verification commission determines that all countries are in compliance, Nicaragua has declared, it will then lift its present state of emergency.

Meanwhile, Nicaragua's National Assembly took up the proposal announced by Ortega on November 5 to grant amnesty to nearly a thousand counterrevolutionary prisoners immediately. The Nicaraguan government reports that some 4,300 prisoners are in jail for violation of security laws.

The Nicaraguan government's implementation of the accords has created enormous difficulties for the Reagan administration, which continues to trip over itself as it fumbles for the means to keep the contras above water.

This is strikingly illustrated by the political initiative Wright has been able to take in relation to the cease-fire negotiations.

Last summer, under growing pressure as a result of the contras' failure to achieve their main goals and battered by the Iran-contra arms revelations, Reagan tried what he thought would be an effective public re-

lations gimmick. This was a joint "bipartisan" proposal with Wright for a Central American peace plan — one that he assumed would go nowhere but would give him a plus for trying.

Then, two days later, the Central American governments — Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua — moved to take advantage of the opening this provided and signed the Guatemala accords. The defeat of the contras by the Nicaraguan army convinced the four pro-U.S. governments that they had better begin some negotiations.

Adding to Reagan's dismay, Wright then utilized the authority of the Reagan-Wright proposal to support the Guatemala agreement.

When Reagan spokespeople now attack him for interfering in foreign policy, Wright responds, "I got involved at the invitation of the White House. I haven't invited myself anywhere."

Moreover, Wright noted, he had participated in the Ortega-Obando meeting at the invitation of Obando. The cardinal is an implacable opponent of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The administration attacks on Wright drew a mixed media response.

A November 17 *New York Times* editorial, for example, criticized Wright for taking the steps he has, but observed that the

administration brought the problem on itself.

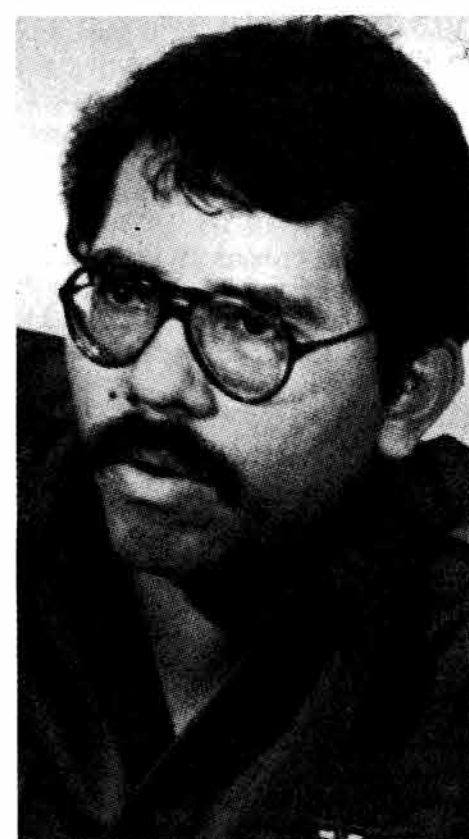
Despite White House resistance, the editorial observed, "the peace plan pressed by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica seems to be moving forward. Yet all the Administration can muster is grudging talk of fatal flaws — and intemperate assaults on the Speaker."

The administration was not alone in assailing Wright. In a November 16 editorial, the *Washington Post* harshly asserted that by his involvement in the negotiating process, Wright "overreaches recklessly."

The paper worried that Wright might be helping to achieve a cease-fire that would minimize concessions by the Sandinistas to the contras. It declared this would be "a bitter outcome."

The *Post* offers nothing to bolster the suggestion that the contras are deserving of concessions. Indeed, on November 5, Americas Watch, no friend of the Sandinistas, was moved to declare that the murderous war the contras have waged against Nicaraguan civilians "have made them an outlaw force."

Nor does the *Post* substantiate its misgivings about Wright. A leader of the Democratic Party, which has opposed the Nicaraguan revolution from the outset, Wright is simply a capitalist politician who recognizes the reality that the contras have



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

been defeated. And, Reagan's stubborn insistence to the contrary, he believes Washington needs to be involved in the negotiating process in order to get the best settlement possible for the contras and their Washington overseers.

700 in D.C. hear Ortega discuss peace accords

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than a foot of freezing, icy snow — breaking all D.C. records — did not stop Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega from meeting and talking with 700 people from the Washington area on November 11.

Ortega had spoken earlier to a meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS), where implementation of the Central America peace accords dominated the diplomatic gathering. President Reagan had addressed the OAS meeting October 9, following Secretary of State George Shultz's announcement that the White House would not present a formal request for continued direct military aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries until January 1988.

The community meeting on November 11 was organized by word of mouth in one day by groups and activists in the Central America solidarity movement here, including the Nicaragua Network and the Quixote Center.

When President Ortega, accompanied by Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States Carlos Tünnermann, and other foreign ministry officials entered the room, the audience rose in warm applause and chants of "¡No pasarán!" ("They shall not pass," referring to the contras.)

Ortega's opening remarks focused on the meaning and political challenge of the

Central America peace accords signed in Guatemala last August.

Referring to his earlier address at the OAS meeting, Ortega said he came to Washington also "to give a message to the people of Latin America and the Caribbean — where we are all struggling for peace."

Peace, he said, does not simply mean the end of war in Central America. It means the establishment of new types of relationships — economic, trade, financial, and political — between the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean on the one hand, and the U.S. government.

Ortega closed his short presentation saying, "I feel honored to be here with brothers and sisters from the people of Benjamin Linder, who gave us his life in the mountains of Nicaragua, working with the peasants."

Ortega then asked the audience for "your questions, your initiatives, your ideas. Let's talk a little." For the next hour, the revolutionary leader answered a range of questions.

He especially welcomed, and was particularly effective in answering, a couple of less than friendly questions. One dealt with "freedom of the press."

Ortega responded by saying, "In Nicaragua, we defend freedom of the press. But U.S. policy has not allowed us to have freedom of expression fully observed."

"But what is freedom of the press?"

Ortega asked. He received long applause when he answered, "Freedom of the press means that the rich man can speak and the poor man can speak. Before the revolution triumphed in Nicaragua those who controlled the communications media in our country were the rich. The poor didn't have access to the communications media. With the revolution, the poor for the first time had access to the media. And the poor are the majority."

"This did not mean denying freedom of expression to the minorities, who are the rich," Ortega continued. "So they stayed there with their communications media. They even spoke in favor of aid to the contras. And they had the right to speak. But when the U.S. Congress approved \$100 million for the contras, and these media contributed to the approval of these \$100 million dollars, we had no other option but to close down these communications media. We closed them down temporarily and we said that when the aggression stopped, they would be able to come out again."

"But the aggression has not stopped. And the communications media have come out. This is thanks to the Guatemala accords."

Ortega then invited his skeptical questioner to visit Nicaragua, because "you must be convinced that we are not afraid of having different ideas expressed in our country."

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SPECIAL OFFER



The Militant

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

Solidarity grows for striking paperworkers

In New York, Maine, and Pennsylvania workers rally to fighters' side

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Support has grown in recent weeks for paperworkers who are locked in battle with International Paper Co. over IP's demands for deep-going concessions.

Unionists from the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) and several other unions were forced on strike in June at IP mills in Jay, Maine; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and De Pere, Wisconsin. Workers at IP's mill in Mobile, Alabama, have been locked out since March. IP, which is the paper industry's pacesetter when it comes to demanding concessions from union members, wants the workers to accept an end to premium pay for Sunday work, a "team concept" productivity plan designed to enforce speed-up, a reduction in holidays, and other givebacks.

On November 12, UPIU locals 5 and 497 from IP's giant mill in Ticonderoga, New York, hosted a rally to boost solidarity with the IP strikers.

More than 350 paperworkers, their family members, and interested people from the community gathered at the UPIU hall in Ticonderoga to hear firsthand reports on the strikes in Jay and Lock Haven given by delegations of strikers who had come to take part in the meeting.

UPIU Local 5 President Gillette Bartlett, who chaired the event, explained that IP's attacks on union members at the mills currently on strike or locked out "could hap-

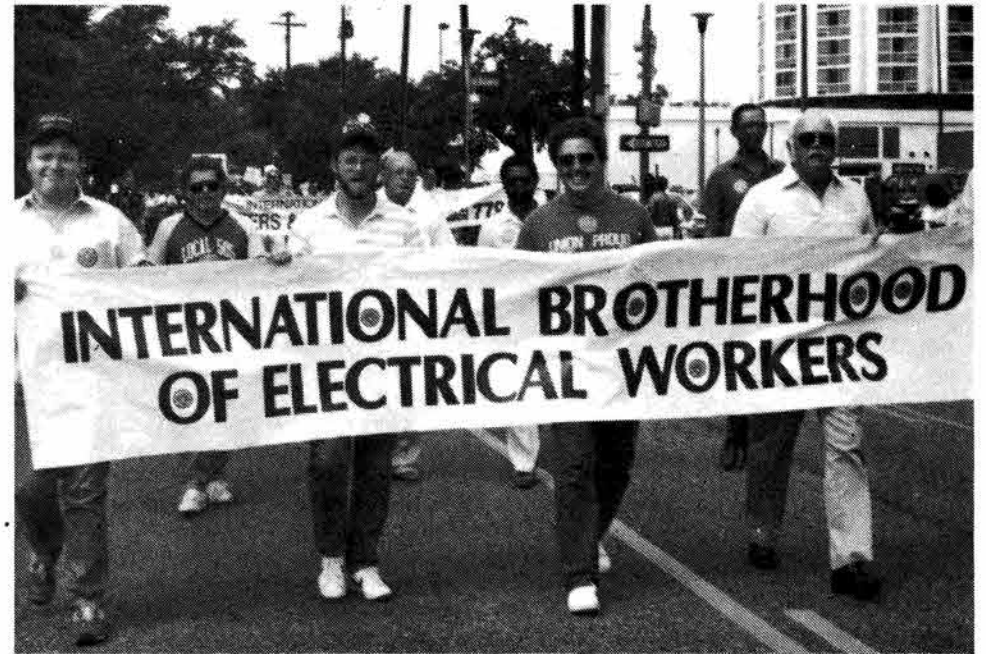
pen here" at the Ticonderoga mill, when the locals' contract expires in June 1988.

The meeting was a first for the Ticonderoga workers, who judged it a big success. Upstate New York is dotted with paper mills, and workers came from several other towns, including Plattsburgh, Nassau, Albany, and Corinth — where workers at another IP mill have voted to reject IP's latest contract offer — as well as from New York City.

Several days later, more than 2,000 striking paperworkers and supporters filled the Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, high school gymnasium to hear a message of support from Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, who came at the request of UPIU Local 1787, which represents workers at IP's Lock Haven mill. Some 700 union members have been on strike there since June 20.

Julius Uehlein, president of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, also spoke at the November 14 rally. He told the crowd the state AFL-CIO would be sending out a second letter of appeal for support to the labor movement throughout the state, including to Teamsters locals. This appeal has special importance now, since unemployment benefits for all the strikers will end by December 25.

Jackson, who was given an enthusiastic greeting by the crowd, saluted the strikers' "determination to fight back for jobs, dignity, and justice." Paperworkers hope his



Militant/Dennis Koncewicz

Electrical workers join September solidarity march for paperworkers locked out by International Paper Co. in Mobile, Alabama. Broad union support is growing for paperworkers on strike against IP in Maine, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

visit will help spread the word about the strike.

Labor 'ambassadors'

In addition to speaking at the Ticonderoga rally, UPIU members from Jay have spoken to several union gatherings in

the Boston area in recent weeks.

Jay's labor "ambassadors" — as local members who do outreach speaking are called — are helping to build a major labor rally to be held at the Jay High School football stadium November 21. This rally can be a powerful show of support for the IP strikers.

Jay strikers recently addressed a meeting of the International Association of Machinists at Boston's Logan Airport. The machinists gave the Jay strikers a standing ovation and contributed \$300 to their cause. One union member who won the night's raffle kicked in his \$100 prize. Jay strikers also spoke to a New England regional conference of the machinists' union in early November.

Electrical workers at the big General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, are helping to fund and organize transportation to the November 21 rally in Jay. Their local union newsletter carries regular coverage of the strike. A plant-gate collection at GE for the Jay strikers netted more than \$2,500.

Unions representing garment, hotel and restaurant, office, and laundry workers in the Boston area have also sent contributions to the strike.

The Massachusetts AFL-CIO has called a midday protest at the Boston offices of Liberty Mutual Insurance, a major IP stockholder, for November 24.

This article was compiled with the help of information provided by Morrie Dietrich, New York; Holly Harkness, Pittsburgh; Jon Hillson, Boston; and Larry Lane, Albany, New York.

Hormel continues frame-up of Minn. unionist

BY PHIL NORRIS

AUSTIN, Minn. — The Geo. A. Hormel meat-packing company has brought a civil suit against union activist Bob Johnson.

The suit alleges that Johnson, a former member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9, made two threatening phone calls to the Austin police saying Hormel products have been poisoned with strychnine.

Claiming it "lost sales" because of the threat, Hormel is suing Johnson for damages. The unionist has already been tried twice on these charges in criminal court, and both times the charges were dropped.

UFCW Local P-9 went on strike against Hormel in August 1985. The courts and the cops sided with the company to try to break the militant strike. When P-9 refused to settle on Hormel's terms, the UFCW International put the local into trusteeship and negotiated an end to the strike in September 1986. More than 800 former strikers have not gotten their jobs back at the Austin plant.

Because Johnson was active in the fight against Hormel, he became the target of a two-year campaign of harassment, a campaign that still continues.

Johnson was initially charged in October 1985 with four counts of making telephone bomb threats and the two poison threats. The alleged threats were called into the Austin Law Enforcement Center and were routinely taped.

In a move that shows police-company cooperation in the frame-up, the cops played the tapes for a group of 52 Hormel supervisors and asked them to identify the voice. Six claimed they recognized Johnson's voice.

But during his first trial some additional facts about the voice identifications became known. Two of the six didn't originally identify the voice until they had discussed it among themselves. Another claimed that he had never said it was Johnson's voice, only that it sounded like Johnson.

Also, Johnson was the only suspect out

of seven that the cops required to read a transcript of the alleged threats.

In addition, Johnson has proof that he was at the doctor's office in Mankato, 80 miles from Austin, when one of the alleged threats was made.

When the frame-up fell apart, the county prosecutor moved for dismissal of the charges. Johnson's attorney, Kevin Short, argued against the dismissal, saying he was confident a jury would find Johnson not guilty. But the judge dismissed the charges.

This maneuver by the prosecuting attorney and the judge set the stage for Hormel's civil suit against the meat-packer.

Hormel is resting its case on a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decision upholding the company's firing of Johnson for what it termed "strike related misconduct." Both Jim Guyette, former president of Local P-9, and UFCW appointed trustee Joseph Hansen had protested the unjust firing.

Phil Norris is a member of UFCW Local P-6 at Farmstead Foods, in Albert Lea, Minn.

'Militant' will take one-week break to reorganize and clean offices

The *Militant* will be taking a one-week break next week in order to take some further steps to reorganize and clean up our offices and the Pathfinder Building at 410 West Street in Manhattan. The Pathfinder Building also houses the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder publishing house, Pathfinder Mural Project, Photo Comp Press, and the Library of Social History.

This is the third time this year that we've shut down for a week to carry out important projects that help put the *Militant* in the best possible shape to respond in the most timely and effective manner to developments in the U.S. and international class struggle.

The effort of the *Militant* staff and the other staffs in the building this week will focus on reorganizing the Library of Social History, which is located on the sixth floor. The library has an invaluable collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines for use in writing articles for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist magazines *New International* and

Nouvelle Internationale, and Pathfinder publications.

A team of half a dozen volunteers has spent several weeks cataloging and classifying all the materials in the library in preparation for the week-long reorganization. The goal is to make the library better organized and more accessible.

The other project that will be tackled is reorganizing Pathfinder's warehouse and shipping and receiving area. The increased distribution of Pathfinder titles internationally necessitates some changes that will facilitate both producing and shipping books and pamphlets.

In the middle of the shutdown week, on Sunday, November 22, the Pathfinder Mural Project will be hosting an open house for people in the neighborhood. The six-story mural being painted on the side of the Pathfinder Building celebrates the role of the working-class press. The guest of honor will be the award-winning Nicaraguan artist Arnoldo Guillén.

We will resume publication with the issue dated December 11.

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What Congress report on Iran-contra deal shows

Continued from front page

of arms sales for hostages had 'no foundation.' . . . He told the public that the United States had not condoned the arms sales by Israel to Iran, when in fact he had approved them and signed a finding, later destroyed by Poindexter, recording his approval. All of these statements by the President were wrong."

The report notes that the investigation into the arms deal conducted last November by Attorney General Edwin Meese, one of Reagan's closest confidantes, "departed from standard investigative techniques." It was carried out in a manner that facilitated the destruction of evidence by North, his secretary Fawn Hall, and Poindexter.

"The president has refused," Senator Inouye pointed out, "to condemn the lies, to condemn the destruction of government documents, or to condemn the cover-up that have been matters of record for months. By his continuing silence, he creates the impression that he does not find these actions objectionable."

The criticism of the president is much harsher than in the report issued last February by the Tower Commission. That body was appointed by Reagan to investigate the arms deals after they became public knowledge. The commission members were former Texas Republican senator John Tower; former Maine Democratic senator and secretary of state, Edmund Muskie; and Brent Scowcroft, who had served as a national security adviser to presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

While the bipartisan congressional report was harsher in its condemnation, the absence of any concrete proposals to impose penalties or restrictions on Reagan and his crew was striking. Inouye firmly rejected impeachment of the president.

In fact, an administration that has been exposed as operating in defiance of the law in its most fundamental policies is scolded, slapped on the wrist, and urged not to do it again.

While attributing more responsibility to Reagan for the covert, illegal operation, the congressional committee agreed with the Tower report on key points.

For example, the congressional report does not question the political purpose of the Iran-contra arms operation — that is, waging a mercenary war against Nicaragua and the drive to assert U.S. domination of the Persian Gulf.

Far from seeking to end covert operations like these, the committee report takes these reactionary policies for granted. Its criticisms center on the need for more efficient procedures, more extensive consultation with Congress, and, above all, more success.

That is why the committee's recommendations focus on such matters as the proposal for "a strict accounting of all U.S. Government funds managed by private citizens during the course of a covert action."

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress agree that covert wars and other secret, antidemocratic operations are needed.

The majority of the joint committee also echoes the Tower report in the basic conclusion summarized by Inouye:

"The Iran-contra affair resulted not from deficiencies in our system, but from deficiencies in those who govern."

But the scandal did not stem from the individual peculiarities of the president or his appointees. It was rooted in the growing concentration of power in the presidency, the carrying out of foreign policy in secret, the waging of undeclared wars, political spying on unionists and other foes of government policy, and other practices that have expanded steadily since the onset of World War II.

There is a growing conflict between the needs of the capitalist class and the provisions of the U.S. Constitution that are supposed to guide the actions of the government.

The capitalist minority that rules this country needs to make increasing use of military power to block popular upheavals and other challenges to imperialist domination. Because these military operations are highly unpopular at home, or potentially so, they cannot be submitted to the kind of congressional and public debate that would

accompany the declaration of war by Congress that the Constitution requires — or even the more limited controls provided for in the War Powers Act adopted in 1973.

Iran, Angola

The undeclared war against Nicaragua is not the only one that Washington is waging today.

The U.S. government, along with its imperialist allies in Europe, has mobilized scores of warships and military aircraft and thousands of naval personnel in the Persian Gulf, and has carried out repeated acts of war against Iran. Scores of U.S. and Iranian lives have already been sacrificed in this operation.

Today, Washington is more deeply involved in the war being waged by the apartheid regime in South Africa against Angola than at any time in the past decade. The U.S. government has stepped up its aid to the rightist forces that are now being reinforced through a major escalation of the South African invasion of southern Angola.

Massive arms shipments and other aid have been sent to forces seeking to topple the government of Afghanistan.

Washington continues to back the murderous Khmer Rouge, headed by ousted dictator Pol Pot, and other counterrevolutionary forces that are carrying out terrorist acts against the government of Kampuchea in Indochina.

Far from obstructing these undeclared and covert wars, leaders of both parties in Congress are supporting them.

And the administration is continuing the dirty war against Nicaragua, although the contras have been unable to achieve their military objectives and peace discussions are now under way.

It was the defeats dealt the contra war, together with the difficulties the U.S. rulers faced in imposing their will on Iran and ending the Persian Gulf war on terms that would salvage the Iraqi regime, that helped

set off the exposure of the covert arms deals.

The unconstitutional concentration of power in the executive branch has not been carried out, by and large, behind the back or against the will of Congress, but rather with congressional complicity.

"We do not need major new laws," declared Inouye, to prevent operations like the Iran-contra arms deals, noting that laws



Hawaii Democratic Sen. Daniel Inouye, cochair of congressional investigating committee, sharply criticized Reagan's role.

barring these already exist. But there is no call in the report for congressional enforcement of such laws, as the constitutional provision that only Congress can declare war.

How far, how fast

The debate in the administration, Congress, and the big-business media revolved

around how far and how fast to go in strengthening the power of the executive to wage war and violate democratic rights.

The extent of the White House covert operations and the deception of Congress, and even of top administration officials who differed with Reagan and his staff, aroused fear of a complete breakdown in consultation — at a time when the capitalist class and its politicians were debating important tactical differences over how to advance their interests in Central America and the Persian Gulf.

In Central America, a growing section feared that the advances of the Nicaraguan revolution, the defeats dealt the contras, and the opposition to the use of U.S. forces among U.S. working people barred the road to a military victory over the revolution. A growing number in ruling circles favor pulling back from the contra war, and attempting to use negotiations as the road to buy time to undermine the Nicaraguan revolution and its leadership.

The issues that led to the sharp condemnation of Reagan by the Iran-contra investigators were cut from the same cloth as those that led to the defeat of Robert Bork and Douglas Ginsburg as nominees to the Supreme Court.

Reagan's nomination of Bork and Ginsburg threatened a sharp escalation of the attack on democratic rights, both posing the danger of provoking resistance from working people and of further restricting the right of the ruling rich, their political spokespeople, and the big-business media to speak their minds about government policy.

The congressional report helps expose in great detail the secret and sordid mercenary operations the government is involved in. And it highlights the setbacks of the Reagan administration. But it also shows the bipartisan acquiescence of the report's authors toward concentrating more power in the president to wage more unpopular wars and violate democratic rights.

Arms deal criminal investigations continue

As the congressional investigators' report on the Iran-contra arms deal came off the presses, two related investigations were continuing.

One is headed by Lawrence Walsh — a former Wall Street lawyer, federal judge, and deputy attorney general — who was appointed special prosecutor last December 19. Walsh has convened a grand jury investigation of the arms deals, which is reportedly weighing evidence that could lead to indictments against former national security adviser John Poindexter, former White House aide Oliver North, retired air force general Richard Secord, Secord associate Albert Hakim, and possibly others.

The first prosecutions initiated by the special prosecutor's office were those of Carl Channell and Richard Miller. Channell pleaded guilty last April to conspiring to defraud the government by using a tax-exempt foundation to solicit contributions for arms to the contras. Miller pleaded guilty in May. They declared in court that coconspirators included North "and others known and unknown."

The other investigation is taking place in Miami where, for over a year, a federal grand jury has been considering possible indictments stemming from the investigation of an illegal shipment of arms to the contras that took place in March 1985.

A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee is now investigating whether the Justice Department sought to block or slow down this investigation.

In April 1986, after an evidence-gathering trip to Costa Rica, assistant federal prosecutor Jeffrey Feldman urged bringing the matter before a federal grand jury.

Feldman testified earlier this year that U.S. Attorney Leon Kellner told him a few months later, "I want you to sit on the case until I get back from Washington because politics are involved."

According to Feldman, when he protested that politics should not be a factor, Kellner responded: "They're not a factor for you but they are for me."

Feldman's proposal that a grand jury be convened was dropped until November 1986 — a month after Nicaraguan forces shot down a U.S. supply plane over their

territory and captured U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus. The incident eventually led to the exposure of the secret government-organized effort to arm the contras that included Oliver North and others.

Kellner and U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese deny that Meese tried to

block the investigation, although he admitted questioning Kellner about it. Kellner now claims he ordered the slowdown in order to investigate reports, which proved false, that a U.S. senator opposed to military aid to the contras was planning to bribe a witness in the case. — F.F.

'Old-fashioned McCarthyism'

The following is an excerpt from an interview that President Ronald Reagan gave to Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor-in-chief of the *Washington Times*, on September 28. The one and one-half page interview, mostly covering Reagan's views on foreign policy, appeared in the September 30 issue of the *Times*, a right-wing daily published in Washington, D.C.

Question. Arnold Beichman wrote in our paper this morning about the concern expressed collectively by Newt Gingrich, Bob Dornan, and Bill McCollum about the number of hard-left members of the House who are now acting as pro-Soviet agents of influence. There is less and less understanding of Soviet tactics that target democratic parliamentary bodies. The mere mention of this triggers vociferous charges of McCarthyism. Yet the whole process is becoming increasingly sophisticated. What is to be done when two dozen pro-Marxists, with real political clout, can in our own Congress influence great issues of defense, arms control, and international security?

Mr. Reagan. Well, Arnaud, that is a problem that we have to face. It would be easy enough to just stand up and start shouting. But some years ago — I happen to know because I've been a student of the communist movement for a long time, having been a victim of it some years ago in Hollywood — the Communist Party was to call upon their "will-ing idiots" — their term — not just liber-

als who weren't communists, but —

Q. "Useful idiots" was the term.

Mr. Reagan. Yes. They were to engage in a campaign that would make anticommunism unfashionable. And they have succeeded.

You know that today even among the people that are anticommunist, there is a tendency to say, "Oh, you know, enough of that, hey, don't, this is old-fashioned McCarthyism," and so forth, and all of that. Well, they're taking advantage of this now.

Remember, there was once a Congress in which they had a committee that would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had communist involvement or communist leanings. Well, they've done away with those committees. That shows the success of what the Soviets were able to do in this country with making it unfashionable to be anticommunist.

So, you have to be careful in opposing them to not trigger that reaction on the part of your own people that you're depending on to support you. And it's no fun, but it is true — there is a disinformation campaign, we know, worldwide, and that disinformation campaign is very sophisticated and successful, including with a great many in the media and the press in America.

Q. And on the Hill, too?

Mr. Reagan. And on the Hill.

Final order issued in socialists' suit against government spying

BY MAGGIE PERRIER

NEW YORK — "After 14 years of court battles, a 12-week trial in 1981, a five-year wait after the trial for Judge Griesa's ruling last year, another year to win an injunction barring government use of the 10 million files they gathered illegally, finally last week the judge entered his final order in the historic Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance case against government spying, disruption and blacklisting," said John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF was formed in 1973, at the time the case was filed, to help publicize, win support, and raise funds for the political rights fight.

Studer was referring to the three-page final judgment signed by federal Judge Thomas Griesa on November 5 (reprinted on this page). This judgment summarizes the orders contained in the judge's August 1986 ruling awarding the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages and imposes the injunction signed in August of this year. The injunction prohibits government agencies from using or disseminating unlawfully obtained documents and information on the two groups or individuals associated with them. With the entry of the November 5 order, the injunction goes into effect. This concludes the case at the district court level.

"The clock now begins ticking on the 60-day deadline for the government to appeal both the injunction and Judge Griesa's overall ruling," Studer told the *Militant*. "With the filing of the order, any violation of the injunction would subject the agency involved to contempt proceedings and court ordered fines.

Government challenges injunction

Studer explained that the government actually projected their intention to appeal in last-minute legal papers filed with the judge on October 30. Deputy Chief U.S. Attorney Peter Salerno argued the judge should use the final order to rewrite the injunction, specifically urging that "the types of informant activity deemed illegal . . . be narrowed."

The Justice Department lawyer called for restricting the definition of illegal informant snooping to that carried out under FBI "direction and control" by spies who were either assigned to become "members" of the SWP and YSA or specifically "targeted" at these groups.

This argument resurrects the line used by the government during the 1981 trial and in posttrial papers — that most informers were independent operators and the FBI was a mere "passive receiver" of information they ferreted out.

Such a revision of the injunction would leave much of the spy information in gov-

ernment hands available for use to target and victimize people today.

For instance, in his 1986 decision the judge highlighted the particularly intrusive conduct of one nonmember informer, a hospital employee who supplied the FBI with dozens of medical records on SWP members and their relatives. This snitch also gave records on other political activists to the FBI. If the injunction was rewritten as the Justice Department urged, the government could claim that information gained from this spy was not barred from their use because he was neither an SWP member nor targeted solely at the SWP. He merely handed over confidential hospital records on anyone he thought the FBI would be interested in. The FBI's hands were clean.

Last year the judge rejected this argument. He ruled that the entire informer operation was "initiated, planned, and given direction" by FBI officials in Washington and therefore the FBI was responsible for the unconstitutional violations of privacy that each and every informer engaged in. "The FBI was anything but a passive

party," he concluded.

In entering the final order last week, the judge rejected this argument again, refusing to alter the injunction.

Studer announced that the PRDF is launching a special campaign "to get out the word about the ruling and to rally a defense of the victories for political rights we have won. We hope to organize public meetings all across the country in December and January to show the breadth of support for these gains."

Studer reported that Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional attorney who represents the SWP and YSA, estimates that the legal costs of countering government challenges in the federal appeals court will reach \$40,000. "We are opening a national Appeals Fund to meet these legal expenses and to print the literature our supporters will need to take the fight to their coworkers, fellow union members, and other supporters of civil liberties," Studer said.

To help in this effort, contact the PRDF by writing P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003, or calling (212) 691-3270.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
John Studer, head of Political Rights Defense Fund. He points out that 60-day clock is now running for Justice Department to appeal damages award and injunction against FBI spying.

Griesa's judgment affirming injunction

Below is federal Judge Thomas Griesa's final judgment in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the attorney general, FBI, and other U.S. government spy agencies. It was signed November 5.

This action came on for trial before the court, Hon. Thomas P. Griesa, presiding, and the issues having been duly tried and the court having considered the evidence and briefs, and having issued opinions dated Aug. 25, 1986, and Aug. 17, 1987, it is hereby ordered, adjudged, and decreed that:

1. In accordance with the court's findings and conclusions of Aug. 25, 1986, plaintiffs Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have and recover of and from defendant United States of America \$42,500 for disruption activities by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, \$96,500 for surreptitious entries by the FBI, and \$125,000 for the FBI's use of informants, or a total of \$264,000, as damages with interest thereon at the rate provided by law;

2. Defendants Attorney General of the United States, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Army, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director of Central Intelligence, Director of the Secret Service, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, Director of the Office of Personnel Management, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Secretary of State, and their agents, servants, employees, officers, successors and assigns, and all persons in privity or in active concert or participation with them (hereinafter "defendants") are enjoined and restrained as follows:

a. No document or record (including that contained in a computer or other device) in the custody, possession, or control of defendants which was obtained unlawfully or developed from unlawfully obtained material, and no information contained in or derived from any such document or record, shall be used, released, or disclosed by defendants within or outside the government, for any reason except in compliance with an order issued by this court, applied for on notice, or in lawful response to a request under the Freedom of Information Act.

b. For the purposes of this order, the term "document . . . obtained unlawfully or developed from unlawfully obtained information" means:

- i. any document or information obtained after Jan. 1, 1960, as a result of the use of FBI informants in the course of its investigation of the SWP and YSA;
- ii. any document or information obtained as a result of surreptitious

entries by the FBI of premises owned or controlled by the SWP or YSA, or premises occupied by SWP or YSA members;

- iii. any materials reasonably identifiable as having been derived from i. or ii.

c. Lists of members of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance, or other materials identifying such member or members, will be presumed to be covered by paragraphs a. and b.

3. All other claims of plaintiffs are dismissed with prejudice.

Austin, Minnesota, City Council backs off on antileafleting law

BY CRAIG HONTS

AUSTIN, Minn. — A new city ordinance restricting the right to distribute leaflets and literature has spurred a storm of protest here. The ordinance, adopted on September 8 by the city council, prohibits the distribution of "any handbills, posters, advertisements, circulars, leaflets, pamphlets or other printed or written materials upon the public streets, alleys, or public grounds of the city."

The scope of the new ordinance was so broad that a rider had to be added making it clear that the measure didn't apply to the U.S. mail. A \$250 maximum fine and/or 90 days in jail were set as penalties for violating the law.

To fight the new regulations, the United Support Group initiated a petition drive to have the decree put to a referendum vote. (The Support Group was formed to build support for the 1985-86 meat-packers' strike against Geo. A. Hormel and Co., the giant meat-packing company that dominates Austin.) The American Civil Liberties Union agreed to help on a legal challenge to the ordinance's constitutionality.

On October 21 the city council's ordinance committee held a hearing, and opponents of the law got a chance to speak.

City council member Ruth Rasmussen read a letter the council had received from George Klingfus, president of United Auto Workers Local 867, and Betty Thomas, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-578. The letter explained that labor unions in Austin oppose restrictions on the right to hand out leaflets — something that is a normal and accepted part of union activity in Austin.

Representatives from the United Support Group, the Political Rights Defense Fund, and Pathfinder Bookstore also spoke against the unconstitutional ordinance.

Although the city council tried to defend the legislation as an "antilittering" measure, it was finally forced to back off.

A second hearing was held October 26 to discuss rewriting the ordinance.

This new attempt to push through a law to restrict distribution of political material conceded the right to hand out leaflets on the streets, but explicitly prohibited putting leaflets under car windshield wipers.

After a number of Austin citizens at the

hearing challenged the undemocratic character of the revised "antilittering" ordinance, members of the city council divided over whether to follow through with this restriction. The amending of the legislation was then tabled until a city council meeting the following week.

At that meeting, Rasmussen once again tried to ram through a prohibition on putting leaflets on cars in the city of Austin.

But once again, the city council split over the question of restricting leafleting in Austin. After a debate between council members, the body decided not to vote on the proposed changes in the antileafleting ordinance. Instead, the amended antileafleting law was once again sent back to the ordinance committee for further study. Meanwhile, the measure is not being enforced.

It is unusual to see this kind of debate in the city council of a company town like Austin. Hormel is used to getting what it wants when it comes to restricting democratic rights. The union contract covering the workers at the plant, for example, includes a clause that prohibits the distribution of leaflets that the company does not approve of — any time or any place. The city police have already used the city traffic code to prohibit the distribution of leaflets or newspapers to workers coming into or leaving work at the plant.

Getting the city council to back down on the antileafleting ordinance is a victory that supporters of democratic rights can build on in the fight to extend civil liberties in Austin.

Young Socialist Alliance nat'l office moves

The YSA national office is now located at 79 Leonard Street, Manhattan, in New York City (between Church Street and Broadway, five blocks south of Canal Street). Its mailing address is P.O. Box 1235, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 334-1110.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance's attorney Leonard Boudin.

Young people are organizing brigades to Nicaragua

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

"All you have to do is say, 'We're organizing a brigade to Nicaragua,' and you get an incredible response from young people," Anne Johnstone told the *Militant* in a recent interview.

Johnstone, a student at the University of Iowa in Iowa City, is a leader of the Progressive Student Network (PSN) and is Iowa area organizer for the student brigade to Nicaragua January 3-17. The brigade is jointly sponsored by the PSN and the Nicaragua Network.

"There's a lot of frustration, and people jump at a chance to express their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people in a real, direct way," Johnstone said.

"I think, too, that people are really psyched to go because of the murder of Ben Linder and the speaking tour that his family did afterwards," she continued. "I got over 100 names of people from Iowa who signed up to go to Nicaragua during the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour."

One of Johnstone's responsibilities is to interview brigade applicants from Iowa.

She is doing the interviews as part of a statewide tour to build the brigade. The meetings for Johnstone are organized by students in each community who want to go on the brigade.

"At each stop I show a short film put out by the Nicaragua Network called *Harvest for Peace*," Johnstone told the *Militant*. "Then I go over some ideas for a fund-raising strategy, collect the applications, and do the interviews."

According to the Nicaragua Network, which is coordinating three harvest brigades of 40 to 60 people this winter, more than 80,000 people from the United States have traveled to Nicaragua since the triumph of the revolution in 1979. In addition to the harvest brigades and fact-finding tours, people can go on construction brigades.

These take a lot of advance planning because each group is asked to raise \$5,000 for construction materials.

A youth speak-out against the U.S. war on Nicaragua and U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, in Houston, Texas, in October. Francisco Picado, a national leader of the YSA, encouraged the youth present to organize their own brigade. They took up the challenge. On May 28, 1988, the "Tejas Youth Brigade" is slated to leave for a month to join a construction project in Río San Juan, Nicaragua.

One of the central organizers of the brigade is Dan Golb. He is one of the UT-16, a group of students at the University of Texas in Austin fighting prison terms for organizing an anti-apartheid protest.

"The Nicaragua Network suggested the Río San Juan Project to us," Golb told the *Militant*. "It's a year-and-a-half-long project to build 90 houses for farm workers near Lake Managua. Local brigades can tie into the project at any time."

"We're really looking for some young construction workers to join us on the brigade," said Greg Rosenberg, a YSA leader in Houston and a central organizer of the youth brigade.

The first construction brigade to the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua from the United States is leaving on January 5 from At-



Militant/Hector Carrión

Youth participating in international coffee brigade in 1986

lanta, Georgia. It is endorsed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and SCLC members will participate.

Philip Edholm, a young carpenter in Atlanta, told the *Militant*, "I'm putting together a concert made up of local punk and reggae bands and inviting groups to set up literature tables so I can raise the money to go on the Bluefields brigade. Last year, I raised \$800 for a day-care center in Nicaragua through a concert."

Johnstone told the *Militant* that one

reason so many students from Iowa "want to go on the student brigade this year is that they saw the effect that going on it last year had on me. I came back incredibly pumped up to do work — clear about the reality of the struggle in Nicaragua and with the energy Nicaraguans share through their participation in the revolution."

Marea Himelgrin is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Sign up for a work brigade to Nicaragua

Three harvest brigades. Dec. 8-29; Jan. 3-17; and Jan. 9-30. Contact Nicaragua Network, 2025 I St. NW., Suite 212, Washington, D.C. 20006. Telephone (202) 223-2328. Approximate cost, \$540 not including U.S. to Mexico City round trip.

Construction brigade to the Atlantic Coast region. Volunteers will go to the Atlantic Coast town of La Fe near Bluefields to build housing for the English-speaking Black community there. Participants will have opportunity to witness autonomy process of the coast peoples. Cost: approximately \$650. Scholarships available. For more information contact: ACLA, P.O. Box 4184, Atlanta, Ga. 30302. Tel: (404) 377-1079; or Witness for Peace, 222 E. Lake Dr., Decatur, Ga. 30030.

All-out push to win new readers to three publications

Continued from front page

2:00 p.m. that day so that the final scoreboard, to be published in the issue dated December 11, will accurately reflect their efforts.

Several areas are off to an excellent start in the final target days. New York distributors signed up 70 new *Militant* and 18 *PM* readers and sold 13 copies of *New Internationalist* November 14.

Omaha distributors sold several subscriptions that same day to meat-packers in trailer parks near the Iowa Beef Processors plant in Dakota City, Nebraska. Omaha supporters plan to sell several times during the final push in shopping centers and on the University of Nebraska campus in Lincoln.

As part of their wrap-up effort, Greensboro, North Carolina, supporters have sold several more subscriptions to their coworkers in textile plants. They are also encouraging recent *Militant* and *PM* subscribers to pick up a copy of *New Internationalist*.

Supporters from San Francisco and Oakland are sending several one-day teams to talk to farm workers and unionists in the Salinas and Pajaro valleys where they sold several dozen *PM* and *Militant* subscriptions earlier in the drive.

A team of Charleston, West Virginia, distributors sold 4 subscriptions and 15 single copies of the *Militant* at mine portals

and in a small mining community on November 16.

Boston supporters returned to the Boise Cascade and James River paper mills in Maine, where they sold dozens of single copies during shift changes a few weeks ago. This time around they sold 19 subscriptions to paperworkers going in and out of the mills.

A group of supporters from St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Chicago have formed a joint team to introduce the three publications to unionists at the many paper mills in the Green Bay, Wisconsin, area.

'PM' carries feature on 50 years of FBI spying

A special 40-page issue of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* will come out in December.

The final issue of 1987 will include the complete text of "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation," an article by Larry Seigle that appears in the current issue of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. The article describes the FBI, CIA, and other U.S. government agencies' decades-long assault on democratic rights and political freedoms.

This issue will also include the 1987 *PM* index.

Fall Sales Scoreboard

Area	<i>Militant</i> subscriptions		New International single copies		<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i> subscriptions		Totals		
	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goals	Sold	% Sold
San Diego	85	93	25	14	40	36	150	143	95
Greensboro, N.C.	140	136	20	14	15	10	175	160	91
Atlanta	120	116	35	18	20	21	175	155	89
Los Angeles	300	303	100	63	175	126	575	492	86
Cleveland	105	106	20	8	15	5	140	119	85
Des Moines, Iowa	125	131	35	13	15	4	175	148	85
New York	600	471	350	287	200	186	1,150	944	82
Detroit	200	180	35	18	25	13	260	211	81
San Francisco	180	150	50	24	70	69	300	243	81
Morgantown, W. Va.	130	106	25	19	5	2	160	127	79
Omaha, Neb.	70	60	20	7	10	10	100	77	77
Phoenix	140	120	25	10	100	74	265	204	77
Miami	120	119	40	9	40	23	200	151	76
Kansas City	105	91	25	5	20	14	150	110	73
Seattle	300	225	50	37	50	29	400	291	73
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	146	75	46	20	7	275	199	72
Birmingham, Ala.	150	125	35	7	5	5	190	137	72
Austin, Minn.	85	69	10	1	15	9	110	79	72
Milwaukee	115	96	35	18	15	4	165	118	72
Boston	225	196	50	25	100	41	375	262	70
Houston	200	166	50	15	40	21	290	202	70
Baltimore	140	126	40	0	10	4	190	130	68
Portland, Ore.	100	83	40	26	30	6	170	115	68
Washington, D.C.	130	98	60	27	30	21	220	146	66
St. Louis	175	121	50	24	10	9	235	154	66
Salt Lake City	150	111	25	5	25	8	200	124	62
Newark, N.J.	350	219	75	31	125	59	550	309	56
Price, Utah	48	26	10	2	2	2	60	30	50
Charleston, W. Va.	125	65	20	3	2	1	147	69	47
Oakland, Calif.	150	98	100	14	50	16	300	128	43
Philadelphia	150	84	50	0	50	18	250	102	41
Pittsburgh	175	59	30	24	10	3	215	86	40
Chicago	225	97	50	0	75	32	350	129	37
Albany, N.Y.	20	14						14	
Amherst, Mass.	5	5				1		6	
Annandale, N.Y.	20	11				2		13	
Cincinnati	10	7						7	
Louisville, Ky.	5	5						5	
San Jose, Calif.	75	43			50	19		62	
Coal Teams		39						39	
Other U.S. areas		23						26	
Britain		91		141		6		238	
Canada		105		10		37		152	
New Zealand		14						14	
Puerto Rico						17		17	
Other Internat'l		15				6		21	
Totals		4,764		965		979		6,708	71%
Drive Goals	6,000		2,000		1,500		9,500		
Should Be								8,807	93%

Nicaraguan artist meets strikers in Maine

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — "Glad to meet you." "Good to have you here." "Hope you have a good stay." The greetings from striking Maine paperworkers to Nicaraguan artist Arnolito Guillén were uniformly warm, cordial, and friendly before and after the United Paperworkers Local 14 "union/family" meeting here November 4.

Guillén came to the event as part of his U.S. speaking tour to meet with unionists, farmers, and young people and talk to them about the Nicaraguan revolution.

The noted artist is also in this country to participate in the Pathfinder Mural Project in New York City. Pathfinder is a major publisher of the writings and speeches of leaders of working-class and revolutionary struggles in this country and around the world.

A six-story mural is being painted on the Pathfinder Building by artists from around the world. The mural will include portraits of many of the international working-class leaders whose works have been published by Pathfinder. Guillén is painting portraits of Nicaragua's national hero Augusto César Sandino and Sandinista National Liberation Front founder Carlos Fonseca.

While in Jay, Guillén visited the wood chip gate picket line and Local 14's union hall, where he spoke with several members of different unions. Many strikers wanted to hear Guillén's impression of their spirited union meeting.

"Impressive, very impressive," the Nicaraguan artist responded. "Very organized, very militant," he noted, to the smiles of the union activists.

"You know," one strike stalwart at the wood chip gate told Guillén, "we don't like Reagan either."

"Tell him," one strike activist at the union hall said to Guillén's translator, "we're not like Reagan. We're different. We don't want a war."

"We know this," Guillén responded. Guillén later termed his experiences in Jay "extraordinary," and referred to the spirit of the workers he met in Jay at other meetings in Boston, including a joint effort sponsored by Pathfinder and Arts for New Nicaragua.

Guillén spoke at Tufts University, the University of Massachusetts in Boston, the Massachusetts College of Art, and had a reception attended by staff members of

Central America solidarity groups in Cambridge.

BY JUDI CHERTOV

PHILADELPHIA — Arnolito Guillén spent two days here speaking with local artists and to supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution.

His first stop was the Taller Puertorriqueño, an art and cultural center in the Puerto Rican community here.

Guillén met with Johnnie Irizarry, director of the Taller, and discussed Irizarry's interest in the Pathfinder Mural Project, including the possibility of having Puerto Rican artists in the Philadelphia area work on it.

The Nicaraguan artist also visited the Painted Bride Art Center. The center had invited Guillén to participate in its all-day activity of free art where local artists and community representatives were encouraged to come and work in their medium to whatever extent they chose that day.

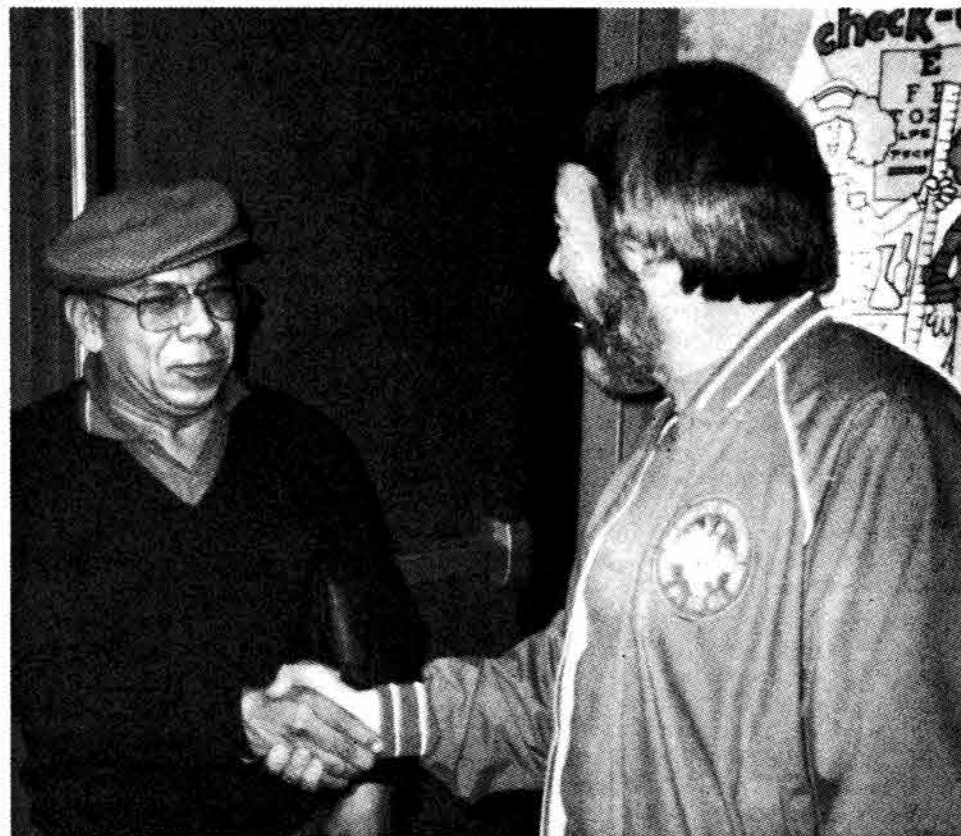
Later that evening, Guillén met with young workers who were interested in traveling to Nicaragua and organizing brigades of workers and students to see the revolution firsthand.

At a reception on November 1 at the home of Joe Miller, a local leader of SANE, Guillén talked about the Nicaraguan revolution and showed slides of his art and answered questions. Janet Melvin, a photographer and translator living in Nicaragua showed slides of murals in that country.

For more information on the Pathfinder Mural Project, clip and mail the coupon below to the project at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

- ☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project.
- ☐ Enclosed is a tax-deductible contribution of \$_____. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.
- ☐ I would like to work on, paint, or document the project.
- ☐ Please send me a list of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Name _____
Phone _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Country _____
Signature _____
Organization/union/school _____



Nicaraguan artist Arnolito Guillén meets Bill Meserve, president of striking paperworkers' local. Guillén voiced solidarity with union struggle against International Paper.

Push to reach \$150,000 goal

Continued from front page

the Haitian community.

The socialist publications — the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist journal *New International*, the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books — are financially supported by the contributions of people who read and distribute them.

Currently the fund stands at pledged \$143,282 and \$90,684 collected. Across the country, a campaign to increase pledges and collect funds by the deadline is gaining momentum.

Contributions like these are what make it possible, for example, for the *Militant* to send editor Margaret Jayko to Britain and Ireland. She provided *Militant* readers with firsthand reports on the October 24 march in London of 70,000 people against apartheid in South Africa and on the conference in Dublin of Sinn Féin, the organization that leads the fight for a united, independent Ireland.

The growing interest among working-class fighters in the ideas and experiences that Pathfinder books can provide was highlighted by a recent letter from a member of the United Paperworkers International Union, who included a \$14 donation.

"Please send me your book on the Hormel meat-packers' strike," she wrote. "Any other books that you think might be helpful about strikes would be appreciated as we, at UPIU Local 14, are on strike in Jay, Maine. We work for International Paper and have been out since June 16 along with workers from Mobile,

Nelson Mandela book is best-seller in Cuba

In its October 2 issue, *Bohemia*, a weekly magazine published in Cuba, lists *Habla Nelson Mandela* as one of the top-selling books in Cuba today. It has been a best-seller for three weeks running, *Bohemia* reports, heading the nonfiction list one week.

This collection of speeches and writings by the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa was put out by the Cuban publisher Editora Política this year. It is a reprint of the 1986 edition by Pathfinder in New York that contains an introduction by Héctor Marroquín.

It includes the Freedom Charter, the historic program of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa adopted in 1955. Nelson Mandela's speech before the court in the famous Rivonia Trial of 1964, where he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the apartheid regime, is also part of the collection.

Alabama; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and De Pere, Wisconsin."

The drive to reach the \$150,000 goal was bolstered by the response to a letter appealing for support to the fund that was sent to 3,700 readers of the *Militant*. More than 60 contributions have been received in response, totaling more than \$4,000. The responses included individual contributions of \$500 and \$250, and four contributions of \$100 each.

Ilona Gersh, a *Militant* supporter who works at the Boeing aircraft plant in Seattle, reports that she and other aerospace workers who belong to the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) are beginning to discuss making big increases in their pledges to the fund, to be paid by December 1.

The proposed increases are in anticipation of year-end bonuses, amounting to 5 percent of the year's wages, that UAW and IAM members in many aerospace plants will receive.

"'Militant' serves needs of working people"

A paperworker from Jay, Maine, whose union has been on strike for five months against International Paper, sent a message to the November 14 meeting in Boston to support the Socialist Publications Fund.

"As a member of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 of Jay, Maine," wrote Harry Dwyer, "I appreciate the *Militant's* help in spreading the news of our struggle."

"The *Militant* is serving the needs of working people by keeping them informed of the efforts of people all over the world as they demand the just treatment and individual rights that greedy corporate power brokers seek to deny them."

Dwyer continued: "I hope you continue to support the *Militant* both in spirit and financially."

Dwyer concluded by urging everyone to attend the November 21 rally in Jay, Maine, to support the paperworkers.

A second message came from Mickey Meader, vice-president of the shipbuilders' union in Bath, Maine. "I would and do recommend the *Militant* as good reading," he said. "It is one of the few papers that addresses the issues of the labor movement and gets the word out."

Area	Goal	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	3,300	3,310	2,300
Austin, Minn.	1,600	1,566	925
Baltimore	2,000	1,550	640
Birmingham	4,000	2,710	1,385
Boston	5,000	4,995	1,875
Charleston, W.V.	2,900	2,952	1,463
Chicago	5,000	4,080	2,340
Cleveland	3,000	3,300	2,530
Detroit	2,000	3,730	2,605
Des Moines	2,000	2,025	833
Greensboro, N.C.	1,700	1,773	690
Houston	6,500	6,215	4,503
Kansas City	2,500	2,225	1,475
Los Angeles	15,000	14,345	9,875
Morgantown, W.V.	2,000	1,900	1,505
Miami	3,000	2,245	1,285
Milwaukee	2,400	2,174	764
Newark	7,000	6,448	5,068
New York City	15,000	15,445	11,215
Oakland	8,000	6,365	4,805
Omaha	1,600	1,395	630
Pittsburgh	2,600	2,568	920
Philadelphia	5,500	4,523	1,523
Phoenix	1,500	1,226	806
Portland	2,300	2,205	1,605
Price, Utah	500	450	140
San Diego	2,500	2,385	1,790
Seattle	6,000	5,785	3,735
San Francisco	6,000	5,325	3,165
Salt Lake City	3,000	2,955	2,090
St. Louis	6,700	6,650	4,427
Twin Cities, Minn.	6,000	5,478	2,575
Washington, D.C.	7,000	5,790	3,960
Other	6,025	6,025	4,275
International	1,169	1,169	961
Totals	152,294	143,282	90,684

\$150,000 Socialist Publications Fund

At a rally August 13 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by November 24.

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

As of November 18, \$143,282 has been pledged and \$90,684 collected.

I wish to help the fund, enclosed is:

_____ \$1,000 _____ \$500 _____ \$100

_____ \$25 _____ \$ _____ other

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____
Organization/Union _____

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

Mandatory sanctions theme at UN hearing on apartheid

BY SAM MANUEL

UNITED NATIONS — The demand for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa was the central theme stressed by those speaking at the second day of a two-day hearing November 11-12 on apartheid and the policies of the South African government. (See report in November 20 *Militant* on first day of hearings.)

The hearing was conducted by the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly as part of preparation for an upcoming discussion on apartheid in the assembly as a whole.

Over the two days of hearings 26 individuals spoke. Among them were representatives of the American Committee on Africa, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Lutheran World Federation, National Conference of Black Lawyers, National Lawyers Guild, National Baptist Convention, and Washington Office on Africa.

Also appearing before the committee were José Soler, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party; U.S. Congressman George Crockett, Jr.; and Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson. (Warren's statement appears on the facing page.)

One of the issues discussed was implementation of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which was adopted by Congress last fall over the veto of President Ronald Reagan. Although this act was presented as anti-apartheid legislation at the time it was passed, the act attacks the main organization leading the fight against apartheid, the African National Congress of South Africa. It slanders the ANC with "promoting terrorism" and engaging in "unprovoked violence." It lays the basis for the U.S. police agencies to spy on the ANC and to restrict the political activity of its leaders and supporters in this country.

Reagan's objection, however, was to the inclusion in the act of some limited economic sanctions against South Africa. These included a ban on the import of South African textiles, uranium, iron, and coal; ending new U.S. loans and investments; and denying South African Airways landing rights in the United States.

At the UN hearings, Congressman Crockett condemned the failure of the

Reagan administration to implement even these modest measures provided in the law.

The bill also required the president to report after one year on the progress made by the South African government in dismantling apartheid. If no progress was made the bill required the president to propose more stringent sanctions. Reagan reported to Congress on October 2 that no progress has been made in South Africa. But, he has refused to impose further sanctions.

Crockett is the ranking majority member of the Africa subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives' foreign affairs committee. Though he was also a member of the U.S. congressional delegation to this year's session of the UN General Assembly, he stressed that he spoke only on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and the Black lobby group, TransAfrica.

Crockett told the committee that despite Reagan's foot-dragging, the CBC would lead the fight for stiffer U.S. sanctions. Crockett has also introduced a resolution in Congress that would designate June 26, 1988, as a national day of recognition for the imprisoned leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela.

Black lawyer hits detentions

Cheryl Howard of the National Conference of Black Lawyers described how the denial of civil and human rights in South Africa weakens the democratic rights of all. She likened the massive detentions in South Africa to the arrest and detention of Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos by U.S. authorities.

Segarra Palmer and Ojeda Ríos are two of 16 supporters of independence for Puerto Rico facing trial in Hartford, Connecticut, on frame-up charges of robbery and conspiracy. Fourteen of them have been released on bail. Segarra Palmer and Ojeda Ríos, denied their right to bail, are still being held in preventive detention after 27 months.

Howard explained, "These men are not criminals. They are courageous political activists, who are being held because they dare to oppose the United States' presence in Puerto Rico."

"Like the government of Pretoria has done to so many brothers and sisters in South Africa, the United States govern-



Photo by Gillian Edelstein. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder, New York.
March in Middleburg, Cape, South Africa, March 1986, demands release of leaders of African National Congress. Release of all political prisoners was also a theme at UN hearings.

ment has effectively used preventive detention to quash the dissent of these men," Howard added.

Jesse Jackson condemned South African military aggression against neighboring African states. "With respect to apartheid South Africa's aggressive and expansionist role in the region," he said, "the facts are that South Africa has troops in Angola. It continues its illegal occupation of Namibia."

The South African government "sponsors terrorist forces inside Angola, Mozambique, and elsewhere," Jackson continued, "that conduct systematic campaigns of wanton physical destruction, economic sabotage, and political destabilization throughout the region."

He also endorsed comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa and called for stepped-up negotiations for with-

drawal of South African troops from Angola and Namibia.

W. Franklyn Richardson said, "The religious community in this country supports sanctions against South Africa because of the cry for freedom of those who suffer because of apartheid in South Africa, and because we believe sanctions are one of the only ways that we can work effectively and forcefully to help end apartheid."

Richardson is general secretary of the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. The Baptist Convention is the largest religious association of U.S. Blacks. It has 33,000 church affiliates, mostly in the southern United States.

The hearings reflected the widespread support in this country and around the world for an end to the apartheid regime. Not a single person appeared before the committee to offer even a perfunctory defense of the regime.

British miners' leader Scargill to stand for reelection

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

ROTHERHAM, England — Arthur Scargill has resigned as president of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). He will stand for reelection in voting that will take place at mines around the country on January 22.

Scargill's announcement followed a stormy meeting of the union's National Executive Committee on November 12. This meeting was dominated by debate over the overtime ban the union has initiated in protest over British Coal's attempt to implement a new "code of conduct" in the mines.

Scargill was elected president of the NUM in 1982. Under the union constitution he is not required to run for reelection.

The government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has used Scargill's lack of reelection to brand him as a dictator and to attack the union. The union president called the special election to demonstrate that the membership supports his policies.

The NUM members struck in 1984 and 1985 trying to halt the government's closure of a number of mines. NUM members were eventually forced to return to work and the government has moved ahead with many closings. Some 80,000 mine jobs have been lost.

But the NUM's militant membership has continued to stand in the forefront of the resistance to the broad attacks on British working people being carried out by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party government.

Management of the government-run British Coal and Conservative Party officials have openly stated that the new code is designed to victimize local NUM officials and union militants.

Seventy-seven percent of the NUM membership voted in favor of the eight-week-old overtime ban.

So far, it has had little impact on coal production because the majority of the NUM Executive Committee, spearheaded

by officials from South Wales and Scotland, has limited the ban to scheduled overtime, and refused to extend it to maintenance and development work.

Meanwhile, management continues to press forward its attacks. Payment of the annual wage increases due in November is being withheld until the ban is lifted. Mine closures and job losses have increased the last two months.

A breakaway company union, which calls itself the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM), has launched a management-sponsored recruitment drive designed to undercut the NUM.

Miners from Leicester recently organized a protest after management announced that it is transferring construction of a new "super pit" from their area to Nottinghamshire where the UDM is based. British Coal hopes to sign a sweetheart contract with the UDM at the new mine when it is opened.

Management is also trying to blackmail the NUM into giving up the five-day work week saying it will withhold other new mine investments until the NUM agrees to work a six-day week.

The "new realists" on the NUM executive see the introduction of measures such as the code of conduct and the six-day workweek as inevitable. In their view all the union can do is negotiate with the British Coal about implementing these measures.

Scargill, who has tried to mobilize miners in a fight against the attacks, told a meeting in South Wales on October 30 that the choice facing the union is between "politics of fear" on the one hand, or "class struggle" on the other.

He said the "new realists" are "for an end to confrontation and the class struggle," and instead seek "a strategy of coalition, collaboration, and compromise."

These two different approaches to management's attacks will be debated out among the ranks of the union between now and the January 22 election.

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'Apartheid is an affront to all humanity'

Socialist Workers Party statement at UN

The following statement was presented November 11 at hearings of the Special Committee of the 42nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Trusteeship Council Chamber, by James Mac Warren on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party.

The apartheid structure of the modern-day slavocracy, the South African government, is an affront to all humanity. Every government and institution the world over must immediately halt all economic, diplomatic, cultural, sporting, and military ties with this racist regime. This has been the opinion expressed by repeated votes in the General Assembly of this United Nations. This is the will of the overwhelming majority of humanity.

Many reports and resolutions issued by this international body have documented the brutal and inhuman effects of the apartheid system on the majority Black population of South Africa. Blacks are denied their right to live, work, and travel where they choose. They are denied the right to farm the land in their own country. They are denied the right simply to be recognized as equal citizens in a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

All people who toil in South Africa and aspire for a better life — regardless of color — are degraded by apartheid, which enriches a tiny handful of ruling white families. The South African people are today pressing forward their struggle against this hated system.

But apartheid not only deprives the majority of South Africans of these rights. Apartheid also holds the people of Namibia in colonial bondage and subjects them to similar oppression. South Africa's arrogant

courageous soldiers — have died. So have many Cuban internationalist volunteers, who are aiding Angola at the request of its duly constituted and sovereign government.

Threat to world peace

The South African regime is a deadly threat to world peace. It is able to preserve the oppressive apartheid system only through the use of unparalleled force and violence inside South Africa and by maintaining a permanent war footing against its neighboring countries. Moreover, Israel and South Africa — the two governments in the world that have most often and most flagrantly flouted UN resolutions on the rights of nationally oppressed peoples — worked hand in hand in the development of their current nuclear arsenals, which endanger all humanity.

Mr. Chairman, members of this Special Committee — the Socialist Workers Party recognizes that the people of the United States have a particular interest and a particular responsibility in fighting against the apartheid system.

First, the U.S. government, despite ritual statements deploring apartheid, has been and remains the most powerful source of economic, political, and military support to the racist regime. The White House and Congress have both refused to impose effective sanctions against the apartheid state.

Many world leaders of struggles for national liberation and social justice have spoken directly to the people of the United States about the inhumanity of apartheid and the need to join the international effort to isolate and destroy that racist regime. Many have done so while here in New York to speak before the United Nations, including Cuban leaders Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Burkina Faso's President Thomas Sankara, and African National Congress President Oliver Tambo.

U.S. Jim Crow system

But the U.S. people also know from our own history and our own struggles that the fight against institutionalized racist policies is linked with the fight to defend and extend democratic rights and social justice. In my own lifetime, 11 southern U.S. state governments — backed up by extralegal terror squads such as the Ku Klux Klan — maintained and implemented the Jim Crow system of legally sanctioned racist segregation, from schools to water fountains, from buses to voting lists. The logic of this system of de jure legal segregation, fully developed, was apartheid.

Jim Crow was often encouraged and permanently tolerated by the federal government, which had itself maintained segregationist policies right up through World War II and the subsequent two decades. Jim Crow was part and parcel of the anti-democratic McCarthyite witch-hunt in the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was part and parcel of Washington's Cold War policies and military aggression against Korea, Vietnam, and many other countries. It was part and parcel of the weakening of the U.S. trade unions and progressive social movements.

My organization, the Socialist Workers Party, is proud to have fought shoulder to shoulder with millions of others in the massive civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s that brought down this U.S. version of apartheid. This victory opened a new stage in the battle against ongoing de facto segregation and racist discrimination in this country. It opened previously unattainable possibilities to unite U.S. working people — regardless of their race, national origin, or sex — in the fight for democratic rights and social justice and against militarism and war.

The continued existence of apartheid has consequences far beyond southern Africa. Apartheid reinforces the racism that still exists in U.S. capitalist society, its growing resegregation, and the poverty that hits especially hard at that portion of the U.S.



Militant/Lou Howort

Tens of thousands demonstrated in New York City June 1986 to demand U.S. government break all ties to South African regime.

working class that is not white and not English-speaking.

Apartheid reinforces government attacks on democratic rights in the United States. Fred Dube, a South African and ANC spokesperson in this country, has been denied his university teaching position simply for expressing the view — recognized as fact by the vast majority of the world's peoples — that both apartheid and Zionism are forms of racism. Students and other activists have been beaten by cops and given stiff jail sentences for their participation in anti-apartheid protests. Apartheid is a direct threat to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and academic freedom in the United States.

ANC witch-hunted

Moreover, the U.S. government last year adopted legislation witch-hunting the African National Congress. Accusing the ANC of "promoting terrorism" and "unprovoked violence," this legislation seeks to force ANC representatives in this country, including those here under the mandate of the United Nations, to register under the infamous Foreign Agents Registration Act. This undemocratic law not only tramples on the UN Charter, but endangers the rights of the people of the United States to know the truth about the apartheid system and the struggle to overturn it.

The FBI, CIA, and other U.S. police agencies are direct collaborators of the South African secret police (BOSS). These U.S. cop outfits spy on and victimize opponents of the apartheid regime in this country. Much evidence has come to light implicating the FBI or CIA in the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, as well as in the assassination of Malcolm X, the most outstanding internationalist and revolutionary leader of U.S. working people in the second half of this century.

The government's goal has been to spy on and disrupt any organization or individual who resists racism, war policies, and other attacks on the rights and living conditions of working people. Blacks are singled out for special victimization.

My own organization, the Socialist Workers Party, has been among the many targets of this campaign of U.S. political police harassment. Just this month a U.S. federal judge put his final signature on the ruling in a lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party 14 years ago against the FBI's disruptive activities, burglaries, and planting of undercover informers. The court ruled that the U.S. government had violated the constitutional right to privacy

of our party and of our members and supporters, and imposed an injunction barring these agencies from using illegally obtained records against us.

U.S. civil rights movement

Victories such as these could not have been won without the conquests of the civil rights struggle that came before them. Such victories mark a gain in the fight against racism, anti-communism, and attacks on democratic freedoms in the United States — all of which are bolstered by the continued existence of apartheid in South Africa. Every stride forward for South African freedom fighters reinforces struggles for rights, for peace, and for economic justice in this country.

It is also for these reasons that the people of the United States have a special interest and a special responsibility in fighting to bring down the apartheid system.

Born and reared in Memphis, Tennessee, in the heart of the Jim Crow South, I personally remember what it was like for Blacks in those days, and as a youth I joined in the struggles to tear that hated system down. In the mid-1970s I joined the hard-fought battle to desegregate the Boston school system. I know the feelings of self-worth, dignity, and the power of unity that were opened up for millions of people — Black, Latino, and white — as a result of these battles for basic democratic and human rights. Today millions of South Africans are gaining that self-confidence and commitment through their mounting battles there.

The struggle for these goals is far from over — either in countries such as South Africa, where this oppression takes its most barbaric forms, or in those that present themselves as bastions of freedom and enlightenment such as the United States or Canada. Earlier this year I was the victim of racist and political persecution by both Canadian and U.S. immigration authorities when I sought to enter Canada to visit friends. Not only was I harassed, detained, and denied entry to Canada, but also subjected to a strip search — a degrading practice worthy of the South African cops, or of the oppressors of freedom fighters in Northern Ireland. All because of the color of my skin and my political convictions.

Mr. Chairman, members of this Special Committee — I want to emphasize that I make these points about the situation in the country I live in and from my own personal experience in order to bring to bear as much collective testimony as possible to

Continued on Page 12



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

SWP leader Mac Warren, who presented testimony at the UN, explained apartheid in South Africa reinforces racism in United States.

refusal to abide by UN decisions on the status of Namibia in turn reinforces the colonial subjugation of the Kanak people of New Caledonia by French imperialism. It reinforces the determination of U.S. imperialism to deny independence to its colony in Puerto Rico.

The apartheid regime has repeatedly lashed out militarily against the Front Line States that border South Africa. It is waging a brutal war against the sovereign government of Mozambique. Thousands of Mozambicans have died at the hands of South African-created terrorist bands, and untold wealth has been destroyed. Mozambique's President Samora Machel is a martyr to his people's struggle against apartheid's merciless war.

The South African government has repeatedly carried out acts of aggression against Angola and provides ongoing support to counterrevolutionary UNITA forces there. As a result, many thousands of Angolans — both innocent civilians and

Millions of immigrants play growing role in U.S. working class

BY HARRY RING

For many political commentators and polltakers, the "typical American worker" is a middle-aged white male born in the United States.

That stereotype has never been the reality in what has always been a country of immigrants, and it's less so today than ever.

In the early years, European immigrants comprised a key portion of the U.S. work force.

And in recent decades there has been a new wave of immigrant workers — mainly Latino and Asian.

In 1965 relaxation of restrictions in the immigration law opened the door for many Asian workers. Moreover, the long-time flow of immigrants from Mexico has been swelled by large numbers of people coming from Central America and the Caribbean.

With this big influx from other countries, the U.S. working class includes as a large and integral component millions of "American" people born all over the hemisphere, in Asia, and elsewhere.

The new immigrants have made their way to many cities. This changing face of the work force is a nationwide phenomenon.

During the 1970s, 4 million documented immigrants arrived in this country. By the end of the 1980s, 6 million more are expected. When the undocumented are included, it will be the largest number since the first decade of this century when 8.8 million people came here.

Growing national diversity

A century ago, 90 percent of immigrants came from Europe. In 1985, it was 5 percent. Nearly half the current arrivals are from Asia — mainly Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, and Indians.

About 40 percent of documented immigrants come from Mexico and Central America. A good number more make it here without papers.

The 1980 census figures point to a growing national diversity.

Eleven percent of the population — 26 million people — speak a language other than English at home.

Almost half — 12.6 million — speak Spanish.

The use of Spanish will increase. According to the census takers, the U.S.

Latino population is growing three times as fast as the population as a whole.

Last year, a census survey showed that 44 percent of recent arrivals — 1.9 million people — were age 15 to 29, which is considered the job entry level. Meanwhile, since 1980, the number of residents as a whole in that age bracket dropped by 2.3 million.

Noting these figures, the *Wall Street Journal* commented:

"The demand for labor in the U.S. appears to be the driving force behind the increase in immigration, particularly among young people from Asia and Latin America."

Haitians in Stamford

The demand for immigrant workers is creating many near-instant communities.

In Stamford, Connecticut, Haitians began arriving a little more than a decade ago. Today, in that city of 102,000 there is a Haitian population of 7,000. About a third are said to be undocumented.

The Haitian population works mainly in factories, hotels, and service industries.

Stamford is a prosperous community, with a median family income of \$53,700. A Haitian hotel worker earns about \$250 a week — \$13,000 a year.

Los Angeles has a huge Mexican and Central American community. This is the backbone of the \$3 billion-a-year garment industry there.

Miguel Machuca, Western regional organizing director for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), estimates that as many as 80 percent of the 100,000 garment workers in Southern California are undocumented.

According to garment bosses there, an average worker "can earn" as much as \$4.50 an hour on piecework.

A study of Salvadorans in the United States was made by Segundo Montes of the Central American University in San Salvador. He estimates that 960,000 Salvadorans live in the United States.

Montes found that 21.4 percent are factory or construction workers; 26.2 percent (mostly women) are household workers; 22.2 percent are restaurant workers, janitors, or gardeners; and 10.9 percent are office workers or store clerks. The rest are students or hold unspecified jobs.

Montes felt his findings would generally



Militant/Barry Chann

Garment sweatshop in New York City's Chinatown district

hold for other Central American immigrants, of whom there are many.

Mass migration

The Guatemalan government estimates that at least 100,000 of its citizens are working in the United States.

Several years ago the *Wall Street Journal* did a survey on the role of undocumented workers, reporting they were "the backbone of the Southwest economy."

Spotlighting the role of undocumented garment workers in Los Angeles, the paper cited a Levi Strauss executive who said, "Without these people from south of the border, we wouldn't have an industry."

Further north, in California's Silicon Valley, the paper said, an estimated 10,000 undocumented workers were turning out printed circuit boards for the lucrative computer industry, sometimes for less than minimum wage.

In Houston, an estimated one-third of construction workers were undocumented immigrants — confined to the hardest, lowest-paying jobs.

Highlighting the role of the undocumented in the Los Angeles work force, the *Journal* reported that Hollander Homes Fashions, a Los Angeles manufacturer of bedspreads and pillows, has a contract with the garment workers' union that includes a clause requiring the rehiring of any undocumented worker who is deported and returns to work with a new name or Social Security number.

Another indication of the substantial role

of undocumented workers in the area labor force came when the new immigration law went into effect last year. Local 770 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, one of the biggest locals in the area, announced it was setting up a hot line to help undocumented workers gain amnesty under the law.

The president of the 33,000-member local said 4,000 of its members were packinghouse workers, and 60 percent of these were undocumented.

The ILGWU, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and the United Auto Workers also said they were setting up immigrant assistance programs.

A couple of decades ago, the largest number of undocumented immigrants worked in agriculture. This is no longer so. Five years ago, the government estimated that no more than 15 percent of undocumented immigrants were farm workers.

But that 15 percent constitutes a significant part of the farm labor force, particularly during the harvest period when many workers are needed.

In many areas, farm workers have fought hard battles for union recognition and human dignity. But much remains to be done. Less than 1 percent are covered by union contracts.

As a growing proportion of the U.S. working class and a particularly oppressed part of that class, immigrant workers are inevitably going to play a central role in struggles against the employing class.

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The November issue of *PM* includes an article on the federal court testimony of 12-year-old Luriza Pérez Berrios about the arrest and torture of her mother, Lucy Berrios, in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Lucy Berrios was arrested on Aug. 30, 1985, and flown to the United States. She is one of the proindependence Puerto Ricans the U.S. government is framing up on charges of involvement in a multimillion-dollar robbery in Hartford, Connecticut.

Berrios's defense has introduced a motion in court for the dismissal of charges against her.

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U.S. bars Cuban scientists from Caribbean colonies

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — The U.S. government has denied visas for 11 Cuban scientists to enter Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The scientists are members of an international expedition that is retracing the route by which the Indians discovered and populated the Caribbean Islands long before the arrival of Columbus.

The Cuban government organized the trip to highlight the role of the indigenous people of the Americas as part of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery of the Americas." Traveling by canoes, the scientists began in the Amazon Basin in Ecuador. After paddling down the Orinoco River in Venezuela, they proceeded by island-hopping through the Eastern Caribbean, and are now in the British Virgin Islands. The plan was to continue through Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, and then end in Cuba.

The international expedition includes people from Puerto Rico, Colombia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and St. Vincent. In the early stages of the trip, Amazonian Indians taught the scientists how to paddle the canoes. The research expedition has received sponsorship from the Iberoamerican Conference for the Celebration of the 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of America.

The canoeists are led by Cuban Vice-minister of Culture Antonio Núñez

Jiménez. A meeting of the Iberoamerican Conference held in Puerto Rico in May was attended by Núñez and King Juan Carlos of Spain.

The Cuban scientists on the expedition applied for visas to enter Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands when they arrived in the French colony of Martinique. The U.S. consulate in Martinique gave three reasons for denying the visas.

First, they claimed that the Cubans had inquired about visas but had not submitted a formal application. Then they said the Cubans had applied, but had not given the U.S. government sufficient time to process the applications. Finally, they admitted the political nature of the denial. They said it was because of a 1985 proclamation by President Reagan that bans members of the Cuban Communist Party from entering the United States.

In a telephone interview with the *San Juan Star*, Núñez called the decision of the U.S. government "arbitrary and unfair."

The colonial government of Puerto Rico has given extensive support to the Iberoamerican Conference and its activities. Officials from the local government and the University of Puerto Rico tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a compromise with the U.S. State Department.

The expedition finally decided to abandon the canoe and travel around Puerto Rico in a boat.

U.S. anti-Iran drive gains at Arab summit

BY FRED FELDMAN

The decisions reached at the four-day summit of the Arab League that ended November 11 in Amman, Jordan, marked a gain for Washington's efforts to diplomatically, politically, and economically isolate Iran.

The summit came at a time when Washington has massed dozens of warships and 15,000 military personnel in and around the Persian Gulf. There have been six clashes involving U.S. and Iranian forces in recent months.

The success for Washington was glowingly summed up in a November 15 report in the *New York Times*: "The Arab world placed Iran ahead of Israel as a threat to Arab order, stability, and territorial integrity. It flung the door wide open to any Arab country that wanted to resume diplomatic ties with Egypt, notwithstanding its 1979 peace agreement with Israel. And . . . the Arab leaders for the first time in 40 years dropped the Palestinian issue to second-class status."

The resolution adopted at the gathering voiced "indignation at the Iranian regime's intransigence, provocations, and threats" and "confirmed its solidarity and support for Iraq." There was no criticism of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, who attended the meeting, for having begun the gulf war by invading Iran in 1980.

The resolution also "denounced the bloody criminal acts perpetrated by the Iranians in the vicinity of the Holy Mosque."

Last July 31, the Saudi Arabian regime set up a provocation against Iranians and their supporters who were participating in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, killing at least 400 of them. The conference endorsed Saudi claims that Iranians were responsible for the carnage, a claim contradicted by eyewitness testimony.

The Arab League statement demands that the Iranian government accept a United Nations Security Council resolution adopted in July. Like Washington, the Arab League stand presents the resolution as requiring Iran to implement a cease-fire and unconditionally withdraw from small strips of Iraqi territory it now occupies.

The meeting also declared that "diplomatic relations between any Arab League member state and the Arab Republic of Egypt is a sovereign matter to be decided by each state."

In 1979 all Arab governments except

those of Oman, Somalia, and Tunisia severed ties with Egypt after the Cairo government signed a treaty with Israel that was a blow to the Palestinian struggle.

Within hours after the Arab League resolution was adopted, the rulers of the United Arab Emirates resumed full diplomatic relations with Egypt. They were followed by the governments of Iraq, Kuwait, and Morocco.

The Egyptian government has provided \$1 billion a year in arms and ammunition for the Iraqi regime's war, as well as many personnel to fill gaps in Iraq's labor force caused by drafting soldiers for the front.

With the passage of the Arab League resolution, a *Washington Post* editorial stated, "It becomes at least conceivable that Egyptian military forces could yet join the battle to help repel an Iranian tide. . . . The United States has reason to be pleased that the Arab world is coming together on the Gulf issue, and on the side the United States is on."

Representing Libya, Maj. Abdul Salam Jalloud was the only representative to voice opposition to the conference stand. Jalloud is an aide to Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi, who boycotted the summit.

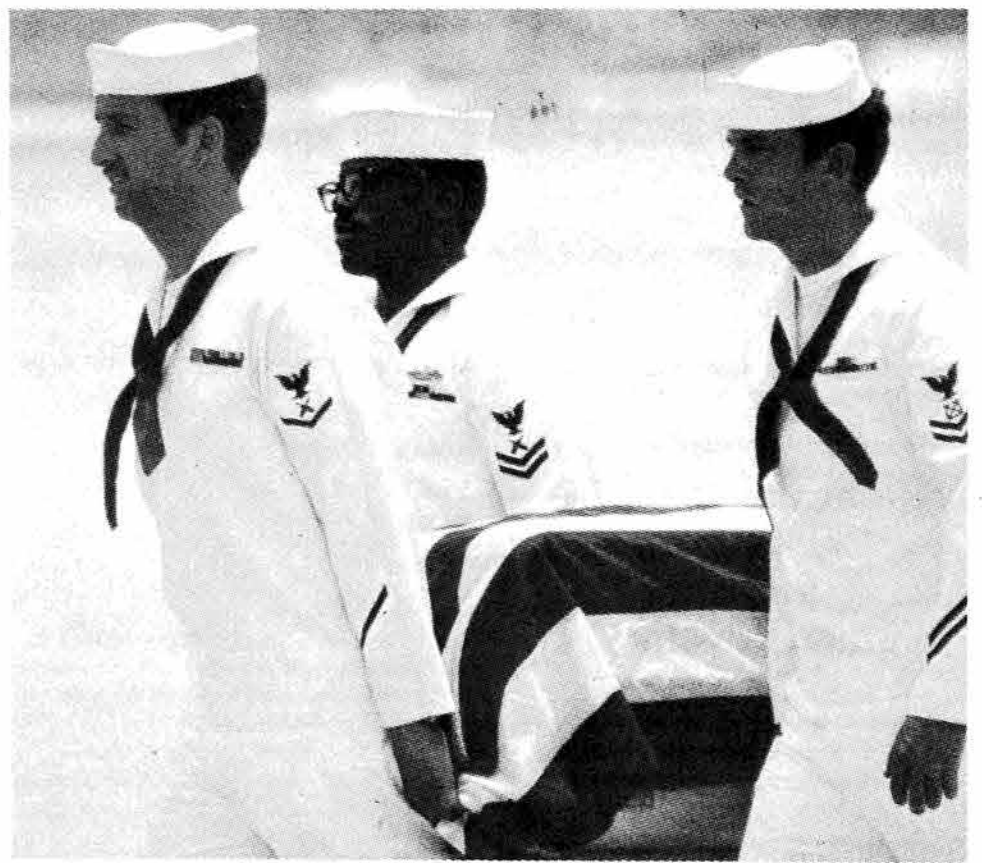
The Syrian government of Hafez al-Assad voted for the resolutions, even though it has been aligned with Iran in the war up until now. The Saudi Arabian monarchy reportedly threatened that financial aid to Syria would be cut off unless Assad endorsed the resolutions. The regimes in the gulf states of Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait had already halted assistance to Syria.

The resolution did not call on Assad's or any other government to break ties with Iran. Nor was the Egyptian regime readmitted to the Arab League.

King Hussein of Jordan expressed hope that the outcome of the summit would spur the Soviet government and others to support further sanctions against Iran, such as the arms embargo that Washington is pressing for.

The Iranian foreign ministry responded November 12 by pointing out that the resolutions were "in line with the aggressive policies of the USA."

"The responsibility for all future events in the region," the ministry added, lies with "America and the reactionary heads of state."



Sailors carry coffin of one of 37 killed when Iraqi missile struck U.S. vessel in May. U.S. now has 15,000 military personnel in gulf region, and U.S. and Iranian forces have been involved in six clashes.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

South Africa admits its troops fight in Angola

The South African regime has acknowledged, for the first time, that its troops are fighting in southern Angola on the side of antigovernment armed bands.

The disclosure was made by Gen. Jan-Georg Geldenhuys, chief of the South African Defense Force, amid mounting pressure in South Africa for a full explanation of an October 31 battle in southern Angola in which 12 South African soldiers were killed. Since then, the government has reported 11 more deaths.

The general claimed the apartheid regime's armed forces were fighting Soviet and Cuban troops. There has never been evidence of Soviet troops fighting in Angola. Cuba does have thousands of soldiers there at the request of the Angolan government to protect the country's independence from Pretoria's aggression.

Jonas Savimbi, head of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the rightists supported by the United States and South Africa who are waging an armed effort to overthrow Angola's government, has always denied that the South African regime is aiding UNITA.

Two days after Pretoria's revelations, South Africa's defense minister, Magnus Malan, admitted that if the South African army had not intervened during the latest fighting in southern Angola, UNITA would have been soundly defeated.

At a news conference the same day, Savimbi said he was "very surprised" at the South African government's statements. He admitted that South Africa had helped UNITA, but insisted no South African ground troops or air support were involved.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos said more than 3,000 South African troops, supported by 70 armored cars and military aircraft, were operating inside his country. He said 230 South Africans had died in the current fighting.

On November 15 he appealed to other African leaders "to undertake the necessary action to strengthen Angola's defense."

Salvador protests hit murder by death squad

On October 26 death squad gunmen shot and killed Herbert Anaya, the head of El Salvador's Human Rights Com-

mission and an outspoken critic of government repression.

"The murder of Herbert Anaya is the sole responsibility of [President José] Napoleón Duarte and the military high command, which takes its orders directly from the U.S. embassy," a commission spokesperson said.

Anaya had been arrested in May 1986 on charges of helping the rebel forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and his house was under constant surveillance.

Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas said the murder was a warning to exiled leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) who had been considering returning to El Salvador.

Duarte suggested that left-wing groups committed the murder as a way to sabotage efforts to implement the Central America peace accords.

The largest of the street demonstrations in the capital city of San Salvador protesting the murder was organized by the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). Some 5,000 workers, students, and relatives of victims of political repression marched through the city with Anaya's coffin.

The FMLN responded to the killing by breaking off peace talks with the Salvadoran government and launching a new military campaign and a transportation strike.

Anti-imperialist groups support Haitian people

Rafael (Fafa) Taveras, president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, has issued a statement of solidarity with the people of Haiti. Taveras is a leader of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic, the country that shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti.

Calling Haiti not only the poorest country in the Americas, but also the one most oppressed by U.S. imperialism, he condemned the repressive U.S.-backed military junta that governs Haiti today.

The statement called on all organizations of workers, peasants, students, women, artists, and others to send delegations to Haiti in order to establish ties with progressive Haitian organizations fighting for democracy and justice.

On October 17 some 4,000 Haitians and their supporters marched in Washington, D.C., to demand an immediate halt to U.S. military aid to Haiti and to condemn government repression, particularly the October 13 police murder of presidential candidate Yves Volé.

Chinese official: limits on private hiring to be ignored

In one of the first policy changes made public after the recent conclusion of the 13th congress of the Chinese Communist Party, a Chinese official has announced the government will not enforce rules limiting the number of employees that can be hired by private enterprises in rural areas.

At present, private enterprises are barred from hiring more than eight workers, although the restriction is widely ignored in practice. One factory owner in a southern coastal city, for example, employs 900 people.

The great bulk of Chinese industry is nationalized, one of the conquests of the popular revolution that triumphed in 1949 and overturned the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

The new policy was announced by Du Runsheng, director of the Rural Development Research Center. Du also made the earlier announcement that the government was considering allowing peasants to buy and sell the right to use land.

In a Reuters dispatch published in the November 10 *Newark Star-Ledger*, Du is reported arguing that allowing such enterprises in rural areas contributes to provid-

ing millions of needed jobs in the countryside.

Since the late 1970s, the Chinese government has increasingly sought to spur economic development by granting wider latitude to private farmers, factory owners, traders, investors from other countries, and other entrepreneurs.

An example is Li Sigai, the owner of a glass factory that now employs nearly all the unmarried women in the country town of Lolam, in a mountainous area of Guangdong Province. Li, along with some of his relatives, lives in "a 38-room brick house on a hillside overlooking paddy fields and some less prosperous mud block houses across the narrow valley," reported the July 26 *New York Times*.

"They're paid by piecework," Li Sigai said of those he has hired. They reportedly earn the equivalent of between \$27 and \$46 per month in a relatively prosperous area where average annual income is reportedly around \$105.

Big differences in wealth are appearing in this and many other rural areas, from the rich such as Li Sigai to impoverished peasants.

The regime is currently courting the support of the rural rich, including by trumpeting slogans such as, "To get rich is glorious."

At the recent party congress and in the Chinese media, several businessmen were portrayed as virtual national heroes.

They included the operator of a chain of grocery stores employing about 1,000 workers and a chicken farmer employing 90.

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GEORGIA

Atlanta

AIDS and the Struggle for Gay Rights. Speakers: Maury Weil, member of board of directors, ACLU of Georgia; Melina Friedman, president, Emory Gay/Lesbian Organization; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2.50. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Reds and Ten Days That Shook the World. Video showing of two films. Sat., Nov. 21.

Rallies to promote 'Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution'

Celebrate the publication of this book of writings by Ernesto Che Guevara.

LONDON

Speakers: Oscar Fernández Mel, Cuba's ambassador to Britain; Tony Benn, Labour Party member of Parliament; Bernie Grant, Labour MP; Solly Smith, chief representative in Britain of the African National Congress of South Africa; Betty Heathfield, Women Against Pit Closures; David Deutschmann, editor of the Guevara book for Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia. Wed., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Donation: £1. Sponsors: Pathfinder and the Britain-Cuba Resource Centre. For more information call (01) 261-1354.

MONTREAL

Speakers: David Deutschmann, editor of book; Abdullah Abdullah, Palestine Information Office; Rolando Gutiérrez, representative in Canada of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front; representative of African National Congress of South Africa. Thurs., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4274 Papineau, 2nd floor. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

TORONTO

Speakers: David Deutschmann, editor of book; Dan Heap, New Democratic Party member of Parliament; Pastor Valle-Garay, consul-general of Nicaragua in Toronto; representative of the African National Congress of South Africa. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. St. Christopher House, 761 Queen St. W. For more information call (416) 766-2730.

NEW YORK CITY

Speakers: David Deutschmann, editor of book; Gus Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, Calif., and co-chair of U.S. Peace Council; Roger Green, N.Y. state assemblyman and chair of the N.Y. State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus; Sun., Dec. 6, 3 p.m. Mabel Dean Bacon High School Annex, 240 2nd Ave. (near 15th St.), Manhattan. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or 741-0690.

Dinner, 6 p.m.; films, 7:30 p.m. Donations: dinner, \$3; films, \$2. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

An Evening With Arnaldo Guillén. Hear and meet one of Nicaragua's leading artists. Founder of the National Union of Plastic Artists of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers. Slideshow and reception. Aljira Center for Contemporary Art. Sun., Nov. 22, 4-6 p.m. N 7th and Orange streets. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call 643-3341 or (201) 482-1331.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Pathfinder Mural Celebration. Speakers: Arnaldo Guillén, Nicaraguan artist and leader of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers; Steve Clark, director, Pathfinder; Victor Mashabeta, Youth Section of the African National Congress of South Africa; and the Sechaba Singers, ANC cultural group. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Mural Project. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cleveland

Coup in Burkina Faso: A Revolution Betrayed. Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

TEXAS

Houston

Socialist Educational Series: What Is Socialism? "The Cuban Revolution: 1959 to the Present." Sat., Nov. 21, 3 p.m. "The Current Stage of the Cuban Revolution." Sun., Nov. 22, 11 a.m. Translation to Spanish. 4806 Alameda. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf. Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

Socialist Publications Fund rallies

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Speaker: Sam Manuel, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21. Open house, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum, Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Francisco

Speaker: Sam Manuel, *Militant* staff writer, recently returned from Burkina Faso. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Speaker: Margaret Jayko, coeditor of *Militant* newspaper. Sat., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Speakers: Rena Cacoullos, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance; Linda Jenness, Midwest representative of Pathfinder; Hugh Wilson, CAUSE member at University of Chicago; Karen Smith, Indianapolis YSA. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. Reception to follow. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Speakers: Wendy Lyons, Pathfinder delegate to recent Caribbean workers' trade union conference in Trinidad and Tobago; Otis McGowan, a unionist and board member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Cedar Rapids; Frederick Adams, Drake University professor. Sun., Nov. 22. Dinner, 4 p.m.; rally, 5 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: dinner, \$4; rally, \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Rally to Celebrate Publication of Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: Billy Carmano, Veterans for Life, artist who will be painting Pathfinder mural; Tommy, representative of South West Africa People's Organisation; Chris Nissen, Black activist, coordinator of Market Place forum; Luis Seron,

Chicano studies professor, University of Minnesota; Ramona Olson, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6409. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder bookstores of Austin and St. Paul, Minn. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

A rally to inform the public of the efforts to publish, promote, and distribute Pathfinder publications. Speakers: Norton Sandler, staff writer for *Militant* newspaper; Karen Koperud, member United Transportation Union Local 800. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Reception and program to celebrate the publication of writings of Ernesto Che Guevara. Speaker: Francisco Picado, Young Socialist Alliance, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sun., Nov. 22, 4-7 p.m. 2219 E Market. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Two Classes on Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Sat., Nov. 21, 4 p.m. and Sun., Nov. 22, 11 a.m. Donation requested. 2219 E Market.

TEXAS

Houston

Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party and former editor of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Party to follow. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Celebrate the Publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Akili Jabari, United Black Community Council, participant in recent Venceremos Brigade to Cuba; Pat Grogan, National Committee Socialist Workers Party; Melissa Heinz, activist with Central America Solidarity Coalition. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

'Apartheid is an affront to all humanity'

Continued from Page 9

the fact that apartheid deeply affects the lives and struggles of all of us, everywhere in the world. The struggle against apartheid in South Africa stands at the center of the struggle in our time for a world free of exploitation, oppression, racism, and war.

I want to close my testimony here by saluting the South African people and the people of Namibia, who are courageously carrying out a battle against this outlaw regime and its white supremacist policies. I salute the African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organisation, which have lost many tens of thousands of

fighters as they struggle in the vanguard of their peoples.

I salute Govan Mbeki, past president of the African National Congress, who just last week won his release from nearly a quarter century in the prisons of the apartheid regime. His release gives us all new confidence to step up our united international effort to win the freedom of Nelson Mandela and all the other South African political prisoners, and to demand that they be guaranteed full political rights to express their views and fight for their just cause inside South Africa.

I want to thank this Special Committee

of the United Nations General Assembly for inviting me here today to present this testimony on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party. We are grateful for this opportunity.

It is well known that the destruction of slavery in the great U.S. Civil War opened an entire new stage in the international struggle for emancipation — from the streets of Paris and Berlin, to the sugar plantations of Cuba, to the vast estates of tsarist Russia. There can be no doubt that another enormous impulse to humanity's long march to freedom will be given when the apartheid system is brought crashing down by the people of South Africa.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o

Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip: 16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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.

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.

Their constitutional right — MIT officials said 25 homeless people who pitched tents on an idle piece of university land would



Harry Ring

have to get out. "If life today is such that they want to go back on the streets, they're free to do that," a spokesperson said.

Not to hurry — The Environmental Protection (?) Agency is planning "flexible" new deadlines that would give major cities three to 25 years to comply with federal standards for ozone and other forms of air pollution. Announcement was made, appropriately, at a meeting of the American Petroleum Institute.

Temper, temper — "Washington, D.C., is a city lying in the gutter, wallowing in hypocrisy. It has become a bizarre sinkhole of character assassination and smirking self-righteousness. It will eagerly cast not only the first stone but any other rocks it can lay its

hands on." — the *Wall Street Journal* on Bork/Ginsburg.

And we thought he was pushing popecorn — It escaped us at the time, but the purpose of the Pope's \$32-million U.S. tour was to focus attention on the plight of the blessed poor.

Role models no help — Guardians of morality in Columbus, Ohio, were troubled when scads of bills fell from an armored truck and passing motorists scooped them up. Equally distressing, in radio call-ins, a big majority declared they would do likewise. And that's despite everything the

rulers of this country do to set the right example.

Decorating tip — If your apartment is shy on seating space, a New York cabinet shop will provide a custom-made wooden radiator cover. Prices start at \$350. If you don't relate to that, try assigning the radiator to better-padded guests.

Bless his pointy head — A judge in Hamburg, Germany, ruled that two scrapyard workers should not take offense at the boss calling them "idiots" and "blockheads." It was, he explained, merely "a method of releasing inner tension"

and not intended as an insult.

The march of science — A patent has been issued for a computerized system of "importing expressivity" to a musical score. The inventor says it can make the "Star-Spangled Banner" sound like Mozart.

Thought for the week — "There are no legal requirements in U.S. law that monitoring be fair, that jobs be well designed, or that employees be consulted about work standards." — From a congressional report on the growing use of computers to monitor workers.

Icelandic socialist Svava Gudmundsdóttir dies



Álfheidur Ingadóttir
Svava Gudmundsdóttir

BY GRÉTAR KRISTJÁNSSON AND SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — Svava Gudmundsdóttir, a member of the Militant Socialist Organization in Iceland, died on October 20 of a cerebral hemorrhage at the age of 32.

An active socialist since the mid-1970s, Svava was also a leading activist in the women's liberation movement. She was part of a group called the Red Stockings Movement. Apart from helping organize the movement, she wrote numerous articles and played an important role in formulating its position on several questions.

Among the questions debated in the 1970s were equal rights for women workers. Svava explained the necessity that men and women stand together against the exploiting class, and put forward the perspective that men and women should be organized in the same unions. In Iceland unskilled men and women in the more populated areas of the country are organized separately.

On many occasions she also discussed and explained women's right to decide

over their reproductive functions.

In the early 1980s, a majority of the leadership of the Red Stockings Movement adapted to liberal parliamentary activities. The existence of a particular "women's culture" and "women's wealth of experience," was introduced as a cover for this approach. Men were said to be the main obstacle to women winning important positions in society.

A small part of the leadership of the movement, among them Svava, opposed this course. Svava argued that the oppression of women and the road to overcoming that condition is part of the overall struggle of the working class.

As a member of the Militant Socialist Organization, Svava played an important role in the struggle to build a communist party in Iceland. She set an example to other comrades through her loyalty and endurance. She displayed a great capacity

to approach issues in an objective manner and view them according to an historical principle that takes as its point of departure the interests of the working masses and the oppressed peoples of the world.

As an internationalist, she studied closely the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua. At the time of her death, she was participating in a project of translating and publishing writings and speeches by leaders of the revolution in Nicaragua.

The Militant Socialist Organization has decided to honor the memory of Svava Gudmundsdóttir by publishing in Icelandic an edition of *Women's Liberation and Socialism*, a resolution adopted by the 1979 world congress of the Fourth International.

Members of the Socialist Party in Sweden who knew Svava during her stay there in 1978 to 1981 have initiated a fund in order to support that effort.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Nov. 25, 1977

It was hardly surprising that thousands of angry protesters greeted Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi upon his arrival in Washington, D.C., November 15. The shah's regime is one of the most repressive in the world.

Iranian exile groups estimate the shah holds between 25,000 and 100,000 political prisoners in his jails.

A report released last year by the International Commission of Jurists concluded that "there can be no doubt that torture has been systematically practiced over a number of years."

For the Iranian people, the shah's rule is a national tragedy, a reign of terror stifling every democratic right, a nightmare of oppression and torture.

President James Carter gave a ringing endorsement to the regime of the royal butcher. A White House statement said that Carter "gave his personal commitment" to strengthen ties with the Iranian government. At his dinner to honor the shah, Carter hailed Washington's military relationship with the shah and spoke of the "beneficent" impact of this alliance.

As for human rights, "it did not come up in this discussion."



(The Nov. 26, 1962, Militant reprinted Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's November 15 letter to UN Secretary General U Thant. The following are excerpts.)

I should like to refer . . . to the following matter: we have given you — and we have also given it publicly and repeatedly — our refusal to allow unilateral inspection by any body, national or international, on Cuban territory. In doing so we have exercised the inalienable right of every sovereign nation to settle all problems within its own territory in accordance with the will of its government and its people.

Ala. garment workers' victory

BY JOAN LEVITT

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Women garment workers at the Arrow Shirt factory in Jasper, Alabama, won an important victory in mid-October after a show of solidarity forced the company to rehire an unjustly fired worker. The women are members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Faye Burgett was fired after returning to work from a six-day leave of absence — which the company had granted — to care for her ill son. Burgett has worked at Arrow for 14 years.

A day later, Burgett and her family set up a picket line at the plant gate, with signs protesting her termination. When workers arrived at 7:00 a.m. for the day shift and saw what had happened, only a handful went into the plant. Throughout the day, several hundred workers remained outside at the gate in a show of support for Burgett, and virtually no one went into the plant on the later shifts.

Arrow responded by issuing a series of ultimatums designed to get the workers

back to work, including a threat to shut the plant down. No one budged. "We figured if they were going to shut down, they'd do it anyway," said one worker. "So we might as well stay out and do what was right."

The next morning Arrow gave Burgett her job back, calling the firing a "misunderstanding."

Discussing the impact of this victory, one worker said, "The leave of absence policy is very unclear, and other women have been fired, like Faye. But finally somebody had the backbone to do something about it."

Another noted, "A lot of Arrow workers are single mothers, divorced, and raising families alone. When the company threatened to suspend everyone, to shut the plant doors on us, you knew it meant a great loss for a lot of women — the bread in their mouths. But I guess they figured they could be next."

"The company called this a wildcat strike," another worker said, "but we called it honoring a picket line. And right or wrong, you just don't cross a picket line."

Scott paperworkers settle strike

BY HENRY HILLENBRAND

CHESTER, Pa. — United Paperworkers International Union members voted to end their three-and-a-half-week-old strike against Scott Paper Co. on November 5. This decision followed company threats to begin hiring scabs unless the union accepted its latest contract proposal.

In mid-October the 1,300 UPIU members had voted overwhelmingly to strike for the first time in the union's 20-year history at the paper mill here. The central issue was Scott's demand that the union accept a "work effectiveness program" as part of the new contract. This plan would require production workers to do jobs outside their classification, and is similar to productivity schemes being pushed by other paper companies. The company refused to negotiate on this issue.

The union did force the company to remove the following phrase from the final contract: "We would work in true spirit of harmony and cooperation." UPIU Local 448 Vice-president Joe Saunders said this deletion was important because it meant that the union members did not have to cooperate with the company in implementing its plan. "I will never be satisfied with work effectiveness, but the company has made it clear that it will not go away. . . . It is not negotiable," he said.

In addition to the work-effectiveness clause, the new contract includes a 25 cent per hour raise in the first year, a 2 percent raise in each of the following two years, a \$750 ratification bonus, and an agreement by Scott to pay all health insurance costs.

The new contract proposal was passed by a vote of 968 to 200.

U.S. revives anti-Cuba slander

The push is on again by the U.S. government, in the person of UN Ambassador Vernon Walters and 98 congresspeople, to get the United Nations to condemn Cuba for alleged human rights abuses.

The previous attempt, earlier this year, ended in failure when Washington couldn't even convince the UN Human Rights Commission to consider the slanderous anti-Cuba resolution authored by U.S. officials.

Walters announced the UN initiative at a November 9 news conference in Washington, D.C. The press event marked the introduction of a joint House-Senate resolution condemning Cuba for alleged "systematic and flagrant abuses of basic human rights and freedoms."

The resolution also condemns the UN Human Rights Commission for acting "selectively and inconsistently in addressing violations of basic human rights in various countries."

(The hypocrisy of this statement is monumental coming from a government whose best friends in the world read like a "who's who" of hangmen, torturers, and dictators — from Gen. Augusto Pinochet in Chile to President Pieter Botha of South Africa to Col. Enrique Bermudez and the other leaders of the Nicaraguan contras.)

During the previous campaign to get its hate-Cuba resolution passed, no strong-arm tactic was left unused. "So intense was the pressure," reported the March 24, 1987, *New York Times*, "that delegates from the developing world complained that the United States had threatened to halt deliveries of aid, such as wheat shipments ... if they did not go along."

Washington appears intent on repeating that effort. The congressional resolution specifically warns the governments of Argentina, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Spain, and Venezuela that they better vote with the U.S. delegation at next year's commission meeting, which will take place February 2-March 15.

Faithfully representing U.S. imperialism on the Human Rights Commission this time will be Armando Valladares, a counterrevolutionary Cuban exile who had been jailed in Cuba for his role in a terrorist bomb plot. Released in 1982, he is one of the people Washington fraudulently claims was imprisoned for expressing dissident political views.

"I think we're going to win" this time, said Walters. The congressional bill "will demonstrate that on this there is total unanimity."

If Washington is successful, it won't be because it's telling the truth about life in socialist Cuba.

Human rights are one of Havana's strong suits since the 1959 popular revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and put workers and farmers in the saddle.

In an interview earlier this year, Cuban President Fidel Castro was asked about human rights in Cuba.

"No revolutionary process has been as humane as Cuba's," he said. Since the revolution "there has not been one single case of torture, assassination, or political disappearance. Since 1959, no demonstration has been repressed by the police, in contrast to such daily violence we see in the United States, Western Europe, and South Africa. Why not here? Because the people support the revolution," Castro explained.

Washington's defeat on this issue last March was one more proof that the U.S. government, not revolutionary Cuba, is increasingly isolated in the world.

All U.S. defenders of human rights have two responsibilities with regard to the battle that will be unfolding at the United Nations: to get out the truth about the Cuban revolution to the broadest audience possible; and to expose the U.S. government for what it is: the biggest violator of human rights in the world.

Unemployed need benefits, jobs

What do a young person just out of high school who's trying to get their first job, a housewife who's looking for work after several years at home, and a worker heading into their seventh month on strike have in common?

None of them are eligible for unemployment benefits. In fact, nearly 75 percent of unemployed workers are currently without unemployment benefits — 5.1 million out of the 6.8 million jobless, according to a study made by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. This is the highest percentage without benefits ever recorded since statistics on this began to be kept in 1955.

Even this appalling figure exaggerates the percentage of workers receiving benefits, however, because millions of unemployed workers are simply left out of the calculations altogether. The 6 million "discouraged" workers who have given up hope of getting a job are not even counted among the unemployed. Neither are the millions of workers who have had to settle for part-time jobs, nor the untold numbers of women who want and need to work but haven't found a solution for their child-care needs.

Why are so many workers not getting benefits?

One reason is that in recent years many states have stiffened eligibility requirements to make it harder for workers to qualify for benefits. Other workers have had their benefits cut off after 26 weeks. That's the limit you're allowed to collect, whether you've found a new job or not. No one can qualify for the 13-week extension that used to be available to some workers who live in states with espe-

cially high unemployment rates. No state, it seems, has a high enough jobless rate anymore.

With clouds of a new recession gathering, joblessness may soon jump. A program to protect workers who are currently not getting unemployment benefits, and to cover those who may lose their jobs in the future, is urgently needed. The labor movement should take the lead in fighting to win adequate protection for the jobless.

To start, the 26-week limit should be scrapped. Every worker needs decent unemployment benefits for as long as they're out of work, and no matter why they're out of work.

The next step is a program to provide jobs. One simple way to create millions of jobs overnight would be to end the massive amounts of forced overtime that have become so common in the auto, steel, chemical, paper, and other industries. Additional jobs could be created by further reductions in the workweek without cutting wages.

A public works program to build child-care centers, housing, hospitals, schools, parks, roads and bridges could also provide millions of jobs and solve some of our most pressing social needs at the same time. Such a program should include affirmative action hiring quotas for Black workers, who already suffer worse than depression-level economic conditions as a result of racist discrimination. The money to finance such a program could come from eliminating the huge war budget and other unnecessary government expenses.

Banks, Reagan gang up on Brazil

The U.S. government, together with Wall Street and other banking centers, have struck two big blows against the people of Brazil in recent weeks.

On November 5 the Brazilian government of President José Sarney bowed to intense pressure by agreeing to resume interest payments on the \$100-billion government and commercial debt owed to U.S., West European, and Japanese big banks and financial institutions. This marked the end of the moratorium on interest payments that the government had imposed in February.

President Reagan followed that blow with another one November 13. He announced punitive tariffs against Brazil in retaliation for Brazilian curbs on computer and software products from other countries. The tariffs are expected to hit imports of shoes, civil aircraft, and earth-ware products.

Both moves have one aim: to tighten the stranglehold the imperialist banks and corporations already have on Brazil's economy and slap down efforts to increase Brazil's economic independence.

Under the agreement with the bankers, Brazil will pay \$500 million in the last quarter of 1987, and \$1 billion more by mid-1988 in interest payments on the country's \$68-billion commercial debt. The banks will lend \$1 billion in loans in the last quarter of 1987 and another \$2 bil-

lion in 1988 to help cover additional interest payments.

The new loans, of course, will also require more interest payments — adding to Brazil's ever-mounting debt burden and making Brazil more and more dependent on the debt pushers for new loans.

The Brazilian government will come under strong pressure to adopt more savage austerity measures against workers and peasants to create a "climate of confidence" for imperialist investors and loan sharks.

The targets of the trade sanctions were attempts by the Brazilian government to provide some protection in the domestic market for industries facing intensifying competition from imperialist firms. U.S. officials have charged that such actions place a "burden on U.S. commerce" in its efforts to squeeze out Brazilian competition.

Putting the squeeze on Brazil has been highly profitable for U.S. and other imperialist big business.

As of last February, they had pulled \$44 billion out of Brazil since 1982 while putting back only \$11 billion in loans and other investments.

This plunder of Brazil should be halted now. All restrictions on imports from that country should be lifted, and the unpayable debt suffocating Brazil's economy should be canceled now.

How ruling-class divisions can give workers openings

BY DOUG JENNESS

After reading my column last week on Arizona Gov. Evan Mecham and Reagan's rejected Supreme Court nominees, Robert Bork and Douglas Ginsburg, a couple of readers told me some points weren't clear to them.

One wanted to know what I meant by the statement that "the employing class can't launch a wholesale attack on constitutionally protected rights, as part of a broader

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

offensive to drive down wages and working conditions, without also restricting the rights of people from every class, including their own."

"How can the capitalist rulers' democratic rights be threatened?" a reader asked. "And why should we care if they are?"

It's true that the fundamental conflict in our society today is the struggle between the exploited working people, who make up the vast majority, and the exploiting class, which is a tiny minority. Understanding that fact is a necessary precondition for being able to begin to think clearly about politics and to effectively defend and advance the interests of working people. But this understanding alone is not sufficient. Politics is more complicated than that.

For example, there are also conflicts and crises within the ruling class (and within the working class and middle classes too, but that's a topic for another column) that are important for politically minded workers to follow and understand.

Today the rulers face a mounting crisis of their economic system as shown by the recent stock market plunge. For a few days after Black Monday, the most common refrain in the big-business press was, "we need a strong leader, someone who can take charge and help get us out of this mess."

That immediate sense of urgency soon subsided. But it revealed something very real about politics in this country — the current constitutional framework of the capitalist democratic government is increasingly out of harmony with the ruling class' needs. It is becoming a hindrance to their moving quickly and decisively to try to resolve problems they face, both at home and abroad.

Steps toward totalitarian methods of rule and repressive methods will become even more pressing for the rulers as they have to cope with challenges from working people fighting to protect themselves from the ravages of capitalism's deepening crises.

But while this is the logic of what the employing class will need to do to defend its interests, there is not agreement within this class on the pace and extent it should make moves of this kind.

This was a central issue in the debate over the Bork nomination, where Reagan and his supporters were unambiguously making a move that signaled a more rapid and deep attack on democratic rights. But, as shown by the outcome of that conflict, the big majority in ruling circles don't favor this course now.

It's not possible to roll back democratic gains and unleash a wave of repression that won't also victimize and intimidate the capitalist media and political spokespeople. For example, wide-scale restrictions on the freedom of speech would curb the kind of debates that have been taking place among Democratic and Republican politicians over U.S. policy toward Nicaragua.

President Reagan, in a recent interview (See page 4), reminisced about the good old days of McCarthyism when the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee not only investigated and harassed union leaders, communists, and others in the workers' movement, but victimized other members of Congress as well.

When there is a consensus in a decisive section of the ruling class that it is absolutely necessary for the interests of their class as a whole to centralize power in a strong leader and use rougher methods, they will pay the price in restricting their own room for debate that it will entail. It will be costly for them, and for that reason they don't treat this decision lightly. Moreover, they do not want to unnecessarily or prematurely provoke the working class into a major revolt.

For a big majority in the ruling class to voice support for democratic rights and oppose a wholesale attack on them now makes it harder for them to curb the rights of working people, students, and others fighting for social change. That doesn't mean they don't try; but they run up against the problem that no clear line of demarcation exists in the Constitution between rights for different classes. A broadside repression against workers will also adversely affect the political rights of capitalist parties and middle-class organizations.

Conversely, any authoritarian attacks on capitalist politicians or challenges to the constitutional framework of the U.S. capitalist democracy are a threat to working people and should be opposed. Working-class organizations should take the lead in fighting all restrictions against democratic rights.

Ku Klux Klan

In the small industrial town of Belpre on the Ohio River, I was part of an outpouring of opposition to racism. Twenty hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan showed up briefly here and in the nearby town of Marietta. More than 1,000 of us counterdemonstrators were there to greet them.

The "Celebration of Unity" against the Klan was sponsored by churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Marietta College students.

"It's not right for the Klan to be here," a high school student named Tracy told me as the KKK marched passed us.

In Marietta, some 400 jeered the same 20 racists, who attempted a rally at the court house. But the youthful protestors drowned out the five Klan speakers, who left town without gaining a hearing.

Several blocks away some 500 more protesters gathered at a march and rally on Marietta College campus.

Mike Morris, a steelworker from the area told me that people at the foundry where he works oppose the Klan. "We're all in this together," he said.

Kieth Wiens, a supporter of the Ohio Save the Family Farm Movement, talked with me about how the Klan falsely claimed they were in the area to help farmers. He was there to show that farmers' interests are not served by right-wing hate groups.

Three women coal miners from Pennsylvania were also at the Marietta rally. Many miners from their locals had turned out for a similar protest against the Klan in Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

Sheriff's deputies had been assembled from Washington, Coshocton, and Muskingum counties. They angered many of us because they respectfully escorted the KKK, but threatened several antiracists.

David Salner
Charleston, West Virginia

MOVE trials

Those who believe that the law should be applied with an even hand will not be encouraged by the MOVE trials.

As one of the many who know that MOVE has been wrongly understood and unjustly treated, I shall not keep silent. I am compelled to speak out concerning human rights violations, which include the outright murder of MOVE family members.

I appeal to the people and organizations of Philadelphia to rally together, protest, and petition the governor, your congressmen, and the court and city hall, demanding a new trial for MOVE.

Fazil Ansari Durant
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Liked what I read

I am requesting some information on the newspaper you people put out. I've only read one issue so far. However, I really liked what I read in just that one issue.

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Burkina Faso

I recently won a long fight to get my job on the railroad back when a labor law board ruled I was unjustly fired. In the interim, I have been working at a big store in Washington, D.C., that specializes in newspapers and journals from all over the United States and around the world, including a large selection of African publications.

Washington has a large African community, and many workers, students, and diplomats come in

every day anxious to get the latest news from home. As news of the coup in Burkina Faso came out, I could see that Thomas Sankara and the Burkina example are held in great esteem by Africans. He was viewed as a true, uncorruptable African hero.

More than 50 copies of the *Militant* were sold at the store that week. Thirty copies were also sold at a reception for the Namibian liberation organization, the South West Africa People's Organisation.

Since then, several Africans, including a Nigerian student, a cab driver, and a West African ambassador, have asked me to tell you how much they appreciate the *Militant's* coverage of Burkina and Africa. As Malcolm X said about the *Militant*, if you put the right things in it, it will get around.

Ike Nahem
Washington, D.C.

Marx

In the play *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window*, by Lorraine Hansberry, the following passage mentions Marx's concepts "economic base" and "superstructure."

"Sidney: ... there is turning out to be a surprising amount of validity to [Alton's] notions of base and superstructure. Two banks, a restaurant, and three real estate firms have already canceled ads since we've come out for Wally." (The passage is from act 2, scene 2 of the play.)

I've never read Marx. What would be the relationship of base and superstructure to businesses dropping ads from a newspaper whose politics they don't like?

Jim Asher
Springfield, Oregon

Nuclear weapons

I marched to the main entrance of Cape Canaveral Air Force Station. With helicopters flying overhead taking pictures of the crowd, 1,500 of us shouted our opposition to nuclear weapons.

Cape Canaveral is where weapons systems like the Trident II and the Pershing II are sent for flight testing. We protested on October 24, the 25th anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis, an event that had a big impact on the lives of people in Florida.

Before the march, we heard from several speakers who explained why money spent on these weapons systems could better be used to fund social services. Fred Williams, who spoke for the Florida American Agriculture Movement, talked about the problems facing family farmers. "We need to work together to stop farm foreclosures and to stop these weapons," he said.

Many wore T-shirts opposing the U.S. government's war in Central America. Singer Richie Havens wound up the rally with a song protesting U.S. troops in El Salvador.

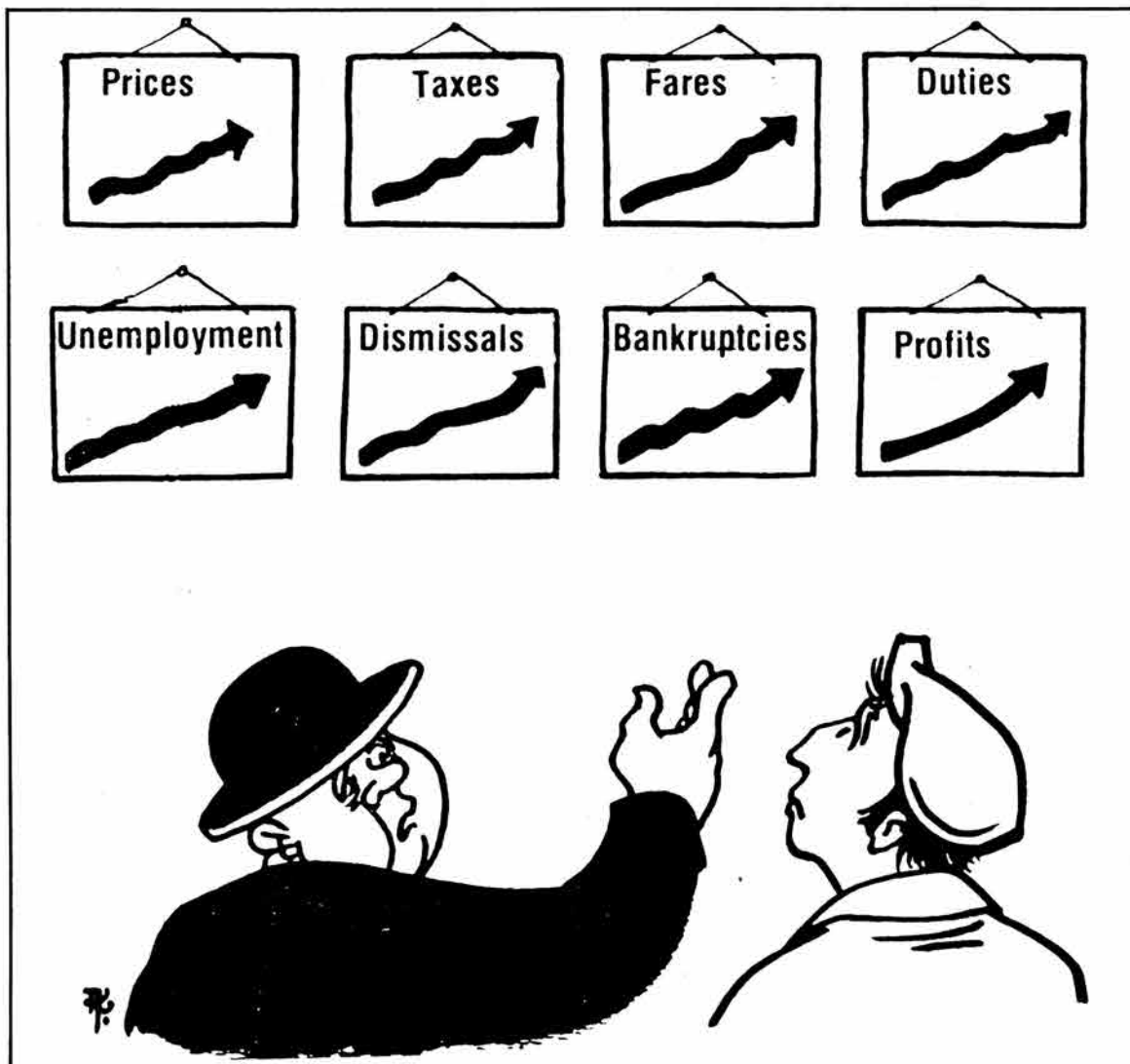
Larry Lukehart
Miami, Florida

'Out of Persian Gulf!'

I participated in a demonstration October 29 to protest U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf. A youthful, spirited picket line of 100 chanted "U.S. hands off Iran!" and "U.S. out of the Persian Gulf!" at the old Federal Building in downtown Minneapolis. The building houses regional recruiting offices of the U.S. Navy.

The protest was sponsored by the Emergency Committee on the Persian Gulf, a group formed last month to organize demonstrations and carry out an educational campaign about the U.S. role there.

Most of the demonstrators were college students from the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis,



"Capitalism can't be all that bad. There's certainly an upward trend!"

St. Cloud State University, and Macalester College in St. Paul. They signed cards to help organize a teach-in in December.

Alan Dale, one of the organizers of the picket, told me, "There is a very dangerous situation in the gulf. Far from playing a peace-keeping role, the U.S. has essentially allied itself with Iraq, which has been responsible for most of the aggressive attacks in the gulf. The Iranian revolution was a big blow to U.S. foreign policy. The U.S. backed the shah of Iran and wants to put into power a government more favorable to the United States."

Argiris Malapanis
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Lindsey Scott

Four years ago a young Black marine named Lindsey Scott was framed up for the rape of a white woman at the Quantico, Virginia, marine base. He was separated from his wife and little girl and sent to the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas — to rot for 30 years.

His father, James Scott, his family and friends, and antiracist and antiwar fighters across the country supported and publicized his case.

This past summer, after numerous delays in the appeals process, the military court of appeals overturned the decision and freed Scott, citing lack of evidence and insufficient counsel. The new commander of Quantico, Gen. Frank Peterson, was given the option of retrying the case or dropping the charges completely.

Scott's family expected the charges to be dropped. Last week, General Peterson announced his decision to retry the case.

I spoke to James Scott over the phone. He said, "This is outrageous. My son spent three and a half years in prison. He was innocent. He never harmed anyone, never harmed his country or his people."

Send letters of support and donations to the Scott family at 840 Riverdale Court, Louisville, Ky. 40218.

Roger Bland
Charleston, West Virginia

AIDS

Recently 300 people turned out for a forum on AIDS in Miami's

Black community.

As in most hardships, Blacks are affected disproportionately. The organizers of the meeting reported that 41 percent of Miami residents with AIDS are Black or Latino. Jackson Hospital, in the Black community, has a rate of 30 percent AIDS patients. Eighty percent of babies with AIDS are Black. Other hospitals refuse to take Jackson's overflow unless some medical insurance is guaranteed.

Although all the candidates for mayor were invited, Ernest Mailhot, the Socialist Workers candidate, was the only one to attend. Mailhot pointed to the government's callous disregard for human lives when it spends money on the contra war against Nicaragua that it should use to help AIDS patients and for research. That got a big round of applause, and then Mailhot was cut off. Afterward, several people came up to him and said they liked what he had to say.

Pat Hunt
Miami, Florida

Kazi Touré

An important political trial is under way in federal court in Boston. Kazi Touré, a 37-year-old Black, is charged with seditious conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government. He is also charged under the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, for "being in agreement" with alleged illegal acts to further an organization's goals.

Touré is a well-known anti-apartheid and community activist. In a previous frame-up he was arrested in North Attleboro, Massachusetts, on Feb. 7, 1982, while sitting in a car at a public rest stop.

Touré was handcuffed and severely beaten. He was subsequently charged with attempted murder of a police officer and possession of firearms. He was found innocent of the first charge, but convicted of the weapons charge and spent five years in jail.

While in custody, two state troopers offered Touré \$200,000 and a change of identity if he would work with them in securing the arrest of Jaan Laaman who was a second person in the car. Laaman is now one of the Ohio 7, also charged with seditious conspiracy as a member of the United Freedom Front. Touré refused the

bribe. There is evidence that during his first trial, the defense team was infiltrated by an FBI informer who disrupted defense efforts and relayed information to the police. Conversations between Touré and his lawyer were bugged.

In January of this year, three weeks before Touré was due to be released from prison on the weapons-charge term, the court ordered him held in "preventive detention" in the seditious conspiracy case. This law allows the court to hold a person without bail while awaiting trial if the government deems the person a "security risk."

Touré's case and the case of the Ohio 7 deserve the attention of all supporters of civil liberties. For more information or to send messages of support write P.O. Box 481, Cambridge, Mass. 02139, or P.O. Box 530, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Mark Emanation
Boston, Massachusetts

Books for prisoners

We would like to remind *Militant* readers that the prison population is now doubling every 10 years and clearly most, if not all, of these men and women are "political" prisoners. Prisons can't be built fast enough to contain them, so "libraries," gyms, etc., are being converted to cells and dorms.

The need for reading material has always been great. Now it is desperate. Two programs with maybe 10 volunteers can't sustain half a million prisoners, and increasing fast.

Please consider starting a small (for example, one prison, or one state) books-for-prisoners program. We are working on a brochure on how to do it based on our many years of experience. We'd be glad to send you one.

Mike Riegle
Redbook Store Prison
Book Program
92 Green St.
Jamaica Plain, Mass. 02130

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.

Striking Wyoming miners block scabs

Judge orders house arrest of 58 after peaceful sit-in

BY JOE SWANSON

SHERIDAN, Wyo. — The battle between striking United Mine Workers of America members and coal bosses Peter Kiewit & Sons and Nerco Coal is escalating here.

Some 240 UMW Local 1972 members have been on strike at the Decker Coal Co. strip mine, which is just across the state line in Montana, since early October. The 44 members of UMW Local 2055 who work at Big Horn Coal Co.'s mine near Sheridan, here in Wyoming, went out a few days later. Kiewit and Nerco own the Decker mine; Big Horn is owned by Kiewit alone.

The strikes have been a real battle from the beginning. The coal bosses, courts, and area cops are trying to break the strike — and if possible, the union — by bringing in scabs, whom they try to bus into the mines under the protection of Baker & Associates, a private security outfit, and various state, county, and local cop agencies.

The miners and their supporters have responded by organizing a series of peaceful sit-down blockades on the roads into the mines to prevent the busloads of scabs from getting through. Since the strike began, dozens of strike supporters have been arrested and jailed; injunctions restricting union activity have been issued by procompany judges; three Local 1972 leaders were jailed pending payment of an enormous bond by the union; fines against union members have been levied; and the union has been violence-baited by the courts and coal bosses.

Strikers sit in

The latest stage in the battle took place November 10 and 11, when 150 UMW members and supporters staged sit-ins on the roads leading to the Decker and Big Horn mines. The sit-ins prevented the scabs, who were under heavy cop and security guard escort, from getting into the mines for a total of more than six hours both days.

Fifty-eight protesters were arrested and hauled off to jail on November 10, after successfully keeping scab buses from get-



UMWA strike supporter is arrested November 10 at peaceful sit-in to block scabs entering Decker mine, near Wyoming-Montana border. Protesters let workers, farmers, ranchers, and school buses use highway, and handed out leaflets explaining issues in strike.

ting into the Decker mine for three hours.

Sheridan County Court Judge Duane Buchholz ordered the 58 to post a \$250 bond apiece, and placed them under house arrest for 30 days, ordering them not to leave their homes for any reason. A miner at the UMW Local 1972 office commented later that day, "This sounds more like what happens in South Africa."

Buchholz, under pressure from the UMW, other unions, and supporters in the area, rescinded the order the next morning. However, he ordered the 58 workers not to leave the state of Wyoming for more than 72 hours without the court's permission.

On November 11, following the Decker demonstration, more than 150 miners from both UMW locals and their supporters prevented scabs and company personnel from

entering the Big Horn mine. After three hours, the Sheridan County sheriff's deputies turned the scabs around and led them into a back road to the mine.

Issues in strike

John Sturtz, president of UMW Local 2055, explained to the *Militant* how the two miners' locals work together. "Both UMW locals have an open line with each other," he said, "where we discuss the tactics needed to win this strike."

Sturtz described Kiewit's drive at the Big Horn mine to cut production and labor costs, while increasing the mine's coal output. "You can only call it corporate greed when Kiewit & Sons sold off almost 2 million tons of coal last year from the Big Horn mine, through the labor of 44 miners." Only three years ago, the mine employed 220 workers.

The coal companies are demanding that union members accept a wage freeze, cuts in medical benefits, and subcontracting of work currently done by union members. The union is asking for a three-year contract to replace the current one-year agreement, preferential hiring for laid-off members at other Kiewit mines, bonuses the first two years of the contract, and a 35-cent-per-hour raise the third year.

The most important issue in the strike, however, is the very existence of the

UMWA at these two mines.

John Roberts, a member of the United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 951 and a conductor on the Burlington Northern Railroad, was one of the supporters of the miners' union at the November 10 sit-down protest. Roberts explained to the *Militant*, "Over 20 labor organizations in the Wyoming and Montana area are supporting the UMW in their fight, through food and financial aid."

"I attend almost all the UMW meetings," he said, "and report to the UTU local leaders and members so we can discuss out how we can best help the miners get a victory."

"The policies of the coal companies are not any different than the BN railroad's is the way I see it," explained Roberts. "If we can help the UMW win, then we in the UTU will be in a stronger position to fight the BN railroad, which is going to happen soon."

Larry Huestis, UMW 1972 strike committeeman, explained to the *Militant* that Wyoming District Judge James Wolfe said at the November 11 court hearing that all he needed was "suspicion, not proof" on the UMW. Wolfe — the judge who jailed the three Local 1972 leaders on November 11 pending payment of a \$41,000 bond — ordered that no meetings could be held by the union until the bond was paid. He further ordered that if there are any meetings of any kind, including on the picket line, a roll call of those attending has to be taken, including any visitors or supporters who are there. The names must then be turned over to the Sheridan County sheriff.

"We would have got Larry Deeds, Cliff Hale, and Whitey Wells [the three Local 1972 leaders who were imprisoned] out of jail in a few hours, but Judge Wolfe said he did not trust the UMW bondsman," explained Steve Feagins, treasurer of Local 1972. "So the judge ordered a financial statement from the UMW to prove we have the \$41,000 in cash." This meant a delay of almost 24 hours before the local mine leaders could be released.

Solidarity action

"We are planning a march and rally in Sheridan on December 5," Larry Deeds, president of Local 1972 explained.

He added, "The Wyoming AFL-CIO has started a food drive for us and plans on getting unions from around the state to come to the December 5 event."

Messages of solidarity and contributions can be sent to both UMW locals: UMW Local 2055, 16 Box Cross Rd., Sheridan, Wyo. 82801, and UMW Local 1972, P.O. Box 66, Sheridan, Wyo. 82801.

Montana rail workers' protest

BY JOE SWANSON

OMAHA, Neb. — Some 900 rail workers in Montana have locked horns with the Burlington Northern Railroad Co. to protest the company's recent sale of 900 miles of rail line. The sale is to the Montana Rail Line, a new "short line" that will remain linked to BN.

The rail workers are protesting the sale as a move to weaken the rail unions, and because of its adverse effect on small businesses and carriers in the area.

The workers went on strike for a few hours on October 31, until a court order halted the action. Shortly afterward, three new General Electric locomotives, valued at \$1 million each, rolled out of the Livingston, Montana, rail yards and traveled 14 miles down the westbound track before derailing and plunging into a canyon where the locomotives were demolished. No rail workers were aboard. Railroad management is blaming United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 685, which represents the workers, for the accident.

In a telephone interview, Gary Blakely, Local 685 chairperson, explained more about the rail workers' struggle. There are 7,500 people in Livingston, he said, "and 1,200 rail jobs have been lost in the last five years due to BN cutbacks" and the relocation of the home terminal to another town.

"In the last 17 years, the BN has treated

the unions, small businesses, and shippers in the area as their enemy," he continued.

Burlington Northern's sale to Montana Rail Line (MRL) went through without the public hearings required by Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) regulations. Pressure by rail workers and others affected by the sale, who "joined together as a group called the Citizens Alliance to Save the South Line," have forced hearings to be held, however, Blakely explained.

The ICC has refused to allow any cross examination of BN or MRL spokespeople during the hearings. The commission, Blakely explained, "functions in and for the interest of the railroad companies and works hand in hand with them in the sale and abandonment of rail lines."

Sales like the one being protested in Livingston, Blakely said, are "nothing more than a union-busting tactic."

The UTU members are also protesting the sale as a violation of the Railway Labor Act, which requires a rail company to negotiate with the unions involved when a merger or sale occurs.

The MRL, Blakely explained, has said that they only need 750 rail workers on the new "short line." And, he added, "they are being very selective. If you have been active in your union, you might not get hired." Other attacks on the union include combining jobs and forcing union members to pay their own health insurance.

Atlanta cops gun down unarmed man

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — Twenty-eight-year-old Ervin "Tony" Smith became the fifth person killed by Atlanta-area cops since September. Smith, a Black, was gunned down November 6 by four city cops. They fired 25 times at Smith. Three bullets hit him, piercing his neck and spinal cord.

According to police, they approached Smith sitting in a parked car on Ollie Street. They began questioning why he was there and demanded he get out of the car. He did, but took off running. Police gave chase. Officer P.J. Reagan claimed Smith fired at him from a wooded area. Other officers converged on the scene. When they cornered Smith, they claim he made a gesture threatening to shoot. At that point the cops fired a large volley of bullets and killed the man.

An eyewitness to the shooting said Smith never had a gun. And the police

have been unable to produce the gun Smith allegedly used, even after a 12-hour search.

Smith's family has contacted the Committee to Stop Senseless Police Killings to seek justice. The committee, headed by City Councilman Hosea Williams, has led a number of actions to protest the police slaying of Eddie Lee Callahan. The most recent were held November 10 and 12.

On September 10 Callahan was gunned down by police officers Michael Long and Ridley Watson. Eyewitnesses explain Callahan was lying face down on the ground and handcuffed behind his back when Long pumped six bullets — five in the back — into the Black man.

Long has been charged with involuntary manslaughter. If found guilty, Long's maximum penalty could be one year in jail or a \$1,000 fine. Long's trial began November 16.