

## Unionists, farmers back fight against Hormel

BY JIM ALTENBERG  
AND ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — Four thousand unionists, farmers and their families, and students from all over the country gathered here February 15 to protest attempts to bust United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. The UFCW local has been on strike six months against the Hormel meat-packing company in this southern Minnesota town.

Hundreds of steelworkers, auto workers, teachers, truck drivers, refinery workers longshoremen, public employees, and hospital workers marched carrying signs identifying their unions. Farm activists from the Midwest also participated, as well as a number of high school and college students.

At the rally site, a large banner that read "Guard out of Austin" was brought onto the stage. The National Guard, called out by the Minnesota governor on January 21, remains in Austin herding scabs for Hormel. Although there are several hundred scabs in the struck plant, production remains minimal.

In the week leading up to the march and rally, the courts and big-business media launched new attacks on the local.

On February 14 the right to picket was further limited when Judge Bruce Stone, in an amendment to an earlier injunction, limited access to the area around the plant to six strikers or supporters at any one time.

The judge ordered union officials and the union's consultant, Ray Rogers, to sign letters of agreement with the injunction or face jail terms.

Newspapers across the country published articles and editorials declaring that the strike was over and the union was busted.



Four thousand unionists, farmers, and students marched in Austin, Minnesota, February 15 in national solidarity action with striking Hormel workers there.

The press, however, failed in its attempt to undercut solidarity for P-9, and thousands came for the rally. This reflects the view among a growing number of working people that P-9's strike is an important battle for them. It demonstrates the inspiration working people are drawing from P-9's determined fight to win a decent contract.

A measure of this solidarity was the presence at the rally of many workers who themselves are currently fighting for a decent contract. They included those on strike against the *Chicago Tribune*, strik-

ing paperworkers from Ohio, and workers on strike against Libby in Kansas City.

A spirited parade proceeded from the local's union hall to Austin High School, where an indoor rally was held. The use of the high school for the rally was a victory in itself since Hormel had pressured school officials not to allow the union access to the building.

After Austin Mayor Tom Kough, a Hormel striker, welcomed everyone, Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9, spoke. He

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## Caribbean conference calls for international actions

BY MAC WARREN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Anti-Imperialist Organization of Central America and the Caribbean, meeting here February 8-9, called for international protests on April 28 against imperialist military intervention in their region.

The gathering also called for a February 27 international day of protest against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and backed plans for protests against U.S. President Ronald Reagan's trip to Grenada February 20 to inaugurate the new airport there.

Thirty organizations from 18 countries were represented at the meeting. They came from Barbados, Cuba, Curaçao, Dominica, El Salvador, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Surinam, Trinidad and Tobago, and Nicaragua.

This was the second consultative meeting of the Anti-Imperialist Organization. The group was founded in June 1984 in the aftermath of the overthrow of the Grenada revolution and the U.S. invasion and occupation of that island. Caribbean and Central American organizations came together in Havana in response to that invasion and the imperialist militarization of the entire region.

Delegates to the Havana meeting recognized the challenge of uniting groups from these various nations, with many different

languages and cultural traditions, which have been historically divided by the imperialist powers.

Between the first meeting and the second one here, the Anti-Imperialist Organization has attempted to establish an effective, regionwide mode of communication and collaboration on political campaigns and activities. The second meeting regis-

tered some advances in this process.

Invited to the gathering were delegates from organizations in Central America and the Caribbean who agree with the group's purpose. The meeting was not open to the press, but a news conference was held to announce the results of the meeting and present a declaration adopted unanimously

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## Latin American parties show support for Nicaragua

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "You have expressed your conviction that much of the fate of Latin America is at stake in the fight now being waged by the Nicaraguan people," Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce told 170 delegates who came from 115 political parties in Latin America and the Caribbean. "You have affirmed that this small country of Nicaragua can count on the support of the peoples of the world and in particular of all Latin Americans."

Arce was addressing the Conference of Political Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean on Peace and Nonintervention in Central America. It was held here February 10-12. The Sandinista government sponsored the meeting to promote broader discussion and stimulate greater solidarity

in the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America.

At the opening session, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told the delegates that "the will and the fighting determination of the people" had changed Latin America in the last decade. It is no longer the same as the 1960s, Ortega said, when the United States could isolate revolutionary Cuba, back Anastasio Somoza, François Duvalier, and similar dictators, and count on servile support from other Latin American governments.

The conference selected Rubén Berríos, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, to speak on behalf of all the delegates at the opening session. Berríos denounced the U.S. colonial occupation of

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## Phila. action hits racist violence

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — In spite of the bitter cold weather, 4,000 people rallied and demonstrated in downtown Philadelphia against racist violence.

The march was organized by the National Mobilization Against Racism. It was initiated to put a spotlight on the racist nature of the Philadelphia city government and its police force.

About 50 buses carried protesters from Boston, Detroit, New York, Albany, Washington, D.C., and many other cities.

There were car caravans from several college campuses, including Amherst, Cornell, Brown, Oberlin, and in the Philadelphia area from Swarthmore, Temple, and the University of Pennsylvania.

Unions sent buses from many cities as well. One bus from Detroit was sponsored by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 15. It included auto workers and high school students. The Albany, New York, Central Labor Council sponsored a bus.

At the opening rally at JFK Plaza, West Philadelphia NAACP leader Chauncy Campbell told the demonstrators, "We must protest the May 13 MOVE bombing that was heard around the world. We must support the freedom struggle here and wherever people are struggling for their rights."

Jim Bell, president of the New York City Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, said, "Whenever racism rears its ugly head, we must fight and march like we did in the 1960s."

Bell, a leader of the New York anti-apartheid movement, also invited everyone to come to New York on June 14 for a march against South Africa's apartheid regime.

After the opening rally, the march stepped off, stretching over six solid blocks. Demonstrators chanted, "Police and Klan go hand in hand," "Hey, hey, ho, ho, racism has to go," and "Free Mandela, jail Botha."

There were banners from District 65 of the UAW, American Postal Workers Union, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1971, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1210, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and the teachers' union. Many college campuses and high schools had banners.

As the demonstration passed the Philadelphia police headquarters, chants of "Free Ramona Africa, free Wilfredo Santiago" rang out.

Ramona Africa is the only adult survivor of the May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police bombing of the Black organization MOVE. On February 9 she was convicted of criminal conspiracy and riot and faces up to 14 years in prison.

Wilfredo Santiago is a young Puerto Rican who is being framed up on charges of murdering a Philadelphia cop in May 1985. He is being held in jail without bail.

The demonstrators also called on the city officials to enforce the fair housing laws and arrest and prosecute those carrying out racist and anti-Semitic violence.

Last November the homes of two Black families were the center of racist mob violence aimed at forcing them out of an all-white area of southwest Philadelphia. The city's inaction led to one of the families leaving their home. Later the home was burned to the ground by arsonists.

Widespread public outrage forced the FBI to finally take some action January 7 and arrest four young whites for arson.

In December a Jewish community center was burned down in south Philadelphia. The cops have done little to apprehend those responsible.

At the closing rally, Godfrey Sithole of

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# Plant gate sales build support for Minn. strike

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — On February 14, I boarded a plane for Minnesota. I was on my way to a rally the next day in support of

morning in Austin, I met literally dozens of workers from cities across the country who reported that editorials and articles with much the same gloom-and-doom

perience that the big-business media distorts strike coverage in favor of the bosses. Because of their experience, these workers had developed a healthy distrust for the big-business press when it comes to reports on strikes. They were not convinced by these articles that their support was no longer needed for the P-9 strikers.

These workers wanted to read the truth about the strike. So during the February 15 parade, rally, and socializing at the union hall, *Militant* sales were brisk. Socialists sold single issues of the paper and subscriptions.

This experience demonstrates the importance of selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in general, but especially at the plant gates. The on-the-scene coverage

of the strike in Austin, along with reports from Fremont, Nebraska, and Ottumwa, Iowa, where over 500 workers honored P-9's picket lines and were fired, helps to counter the big-business media campaign. The reports on solidarity activities in other parts of the country both give a view of the widespread support the strike has won among working people and set an example of the kind of activities needed by the embattled local.

The important role the *Militant* and *PM* can play in building solidarity with the strike has inspired socialists in many cities to reorganize sales at plant gates that had fallen off. In New York City, for example, socialists have reinstituted regular plant gate sales as part of their strike support work.

In other cities, such as Atlanta and St. Paul, socialists have expanded plant gate sales to include meatpacking houses in their area. The interest in the strike among meatpackers has spurred sales even at plants where socialists have never sold before. Maggie McCraw and Tom Jaax, the *Militant* correspondents in Austin, report that they recently drove to Albert Lea, Minnesota, to sell at the Farmstead meatpacking plant. They sold 35 single issues the first time there.

Interest in P-9's strike is especially high among members of the UFCW, including those members outside the meatpacking industry. Socialists will want to expand plant gate sales to include other workplaces organized by this union.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel here. As I settled in for the flight, I began to read the *New York Times*. There I found an editorial entitled, "A strike that failed." As I read the piece, I was surprised to find that the *New York Times* was talking about Local P-9's strike.

That evening and the next

line of the *New York Times* editorial had appeared in their local papers.

The goal of the big-business media was clearly to undercut solidarity, confuse strike supporters, and demoralize strikers.

Many of the workers at the support rally had been involved in strikes and union battles themselves. They know from this ex-

## Major rights victory in WW II internment case

BY PATTI HIYAMA

A Japanese American has won what legal historians have called "the civil liberties case of the century." On February 10, a federal district judge overturned the conviction 44 years earlier of Gordon Hirabayashi. Hirabayashi had defied U.S. government orders to report to a concentration camp in Idaho during World War II.

The judge overturned Hirabayashi's conviction on charges of failing to register for evacuation to a concentration camp although he refused to reverse Hirabayashi's conviction for violating a curfew requiring

Japanese Americans to stay in their homes from 8:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. every night.

This case, as well as those of two other Japanese Americans who had resisted the military-imposed curfew and/or evacuation, has been compared to the U.S. Supreme Court's pre-Civil War Dred Scott ruling justifying slavery. In both cases, the court uncritically allowed the government to take action based solely on the victims' race.

Hirabayashi refused to be one of the 120,000 people of Japanese descent who were evacuated from the West Coast in the summer of 1942 under the authorization of President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066. They were incarcerated behind barbed wire in 10 concentration camps in the desert or swamps. Many were given only 72 hours to pack and dispose of their property. They could take only what they could carry in two bags per person. Radios, cameras, and anything containing metal (such as belt buckles, earrings, and silverware) were confiscated by the government when they boarded buses and trains.

Two-thirds of the evacuees held illegally without trial were citizens of the United States. Their sole crime was their Japanese ancestry. And for that they paid with one to five years behind barbed wire. The last camp was finally closed in 1946.

The reason the judge overturned Hirabayashi's conviction was governmental misconduct. In Hirabayashi's appeal to the Supreme Court in 1943, the U.S. government failed to disclose evidence favorable to Japanese Americans in the case. So the Supreme Court upheld his conviction on the grounds of "military necessity" after the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese government.

But 20 years later important new evidence was uncovered about the U.S. government withholding, suppressing, and altering evidence indicating that there was no

military necessity to incarcerate Japanese Americans. Military officials had based their decision to intern Japanese Americans on the racist argument that it was impossible to tell loyal from disloyal ones because they all look alike and have never become Americanized. But they told the Supreme Court that the internment was necessary because there was no time to separate the loyal from the disloyal Japanese Americans.

In addition, the government suppressed reports from military and civilian intelligence agencies that concluded there was no military necessity to evacuate and intern the Japanese Americans because no cases of sabotage or espionage had been uncovered.

Racist discrimination against Japanese had been common since they began arriving in the late 19th century. As with the Chinese before them, laws were passed against their becoming citizens, buying land, marrying whites, and entering the United States after 1924. Racist agitation against them reached a crescendo after the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor. Evacuation from the West Coast and internment in concentration camps were logical extensions of legalized racism.

"The decision to overturn Gordon Hirabayashi's conviction for refusal to report to a [concentration] camp knocks out the factual underpinnings of the Supreme Court decision in 1943," Mike Leong, one of the members of the Hirabayashi legal team, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

"That decision created a dangerous precedent, because it upheld the mass incarceration of a people based solely on their race. This overturn virtually nullifies that decision. And with the court no longer validating the internment program, the validity of the whole process of curfew, evacuation, and internment has been put in question."

In a press statement, Gordon Hirabayashi hailed the ruling as "a real victory."

"I feel today that justice has been served. The court has recognized the injustice committed against Japanese Americans during World War II."

In a related development, the U.S. Court of Appeals overruled a district court's dismissal of the class action suit of 125,000 Japanese Americans against the United States. This lawsuit, brought by the National Council for Japanese American Redress, delineates violations of the constitutional and civil rights of Japanese Americans when they were forced into the concentration camps. It seeks monetary compensation for these violations. The U.S. district court had dismissed the suit on the grounds that the statute of limitations had expired. The Court of Appeals ruled that the limitation clock began when the Congressional Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was established by President James Carter in 1980. The case can now proceed to trial.

The appeals court victory in the class action suit, as well as the overturn of Gordon Hirabayashi's Supreme Court conviction, strengthens the fight for reparations, both in the courts and in Congress. A congressional bill, which is expected to come up this year, calls for \$20,000 for each of the 56,000 incarcerated Japanese Americans who are still alive.

## Nevada protest of nuclear tests set

Nuclear testing by the U.S. and British governments will be the target of three days of protest in Yucca Flats, Nevada, beginning May 31. Yucca Flats is the site of a nuclear testing range used by both governments.

The Reagan administration here and the government of Margaret Thatcher in Britain have refused to join the Soviet government in ending nuclear testing.

The Soviet government imposed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing in August and extended it for at least three months January 14.

The U.S. government says it is opposed to banning nuclear testing because it wants to use nuclear tests to develop Star Wars space weaponry and expand its nuclear arsenal in other ways.

On May 31 a legal demonstration in Yucca Flats will be sponsored by American Peace Test and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. A rally against nuclear testing will be held the next day.

American Peace Test plans to carry out nonviolent civil disobedience June 2.

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# Heat mounts on Marcos to get out

BY HARRY RING

With mass opposition to his rule continuing unabated, Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos is under powerful pressure — internal and external — to abdicate.

Capitalist politicians in Washington and Manila see the depth of the popular opposition, which the theft of the recent presidential elections could not conceal. They recognize there will be a big response to the call by Corazon Aquino, Marcos' election-rival, for a 24-hour nationwide shutdown the day after he reinstalls himself, as well as her call for a boycott of selected companies and banks tied to Marcos.

The concern of capitalist politicians was summed up by Sen. Richard Lugar, who headed the team of observers to the elections. He urged Marcos to step aside rather than risk "power in the streets."

The explosive character of the deepening confrontation is fueled by Marcos' determination to hang onto power by any means necessary. He has threatened to escalate the repression and reinstitute martial law.

Lugar's message to Marcos came on the heels of the quick reverse by his chief, President Reagan.

In his initial response to the patent theft of the elections by Marcos, Reagan created an uproar here and in the Philippines with his pious speculation that the fraud and mayhem could have been "on both sides."

Four days later, on February 15, Reagan switched course and conceded that the "widespread fraud and violence" had been "perpetrated largely by the ruling party."

There apparently were divisions within the White House ranks on taking an anti-Marcos stand, with Chief of Staff Donald Regan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and CIA Director William Casey reported opposed.

Nevertheless, the following day, top administration officials said high-level resignations could be expected from the Marcos cabinet and from Philippine financial institutions.

White House spokespeople said this will confront Marcos with the problem of "not only whether he can maintain physical control of the streets," but also whether he will have the necessary personnel to continue governing.

The purpose in leaning on Marcos, it was further explained, was to compel him to work out a power-sharing deal with the Aquino forces, "with Marcos hanging onto power for a while."

## Can companies be struck by Steelworkers

BY PAT GROGAN

The United Steelworkers union called a national strike against the four largest can manufacturers on February 17.

Meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, local union presidents representing Steelworkers in the container industry voted 57 to 38 to strike after rejecting an offer from the National Can Corporation. That offer was to set a pattern for agreements with the other three container manufacturers.

In addition to the National Can Corp., which has 2,200 workers, the other struck companies are: Continental, Inc., which has 6,000 steelworkers; the American Can Co., with 4,500 union members; and the Crown Cork and Seal Co., with 600 union members. The strike affects 75 plants across the country.

The National Can Co. proposal offered \$400 lump-sum year-end bonuses instead of the wage increases demanded by the union.

The Steelworkers union has pressed for a wage boost stressing that the can industry has been profitable. A union spokesperson pointed out that the \$400 bonus would work out to less than 10 cents an hour over the three-year life of the contract.

As in the basic steel industry, the container companies have demanded separate contracts with the union, breaking the industrywide agreements that have prevailed for decades.

The last time the Steelworkers struck the container industry was in 1971. The strike lasted 30 days.



Supporters of anti-Marcos coalition, Bayan, demonstrate in Manila, Philippines.

Apparently it was to this end that Reagan envoy Philip Habib was dispatched to Manila.

Initial indications on Habib's arrival in the Philippines were that the Aquino forces were not eager for such a deal.

Habib met first with Marcos, and afterward a Marcos aide said Habib had assured that Washington was not interested in telling them how to run the country.

But after he met with Aquino, one of her aides said she had given Habib an "earful," telling him she would settle for nothing less than Marcos' ouster.

Meanwhile, the pressure on Marcos mounted.

The Catholic church hierarchy openly came out against his control of the government.

During the elections, church officials were critical of Marcos and indicated sympathy for the Aquino presidential bid. But a February 14 statement by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines went much further.

It charged Marcos with "a criminal use of power to thwart the sovereign will of the people."

The bishops hurled the accusation that the elections had been won by "intimidation, harassment, terrorism, and murder."

The statement declared that a government capable of such crimes "has no moral basis" and called for "active resistance to evil by peaceful means."

Meanwhile, another crack in the ruling edifice was reported. A dispatch from Manila in the February 18 *New York Times* reported that "a group of reform-minded military officers issued an appeal today to soldiers not to use force against 'innocent and freedom-loving Filipinos' in any situa-

tions that might arise after the election."

The dispatch added that the officers supported the contention that Marcos had taken the election by fraud, terror, and murder.

Earlier, on February 14, the paper reported: "A major question mark in the resolution of the growing impasse is the Philippine military, which Mr. Marcos himself has said is seriously divided."

"A group of younger officers was hampered during the election campaign by senior officers in attempts to hold large prayer rallies for clean elections."

All of this reflects the depth of the political ferment that grips the country.

This is also attested to by Aquino's efforts to moderate her postelection course. She wants Marcos out. But like all Filipino capitalist politicians, she does not want to see his ouster lead to social revolution.

Aquino is trying to chart a course that will permit a venting of mass anger while keeping it within "safe" limits.

Prior to Marcos declaring himself the winner (his well-controlled national assembly certified he had won 53.8 percent of the vote), Aquino had militantly declared she would lead a program of massive demonstrations and civil disobedience.

On Sunday, February 16, she addressed a giant rally in a park in Central Manila. The turnout was estimated at up to a million — as big as or bigger than her huge campaign rallies.

But at the rally, Aquino's message was carefully moderated. She even made a point of speaking in a near monotone to avoid arousing the crowd.

"She was deliberately low key," Teodoro Locsin, her speechwriter, said.

"She feared causing a confrontation," he

added.

"This is a step-by-step approach to weaken Marcos, not a single karate blow," said Aquino's chief counsel, Joker Arroyo.

But the momentum of the protests may go beyond Aquino's prescription.

Aquino did call for a major action — a nationwide work stoppage and boycott of classes the day after Marcos' inauguration, reportedly slated for February 26. Such a national shutdown would clearly give fresh impulse to the struggle.

In addition, she called for a boycott of the San Miguel Corporation. Controlled by a Marcos crony, it has a near monopoly on beer and milk. She also urged withdrawal of funds from several banks linked to the Marcos machine.

The day after the boycott call, the price of shares in the San Miguel Corp. plummeted 20 percent, and several banks on the boycott list reported heavy withdrawals.

So far, Marcos seems to remain determined to cling to power. Although it has not succeeded in checking the mass of the Filipino people, he continues the carnage. It is estimated that at least 156 people were killed in campaign-related violence. And the killings have not abated since. A week after the voting, in Quirino Province, the bodies of ten opposition supporters were found, mutilated and decapitated.

In addition to the repression, the Philippine economy continues its slide into ever-deeper crisis. One dramatic expression of this was the decision of the Central Bank of the Philippines to hike interest rates from 21 percent to 30 percent. It was acknowledged this would bring a further reduction in production. In each of the past two years, the gross national product dropped 4 percent.

## N.C. socialists nominate unionist

BY MATT HUNTER

HIGH POINT, N.C. — Rich Stuart took the occasion of a regular meeting of his union local to tell his coworkers that he is running for U.S. Senate this year on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Stuart, 33, is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 319-T and works at Highland Yarn Mills.

Ten Democrats and three Republicans are running for the seat being vacated by Republican Senator John East. Stuart is the only worker to enter the race.

On February 18 and 19, Stuart will officially launch the socialist campaign at news conferences in Greensboro, Raleigh, and Charlotte.

Following are the remarks Stuart made when he informed members of Local 319-T that he was a candidate:

"I want to announce today to my fellow workers and union brothers and sisters that I have been nominated by the Socialist Workers Party in North Carolina to be its candidate for U.S. Senate this year.

"I have accepted this nomination because working people need a voice that will speak out against the attacks against us by the bosses and their government.

"Working people are under fire in Nicaragua where the U.S. government is trying to overthrow a workers' and farmers' government that has provided jobs, education, land, and freedom to workers and farmers for the first time in their lives.

"In South Africa, the U.S. government is backing the racist government that beats and whips Black children and shoots down union members struggling against the apartheid system of virtual slavery.

"Here at home they are pushing down our standard of living to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Right here in our mill the company is cutting our pay, which is already way too low. And workers across the country are threatened with growing economic insecurity.

"Black people still face discrimination in wages, education, housing, and employment.

"Women are paid less than men just because they are women. And right-wing terrorists are bombing abortion clinics while Reagan helps their efforts to take away women's right to choose abortion.

"Family farmers are being driven off the land when growing numbers of people from here in North Carolina and all over the world are suffering from hunger.

"The Democrats and Republicans come together with big business against labor. Just last week we saw a self-styled friend of labor, a Democratic governor, call out the National Guard to try to break the strike by Hormel meatpackers in Minnesota.

"As working people, we need to discuss issues like these among ourselves. As much hell as we're catching, we need to do some serious thinking.

"My campaign will discuss the need for a working people's party, a labor party to organize our side of the tracks.

"A labor party organized by the unions could fight for the rights of workers, farmers, the unemployed, Blacks, and women the way our union fights for our rights here in this mill.

"We need more unions in North Carolina — a labor party could help the fight to unionize the South.

"And a labor party could help our brothers and sisters in South Africa and Nicaragua because we are all fighting the same fight and need unity and solidarity.

"With unity and solidarity in struggle, working people have the potential power to govern this state and this country. We need a workers' and farmers' government."



# Fighting Hormel's union-busting in one-company town

Reporter's notebook from Austin

BY TOM JAAX  
AND MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — The Geo. A. Hormel Co.'s attempt to bust United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local P-9 has deeply divided this small town of 22,000 people.

Your support for UFCW Local P-9 or for Hormel determines where you shop, what restaurants you eat in, what bars you drink at. Some small businesses have handmade "P-9 proud" signs in the window. Others display "We proudly serve Hormel products" plaques.

Austin is basically a one-company town. Hormel is the only big employer here. The national corporate headquarters and the executives who come along with it are here in Austin.

The six-month strike has proven that "when Hormel sneezes, Austin catches a cold."

The local radio station ran what strikers call free ads for Hormel. Day in, day out they told scabs when and where to report to work.

Most strikers have canceled their subscriptions to the *Austin Daily Herald*, because of its unfair reporting.

P-9 members approached various churches and the Salvation Army to help out strikers' families. Most refused.

But when the National Guard invaded Austin January 21 it was a different story. St. Edward's Catholic Church opened its doors and housed the troops in its empty school. The church has been dubbed "Fort Edward's" by the strikers.

The Salvation Army helped feed the Guard. Why? Because last year that organization received a \$47,500 grant from the Hormel Foundation. The foundation holds 46 percent of the stock in the Hormel Company.

It's no wonder striking P-9 members call the town Hormel, Minnesota.

\* \* \*

Generations of families have worked side by side in the Hormel plant here.

The parents and grandparents of today's strikers fought together to form the union in 1933.

Austin is a town of lifelong neighbors and friendships. Today many of these relationships are being shattered.

Close to 500 people have deserted their friends, relatives, and coworkers in the 1,500-member Local P-9. Strikers know that this hurts their fight against Hormel.

## YSA calls on youth to support strike

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — Among the thousands of workers, farmers, and students who participated in the support rally here for United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel were members of the Young Socialist Alliance, a national youth organization.

The *Militant* had the opportunity to talk with Ellen Haywood, national secretary of the YSA, while she was in Austin, about their perspectives for building support for Local P-9's strike.

Haywood explained that YSA members had come from around the country to express their solidarity.

"P-9 strikers and their families are showing how to fight back against the big-business rulers and win," Haywood said. "Working people in Austin are fighting for all of us today. Winning the strike will show how the corporations, banks, and government can be fought and beaten back.

"Young people," she continued, "whether they are workers, farmers, or students, have to make this strike our own. It should be *our* cause. We can help win it.

"The YSA," Haywood said, "will be helping to get out the facts and to mobilize

They also see it as a sellout of the over 500 workers in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, who honored P-9's picket line and were fired by the company.

The strikers feel deep anger and personal betrayal. A woman who has worked for Hormel for over 35 years expressed it this way: "There are people I have worked with for 20 some years. When I found out they had deserted our ranks and gone across our own picket line, it hurt. I'm having an awful time dealing with it."

Strikers and those scabs who used to be in the union see each other every day. Strikers describe the situation as busting up marriages, families, and friendships.

An example of this sense of betrayal the strikers feel toward former union members is a sign on one striker's car. It reads: "The only thing worse than a scab, is a union scab."

Another striker expressed it in a letter to the *Austin Daily Herald*. He wrote, "how can one have 'dignity' when slithering across the picket line? How can one have 'dignity' when cashing a paycheck that was earned by stabbing someone else in the back? How can one have 'dignity' by indirectly saying to the Hormel Co., 'you can treat me any way you so choose, I'll work for you?'"

Despite bitter feelings, the union actively tries to win members back. This campaign includes visits to scabs.

The local published a guideline for visiting strikebreakers. It reads in part, "point out that scabs are socially ostracized forever, and that their families and children will undoubtedly feel the effect of this."

Those who do come out of the plant are warmly welcomed back into the union.

P-9ers say that many of those who crossed the line never supported the union in the first place. Strikers will tell you that these scabs always griped about paying union dues.

While the strikers agree that a scab is a scab, they don't feel the same bitterness toward those who have come in from outside Austin.

It's common to see letters to the editor in the local paper discussing the reasons these scabs went into the plant. One of them explained: "the [National Guard] is not the only governmental assistance for Hormel. . . . The Reagan administration's economic plan [with its] unemployment rate of at least 7 percent, and a minimum wage that has not budged from its pathetic \$3.35 per hour," is just another form of govern-

the kind of national and international solidarity that P-9 needs."

YSA members, Haywood explained, can help make a difference by winning support for P-9 in the unions, on college campuses and in high schools, and in the farm protest movement, as well as in Central America solidarity groups and anti-apartheid organizations.

"We are going to get out P-9 literature, get strikers and their family members invited to speak at meetings, and help organize support committees. Once people hear P-9's side of the story," she said, "we are sure they will send donations or help organize the boycott of Hormel products."

YSA members, Haywood added, would also be stepping up their efforts to distribute the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. In this way, she explained, they will help get out the week-to-week developments in this battle. They will also be stepping up circulation of the *Young Socialist*. This monthly newspaper tells the truth about the strike, as well as presenting ideas for what youth can do to support this important battle.

"We are going to use every resource we have," Haywood pledged, "to win support for P-9."



Militant

Strikers and supporters working in "War Room." This is hub of strike activity at Local P-9's headquarters in Austin, Minnesota.

ment aid for union-busting.

Amazingly, in the midst of this battle the strikers maintain their sense of humor. One example is a sign in the union hall that reads: "Even Herb wouldn't cross a picket line."

\* \* \*

The calling out of the National Guard against Local P-9's strike was a catalyst for a new force — retired Hormel workers — to enter the battle. As soon as the Guard came into Austin, retiree "Barney" Lorimer led a delegation to Gov. Rudy Perpich's office to protest the presence of the troops.

A few days later Lorimer announced at a support meeting the formation of the Coalition of Retired Employees to support P-9. Three hundred retirees have joined up.

In explaining why the group was formed, Lorimer said, "we feel that Hormel is doing an injustice to this community, and we don't plan on sitting idly by and let this happen to this town. If Hormel thinks she's had problems before," he continued, "she's going to have a hell of a lot more now."

The retirees have been in the forefront of keeping the pressure on Perpich to get the Guard out of Austin. They make regular trips to the State Capitol in St. Paul to protest the presence of the Guard. On one such trip they marched into the Capitol rotunda chanting and carrying picket signs demanding the troops be withdrawn.

Retirees are also active in building the Hormel boycott. They have gone to grocery stores in Austin to leaflet and request owners to honor the boycott.

When the Chamber of Commerce here urged people to buy Hormel products the retirees responded with an informational picket line outside their offices.

The retirees have also dug into their pensions and savings to participate in the "Adopt a P-9 Family" campaign.

The retirees have also gone to Fremont, Nebraska, to help get Hormel retirees there into the fight to convince the over 700 workers who have so far crossed P-9's roving picket line to honor it.

\* \* \*

One visit to the union hall can give you a good picture of how this strike is being fought.

Visitors are always welcomed at the

hall, where there is usually a flurry of activity.

Down a corridor you find what is called the "War Room." Almost all strike activity goes through this room. It is the hub of the strike. There are tables to work at, and literature on the strike and boycott is stacked up against one wall.

The library serves as a small press-conference room as well as the "Tool Box." The Tool Box is a support program that helps strikers to deal with financial problems, stress, and emergencies. It offers a referral service.

Other programs organized at the hall include the food shelf where once a week members come for groceries, the kitchen, and the "clothing store."

In the lower level of the hall tables are set up for small groups to talk over a cup of coffee.

If you don't see some union members here it's because they are part of the Communications Committee. These strikers travel around the country winning solidarity by speaking before unions, farm organizations, rallies, and other groups.

The daily 7:00 p.m. "support and strategy" meeting is a key part of the strike. It is here that you can see that the members know this is their hall, their union, their strike, and their leadership.

Strike supporters are always welcomed to attend these meetings, which keep both members and supporters informed and involved.

The meetings often take on the character of a rally, with visitors going up to the podium to bring solidarity messages.

Reports are always given on the different aspects of the strike. Members feel comfortable standing up to inject a comment. Some walk to the podium and give spontaneous reports. Whoever is working on a special project is encouraged to report to the members.

When the roving pickets come back to town after a tour of duty, each picket is given a chance to speak. Most do. They talk about their experiences on the picket line and the conclusion they have drawn from them. They appeal for others to go on these roving pickets to see firsthand the inspiring support the strike is winning from other UFCW members.

After the meetings, people often continue the discussion at one of the pro-P-9 bars in town.

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# Socialist candidate joins solidarity rally

BY JON HILLSON

AUSTIN, Minn. — "Good for you!" "Glad to hear it."

"It's about time."

These were among the typical responses from striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 and other workers as newly announced Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Geoff Mirelowitz talked with solidarity marchers here February 15.

Mirelowitz is running against the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) governor, Rudy Perpich, who sent the National Guard into Austin to herd scabs for Hormel.

Mirelowitz, a member of the International Association of Machinists, was no stranger to a number of P-9 militants. He's been to Austin several times in the last few months to help build support for the embattled Hormel workers.

"I saw the article about you in the [Minneapolis] Star," one striker said as he and Mirelowitz shook hands.

"I'm running to stand up for the P-9 strikers," the socialist candidate explained to the worker. "What happens here affects working people everywhere."

There are nods of agreement on this point. "And I'm running to say working people need our own party, a labor party, a real labor party," Mirelowitz added.

"Well," one young striker said, "it's clear that the DFL doesn't stand for the farmers or labor."

Talking with another young striker, the socialist candidate pointed to his campaign flyer, which headlines support for the P-9 strikers and demands an end to U.S.-backed war in Central America. "It's all part of the same picture," Mirelowitz said. "The rich use their media, their courts, and their cops against workers at home, and then threaten to invade countries like Nicaragua where the workers and farmers have political power."

Mirelowitz talked with a group of tacit miners who are members of the United Steelworkers union in the northern Minnesota Iron Range. They talked as P-9's backers began to fill the street for the march.

"Me and my wife campaigned for Perpich when no one else would. We rang doorbells and knocked on doors for him," the steelworker said. "And now," he said, to the laughter and agreement of a group of buddies, "I wouldn't cross the street to piss on his grave."

Those strike activists who've worked with Mirelowitz liked the idea of a union fighter running for office. Many see it as a sincere gesture of solidarity with their struggle.

Most of the workers at the march have never talked with a socialist before, so there's a lot of polite, friendly listening.

And some curiosity.

One worker, Glenn Howden, though, had a few things to say. He's a proud retired P-9er, a "free retiree," as his blue button says. Prouder still, he said, because he was the "labor representative" in Austin's local peace coalition in 1970. (He was spurred into action then when a 19-year-old he knew was killed in Cambodia.) He was a mover and shaker in the city's first antiwar demonstration at the time.

"This strike," he told Mirelowitz, "isn't over till we say it's over."

"Well, that's what I'm going to say all over Minnesota," Mirelowitz said.

Like most P-9ers, Howden is no supporter of Rudy Perpich today. "But I'm looking forward to hearing more from you," he told the socialist candidate. "Come back any time."



Mirelowitz (left), socialist candidate for Minnesota governor, at strike-support march. Militant/Irene Kilanowski

## Rally supports striking meatpackers

Continued from front page

told the crowd that, contrary to the lies in the media, the strike was not over wages, "and never has been." The local, he said, was "fighting for a safe workplace — the injury rate in the Austin plant is six times higher than in the [meatpacking] industry as a whole."

Hormel is demanding the local sign a contract that would gut the seniority and grievance systems, institute a two-tier wage system, and establish contractual restrictions on workers' democratic rights. Guyette characterized the company's demands as an attempt to push back "30, 40, and 50 years of collective bargaining."

Blasting the new court injunction, Guyette said it "cuts off the First Amendment rights of people."

Despite the obstacles, Guyette told the crowd, "we intend to push ever forward to get that contract and turn this situation around."

"There are no cowards here. We have people who are fighting against oppression, standing up so that farmers can be heard, so that labor can be heard."

In closing he said, "People coming here... gives us the sense that our fight isn't an isolated fight. [It] gives us the strength we need from time to time. You give us the feeling that we are not alone, and we thank you for that."

As Guyette concluded, everyone in the crowd rose to their feet, applauding and chanting, "P-9, P-9, P-9!" This chant, a tribute to the fighting capacity of this local's members, was heard throughout the day's actions.

Henry Nicholas, president of the Hospital and Health Care Employees union, was warmly greeted when he came to the

podium. Nicholas paid tribute to the members of Local P-9, calling them "gallant warriors who have given the rank and file across the country something to celebrate."

While commending the strikers, Nicholas criticized the top officials of the labor movement for not aggressively supporting the strike. He called on the AFL-CIO to give full backing to it.

"We believe," Nicholas said, "that this strike is not only important for your industry, but is important for working people everywhere."

Finally, Nicholas likened the latest injunction against the union to "the kind of justice that they are dishing out in South Africa." The crowd rose to its feet with shouts of "that's right!"

Jan Pierce, national vice-president of the Communications Workers of America, also spoke. The injunction, he said, means "that you can strike but you can't picket. I want to know what they call it?"

"Hormel's law," answered one worker from the audience.

Pierce reported on an important meeting recently held in New York. Sixty people — union officials, students, and community leaders — met to begin to organize strike support in the city. Those at the meeting, Pierce announced, adopted 100 striking families as part of the "Adopt a P-9 Family" financial aid program. He pledged that the group will adopt 100 more families by the end of February. The meeting called a rally to support the strike in New York for March, he added.

The communications workers official called on the labor movement in other cities to follow New York's example and support P-9. Your fight, Pierce told the strikers and supporters, "is our fight. Your

enemy is our enemy. Your victory will be our victory."

Chanting "431, 431," the crowd stood as Dan Varner, chief steward of UFCW Local 431 at Hormel's Ottumwa, Iowa, plant came to the podium. The chants reflect the deep appreciation felt for the more than 500 members of that local who honored P-9's roving picket lines, shutting down the plant. These workers have since been fired by the company.

Varner told the crowd, "These 500 individuals said to themselves, 'we not only have a contractual right to honor those picket lines but we have a moral right to honor those picket lines.'"

"It's not who's right," he continued, "but what's right. And we all know what's right in this issue."

The chants changed from "431, 431" to "22, 22" as the crowd again rose, this time to honor Frank Vipp and some 50 other members of UFCW Local 22 who honored P-9's picket lines at Hormel's Fremont, Nebraska, plant. They were fired for doing so.

While in Ottumwa almost all workers honored the picket lines, in Fremont only 56 out of 800 workers refused to cross the picket lines. To show their pride in their action, these workers wore red-and-white caps that read "I honored P-9's picket line." Vipp told the crowd that "we're having a hell of a battle there." But, he pledged, "with the help of the good people of Austin and the good people of Ottumwa we'll get all them [Fremont] people out."

Hormel and the big-business media have repeatedly said that because of mine closings on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota, laid off members of the Steelworkers would come in droves to Austin to scab on the strike. Two busloads of Iron Range Steelworkers did come to Austin, not to scab but to support the strike. During the rally these Steelworkers stood up as the crowd gave them a rousing applause in appreciation for their support.

Marsha Meckins, president of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers' Local 326 in Detroit blasted the media for characterizing the strike as a losing battle. The media, she explained, was trying to demoralize the strikers. To counter this campaign, she said, all supporters must "go back home and convince everyone that is even remotely touched by the labor movement that your future and mine rest with P-9."

Among the other speakers at the rally were Ron Weisen, president of United Steelworkers Local 1397 near Pittsburgh; Noel Beasley, regional director of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Chicago; and Stanley Fischer, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-760 in Freehold, New Jersey.

Despite the attacks by the company, the government, and the press, the strike is winning broader solidarity among working people across the country. Close to 300 workers at FDL, a Hormel subsidiary in Dubuque, Iowa, refused to cross P-9's roving pickets February 17, bringing production at the plant to a virtual standstill.

In Austin itself the struggle continues to gain support. New forces are becoming involved in the battle. For example, youth have announced plans for a high school walkout in support of P-9 on February 21.

## 'We have a right to not cross picket line'

BY JEFF POWERS

FREMONT, Neb. — This is a small town of some 27,000 people. The one big employer here is the Hormel meatpacking company. A few years ago, Hormel threatened to close this plant down — an action that would have a disastrous impact on the town.

Fear that Hormel would carry out this threat has made the job of the roving pickets of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 a challenge. These strikers from Hormel's Austin, Minnesota, operation — some 350 miles from here — seek to convince the workers from their Fremont sister local to honor the picket line.

The roving pickets have successfully shut down the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa. But so far only 56 out of 800 members of the UFCW local here have honored the picket line.

This correspondent recently had an opportunity to talk with P-9's roving pickets here, as well as several of the Fremont workers who honored the strikers' picket line.

These workers explained some of the obstacles they face in building solidarity with the Austin strike.

The plant, one Fremont worker explained, has "been here for a long time

and many workers have 30 or more years seniority. They are just waiting to retire."

But it's not just older workers, another member of the Fremont local explained. "Even a lot of the younger guys are running scared. If Hormel closes," he explained, "they won't be able to find another decent-paying job. With house and car payments, they would be up a creek."

Nevertheless, these workers said that most of the union members here were reluctant to cross the strikers' picketline. When Local P-9's roving pickets arrived in Fremont, they said, a crowd of 200 to 300 workers gathered in the parking lot. They had several lengthy discussions before deciding to go in to work.

Since the pickets have arrived, these workers said, the company is going to great lengths to keep people inside the plant.

The parking lots have been moved so that workers coming in can't even see P-9's pickets at the front gate.

Since the roving pickets arrived, overtime has not been scheduled in the plant. The management is not scheduling overtime "to try to convince the people the strike is really not hurting them," another worker said.

The local Chamber of Commerce, an organization of businessmen, has joined Hormel's effort to cut across union solidarity.

On January 31 the business group took out a full-page ad in the Fremont paper thanking Hormel employees for continuing to come to work.

To make clear that Hormel management is deadly serious about keeping the Fremont plant open, all 56 workers who have honored the picket line were fired.

Explaining why he did honor the picket line, one worker said, "Hormel moved work from Austin to Fremont. P-9 has a right to picket and we have a right to not cross."

Closing the Fremont plant is an important part of P-9's strategy to win a quick settlement of its strike. "If Fremont goes," one P-9 striker said, "we know that five other smaller plants will go with it. Fremont is the biggest, the others are waiting on what is happening here."

When asked what will happen if the Fremont plant remains open, the striker said, "We are still going to win the strike. It will just take longer."

The strikers are confident of victory. "We have sent pickets to Hormel warehouses all across the country," a P-9 roving picket said. "We know this strike is hurting Hormel more than they will admit. All our pickets report the same thing — the shelves are bare."



# Nicaraguan farmers from war zone talk with gov't leaders on production, defense

BY AARON RUBY

CERRO BLANCO, Nicaragua — "We haven't come to talk at you and tell you what we know. We have come to hear from you about your problems and questions and to answer you."

The statement was made by Reynaldo Laguna, the local representative of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), to a gathering of some 130 peasants here on January 19. It was the first UNAG meeting ever held in the northern war zone of San Juan del Río Coco. The mere fact that the assembly took place registered the progress being made by the Nicaraguan government in turning the tide against the U.S.-government-financed mercenaries of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN).

Since the beginning of their military operations against Nicaragua, the "contras," as they are known, have had a strong presence in Cerro Blanco.

The government delegation to the meeting was composed of representatives of UNAG, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the Ministry of Internal Commerce (MICOIN), and an agricultural technician from the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA). Leaving early in the morning from San Juan del Río Coco, a town located some 60 miles northeast of the city of Estelí, the delegation passed first through Samarkanda, a state-owned coffee farm that had been destroyed by the contras during an attack in May 1984.

Samarkanda is now being defended and rebuilt by some 130 peasants, previously landless or land-poor, who have come from less fertile and productive regions. They will be the beneficiaries of a plan to convert the state farm into cooperatives and some small private holdings.

Setting off on foot, an hour and a half later the delegation reached the mountain farm where the peasants were already gathering for the meeting. As more continued to arrive, the representatives mixed with the crowd, chatting and joking.

## Resolve land shortage

In his opening remarks, Laguna explained the settlement being constructed at Samarkanda. The objective, he said, is to resolve the land-shortage problem for the peasants who are settling there and to aid the surrounding community by establishing social services such as those pro-

vided by the one doctor who is already present. The settlement will also benefit the area economically by repairing roads and improving transportation and provisions.

Then the question and answer part of the meeting began. The first peasant to speak asked the question on everyone's mind: "Are we going to be evacuated as the communities of Ojoche, Varillal, and the others were?"

In 1984 those communities and many others in the north were evacuated by the government due to the dangers posed by the fighting. The goal was to provide them with greater security as well as better living and working conditions. Brought together and resettled under what were at first very rudimentary conditions, the evacuees were provided with education, health services, and equivalent, if not better, lands.

Despite the obvious difficulties and unhappiness of most peasants at having to leave their homes and farms, the success of the resettlement program in the area is best demonstrated by the fact that of the 3,000 persons evacuated from their homes in the zone, fewer than a dozen families have left resettlement communities, most to go live with family members elsewhere. While there are no restrictions on their movements or activities, and they can leave any time they want, most are now fully involved in their new lives.

In response to the question about possible evacuation, Laguna first explained why the earlier evacuations had taken place. "The measures were for your own safety, due to the increasing military conflict in those areas and the danger to the peasants." He then asked those present, "Given that this was the reason the government was forced — at great economic cost — to evacuate those areas, do you think there is a need to evacuate your community?"

After a thoughtful pause, they began to answer "no."

"Neither do we," Laguna replied, as the gathering broke into smiles and vigorous applause.

## More confidence

Then the representative from MICOIN asked if the rural supply store was meeting their basic needs. There were no complaints even after reiterating the question several times. It was a testimony to the special efforts made by the government to as-



Militant  
Resettlement community near San Juan del Río Coco in northern war zone. Unlike tens of thousands of peasants relocated in settlements such as this in Las Segovias Mountains region, farmers of Cerro Blanco will not have to move. Defeats inflicted on U.S.-backed contras operating in area have made this possible.

sure adequate distribution of basic goods in the countryside.

As one peasant put it when asked what he thought about the assembly, the participation, and his expectations, "Well, there's more people here than not. Things are different now than a year ago. We have more confidence in the revolutionary government. Things are more peaceful. What we peasants want is to produce, to help the economy."

Merely participating in the assembly was a risky decision for many of those present, and a year ago such a gathering would have been inconceivable. In this context, UNAG had expected about 50 peasants to come. The 130 present far surpassed even the optimistic predictions.

This historic gathering was the product of the policies and initiatives of the government in the countryside over the last several years. The changes brought about in that period have reversed the economic losses and the military situation in the zone.

Two years ago, in the area surrounding San Juan del Río Coco, the contras had an operative force estimated to vary between 1,000 and 3,000 troops. On May 19, 1984, an FDN force of 1,000-1,500 commandos launched the single-largest attack on any one town in the history of the current aggression. Following a preliminary attack on the hamlet of Quibuto on May 18, the FDN attacked the town of San Juan del Río Coco itself. The town, with 4,000 inhabitants, was initially defended by only 35 militiamen and later reinforced by volunteers and a company of soldiers of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS).

In the ensuing 13-hour battle, 36 Nicaraguans were killed defending the town, and four large state-owned coffee farms were burned (including Samarkanda, the largest in the region). A privately owned

warehouse and coffee-processing plant and the main food-supply warehouse for the town were all burned to the ground.

While they were prevented from taking the town, the FDN had demonstrated an impressive and intimidating presence. They then claimed that the zone was "theirs," and that it was just a matter of time before they would take control of San Juan del Río Coco. Some believed it to be true.

Today the FDN presence in the zone is estimated at under 300 armed combatants who are unable to operate in any but very small units.

## Changed relationship of forces

In 1984-85, the coffee harvest in the zone was at a historic low of about 7 million pounds as contra attacks prevented much of the crop from being picked. This year the harvest is projected to be around 11 million pounds.

Despite the increased U.S. government aid to the contras, the Sandinista People's Army presence in the area has not been increased except for one offensive between November 1984 and January 1985.

The changed relationship of forces in the area is explained by the combined policies and activities of the government directed at strengthening the revolution by deepening support among the peasantry and eliminating conditions that permitted the contras to maintain themselves.

In particular, the resettlement program has freed large numbers of isolated and victimized communities from providing the FDN with recruits, food, and information. The construction of five settlements in Quibuto, Santo Domingo, San Lucas, El Narango, and Guanacastillo has cut the contras off from their former source of hostages.

In addition, an effective amnesty program and propaganda campaign to convince contras with family in the area to turn themselves in has produced significant results. Encouraged by the fact that the Sandinista government has scrupulously lived up to its promise that contras who turn themselves in will be released and allowed to return to their families and farms, 237 contras in the region accepted the amnesty offer during the five-month period between July and December 1985. Nearly double that number returned to the region from camps in Honduras during the same time period.

As part of a general change in agrarian policy, some state-owned farms such as Samarkanda are being turned over to private ownership, organized either as cooperatives or as small individual holdings. The expectation is that these units will be able to produce more efficiently, especially given the economic limitations imposed by the necessity of prioritizing defense.

## More aware of benefits

The initiation of social programs such as health care, education, child care, and cultural activities in the areas where they previously did not exist has made people aware of the benefits offered by the revolution. At the same time, the fact that many schools and health centers have been closed down by contra murder and destruction is a stark reminder to people of what

Continued on Page 12

## South African Women's Charter in 'IP'

In 1954, a conference of women from throughout South Africa met in Johannesburg and adopted the Women's Charter and Aims. Many of the participants were supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), which is leading the South African freedom struggle.

The upcoming, March 10 *Intercontinental Press* carries the full text of the Women's Charter.

This is not just a historical document. Like the Freedom Charter, which was drafted in 1955, it is still looked to by many of today's anti-apartheid activists. According to the ANC, "This Charter remains as relevant today as it was when it was adopted.... The majority of women in South Africa are still oppressed and exploited by the racist apartheid system."

The Women's Charter outlines the conditions women, especially Black women, face in South Africa. It puts forward their demands and stresses that, as women, "we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defense

of the working people."

Also on South Africa, the current, February 24 *IP* features a speech by ANC President Oliver Tambo assessing the gains of the anti-apartheid struggle over the past year and the key tasks facing it during 1986.

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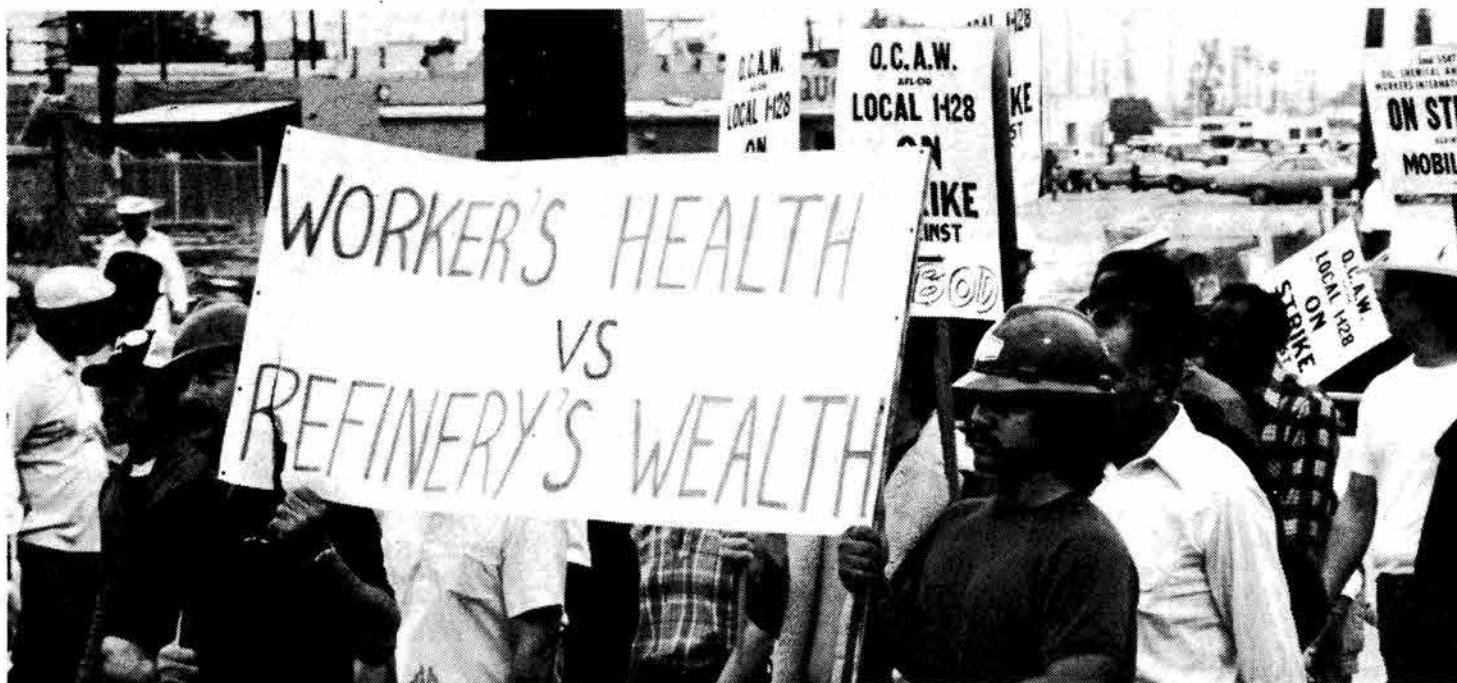
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# New refinery contract blow to safety



Members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128 in 1980 demonstration in support of oil workers' strike.

BY DIANE JACOBS

CARSON, Calif. — Maintenance workers at Atlantic Richfield's Watson refinery here led resistance to a proposed contract last month. Members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-128 ratified the contract 275 to 88, with about half of those eligible voting.

The new contract deals a blow to safety at this refinery where only two months ago five workers died as a result of a massive explosion.

ARCO, like many refiners, offered a \$1,000 bonus the first year and a two percent wage increase the second. While not happy with what amounts to a decline in real wages in the face of inflation and increasing taxes, opponents of the contract centered their fire on management takebacks in working conditions.

ARCO used divide-and-conquer tactics to split maintenance workers from process operators and newer hires from those with

more seniority. The focus of their attack was on the maintenance shops, where they were determined to implement "crossing crafts." In practice, this means requiring highly skilled workers to do jobs other than those for which they were hired and trained: machinists doing rigging and pipefitting, pipefitters doing rigging and welding, riggers pipefitting and welding, etc.

While our last contract permitted painters and carpenters to be used interchangeably and pipefitters to be trained as riggers, it barred anyone from working more than one craft in an eight-hour period. That eight-hour provision was scrapped this time around.

Another defeat was loss of the "prevailing wage" for some categories of contractors. The presence in the refinery of "contractors" — independent companies free to hire nonunion labor — is already a blow to the union. Most of these workers are unor-

ganized and subject to layoff when their job is completed. Previous contracts guaranteed that ARCO would pay these companies the "prevailing wage" (what's generally paid union workers doing the same jobs) per worker even if the workers themselves never saw the full sum. ARCO still saved money as they weren't required to provide benefits. Under the new contract, mechanic helper and some other categories could now be paid as little as minimum wage. This will undermine both our local and the only OCAW-organized contract workers in the refinery, who constitute most of the mechanic helpers. They will have to negotiate their own contract later this year.

ARCO's takebacks from its operators (who monitor the refining process) were less drastic, although a new job-qualification procedure will require many operators to learn more jobs more quickly.

There are about twice as many operators

as maintenance workers, and ARCO was convinced that takebacks focused most heavily on maintenance would guarantee a "yes" vote from operations.

The company also exempted 25 percent of the most senior maintenance workers from crossing crafts and offered slightly improved pensions in the hope of turning older workers against newer hires. This "grandfather clause" and the rumor of another "golden handshake" (a big retirement bonus for those willing to retire early) were clever ploys to win older workers to support the contract.

Unfortunately, ARCO was more successful in this strategy than it had a right to be. Despite some steps on the part of the union leadership to inform the members, many failed to recognize the long-term danger of these takebacks. Many at first believed it would be very difficult to beat back ARCO on this score since many refiners had imposed similar speedup measures in past contracts.

Although there was no general sentiment to strike, those who voted "no" made an attempt to hold the line against management's onslaught. They cast their votes in spite of a statement on the ballot saying, "A 'no' vote constitutes a vote to strike." Many disputed this, arguing that a strike was not the only alternative to ratification, and a "no" vote simply meant that the contract would be sent back to the bargaining table.

Most opponents of the contract voiced concerns about safety. Last December, a terrible explosion at this refinery killed five and injured almost fifty. Now ARCO plans to assign people previously unfamiliar with those crafts to weld, pipefit, and rig. A mistake such as improperly connecting a pipeline, dropping a piece of equipment on live pipe, a faulty weld, or stray sparks from an inexperienced welder's torch could easily cause another explosion and more injury and death.

We don't anticipate adequate training. In a recent meeting with management, one machinist asked, "How will we be trained and what about our foremen? Will they have enough training to answer our questions on the job?"

"You'll get your training in the field," they replied.

This same vagueness is reflected in the contract language. There are no job descriptions for so-called supercrafts and no limits on how the company can decide who will receive what kind of training on what equipment. We got verbal assurance but no written guarantee that those who can't learn new crafts quickly won't be disciplined or fired.

## Supreme Court to hear ballot-rights case

BY DEAN PEOPLES

SEATTLE — On January 13, the U.S. Supreme Court announced that it will hear an appeal from the Washington state Secretary of State's office asking the high court to reinstate parts of the state's election law that were declared unconstitutional.

On July 17, 1985, a victory for democratic rights was won when the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco threw out sections of Washington state election law that had the effect of barring almost all minor parties from the statewide general election ballot. The law had required minor parties to poll at least 1 percent of the vote during major party primary elections, as well as fulfill ballot petitioning requirements.

The unanimous decision of the appeals court in the case helps make it easier for working-class candidates to challenge the two parties of big business — the Democrats and the Republicans. It will make it easier for new parties to gain ballot status in the future, for instance, should a party of labor or a Black party be formed.

The Supreme Court case grew out of a challenge to Washington state election law by the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP appealed a U.S. District Court ruling that excluded the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from the general election ballot in 1983. Lawyers for the SWP have filed a brief to the Supreme Court urging it to uphold the appeals court ruling.

## Massey pushes to operate nonunion

BY DAVID SALNER

CHARLESTON, West Virginia — After a 15-month strike, union miners are returning to work at A.T. Massey-owned coal mines and processing plants. United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) President Richard Trumka called off the strike last December 20 following a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling that Trumka said was a victory for the miners.

The NLRB ruling said that Massey was a single employer. According to UMWA leaders, the ruling meant that since Massey signed the 1984 national Bituminous Coal Operators Association contract at two of its mines, it would have to implement the national contract at all of its struck mines.

On January 2, the UMWA filed a legal suit in federal court seeking to force Massey to abide by the national contract. The results of these legal actions are pending, but one thing is certain: Massey has not given up its drive to operate nonunion.

Massey is attempting to bypass the UMWA by opening unorganized facilities in the heart of UMWA country. For example, Massey's Elk Run complex was opened nonunion in 1981 despite mass union picketing. A federal court recently found UMWA District 31 liable for \$1.2 billion in damages allegedly sustained by Massey during these protests. Complete with guard stations, Elk Run stands out as a nonunion fortress among a string of union

mines along West Virginia's Route 3.

Massey recruited some laid-off miners and bosses from the area to run Elk Run, but most of its employees live outside the area. Many are relatives of state police or federal mine inspectors.

"What you have at Elk Run is a classic," said UMWA Director of Organizing Edward Burke. "Buy up all these officials and their families, and you have built-in loyalties...."

Elk Run is organized according to an unsafe but highly profitable scheme. The miners who operate equipment such as a mining machine, buggy scoop, or roof bolter make \$50,000 a year based on a 10-hour shift. But much of the necessary mining work, including safety tasks, are done by contractors working for \$4-6 per hour. This separate and unequal setup strengthens Massey's hand at the expense of safety and cooperation among the workers.

Massey fuels competition among workers at Elk Run by requiring miners to take their turn as a boss. On a rotating basis, they supervise, report on, and grade each other's attitude and performance for the company.

Massey encourages total subservience by providing special benefits to those who attend antiunion events such as the company support rally held in Charleston during last year's strike.

Select Elk Run employees get paid vacations to Hawaii. Charley Daniels and Louise Mandrell are among the musicians imported for company celebrations. Such fringe benefits are a cheap way to purchase company loyalty and a complacent attitude. But coal mining is an occupation where loyalty to coworkers and a willingness to fight for life-saving changes is what counts.

David Salner is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 8621 in Nitro, West Virginia.

## Chicago city unions get contract

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — For the first time in the history of this city, workers here will have a written contract. Previously, city workers worked under "handshake" agreements between labor leaders and the mayor. Almost all city jobs were part of the patronage system, where workers got their jobs as favors from Democratic Party politicians and were required to work politically for these politicians as an unspoken obligation of employment. Mayor Harold Washington vowed to dismantle the patronage system during his 1983 campaign. For this reason, proponents of the new contract are touting it as a blow to the old patronage system.

This new contract will affect 11,500 workers in some 43 different unions. It contains some major concessions, including a no-strike provision. In most cases the contract will mean pay cuts. Some workers' pay will be frozen. Others will get 3, 4, and 5 percent increases over the three-year period covered by the contract. In both cases, this amounts to a cut in pay given the inflation rate.

One of the biggest concessions is in-

cluded in the way the wages of building trades unions and others will be determined. Instead of the old formula of "prevailing wage," where the workers get the equivalent of union wages in the private sector, wages will now be determined on the basis of the federal Davis-Bacon Act. This law says the average of both union and nonunion workers' wages in a given area will be used to determine the rate of pay for "prevailing wage" workers. City officials argue that this will mean a future cut in pay rates since more and more workers in private industry work without the protection of union contracts and have a lower pay scale. The Washington administration has openly opposed the old "prevailing wage" system based on union wages.

Other concessions imposed by the city are a two-tier pay for Teamster-organized workers and a cut in the sanitation truck crews from four to three.

The contract has been accepted by the leaders of a 43-union bargaining group. It is subject to ratification by each union and the Chicago City Council.



# Hormel strike, U.S. war in Nicaragua: what's at stake for working people

## SWP puts priority on antiwar, P-9 support work

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — The U.S.-organized war against the Nicaraguan revolution and the strike against the Hormel meatpacking company by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 were the focus of attention of the meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee held here February 8-11.

The report on the international and U.S. political situation presented by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes centered on the current stage and significance of these two battles and their links to the class struggle in the rest of the world — from Haiti to the Philippines.

### Nicaragua — center of world revolution

Nicaragua, Barnes explained, is at the center of world politics. The depth of the revolutionary changes there, where a workers' and farmers' government has come to power; the capacities of the Sandinista leadership; and the impact the revolution is having on all of world politics mean that the stakes in the growing confrontation between the Nicaraguan people and U.S. imperialism are enormous.

"This is where our deepest direct responsibility lies" for solidarity work, as Washington continues to escalate the *contra* (counterrevolutionary) war, said Barnes.

Every move the Nicaraguan toilers make, along with every antiwar act by supporters of the revolution internationally, goes onto the scales to affect whether the workers' and farmers' government will be able to continue to move forward or whether it will be pushed back and forced to fight the war within a worsening relationship of forces.

### Starting point: big gains on 3 fronts

The starting point for looking at what's happening in Nicaragua today, the SWP leader explained, is the fact that the workers and peasants have pushed back the counterrevolution and made major gains on three fronts in the past year.

On the military front, the Sandinistas have dealt severe blows to the ability of the *contra* forces to operate in large units inside the country. Most have been driven across the border into neighboring Honduras and Costa Rica, where they continue to carry out attacks against Nicaragua. The success in dealing severe blows to these mercenaries is due in large part to the qualitative improvement in the level of training, organization, and combat experience of the Nicaraguan armed forces. They are also better armed.

On the political and social fronts of the war, Barnes continued, the most important recent development was the expansion of the land reform. All limits have been lifted on what land the government can take over to meet the demands of the hundreds of thousands of small peasants who have little or no land to farm.

Some Sandinista leaders have pointed out that the government had been too slow in its distribution of land to the peasants up till now, thus providing the mercenaries with unnecessary openings to win over some impoverished peasants.

### Importance of land reform

The key to consolidating the Nicaraguan revolution, Barnes said, is the same as it was in the Cuban revolution — meeting the immediate needs of the masses, first and foremost with a thoroughgoing land reform. This is the only way to draw together a firm alliance between the workers and peasants — the alliance that has prevented the Cuban revolution from being turned back and that is being forged today in the heat of the class struggle in Nicaragua.

By expanding the distribution of land, Barnes continued, a broader layer of peasants

and workers have come to feel that this is their revolution, and that it is worth fighting and dying for. It means the Sandinistas can win more mothers and sons over to support for the draft. Moreover, confused peasants who went with the *contras* are now beginning to return to take advantage of the government's amnesty plan.

The expansion of the land reform, Barnes emphasized, lays the basis for drawing more of the toilers in the countryside into direct participation in the revolution and its mass organizations.

But the Sandinistas' ability to do this, Barnes explained, is based on their success in pushing the *contras* back, especially in the north, thus allowing the producers in that region to have teachers, medical care, better housing, and other social advances made possible by the revolution. Deepening the land reform, in turn, puts the military victories on a firmer footing by expanding support for the government.

But none of this is secure yet, Barnes noted. As long as the grinding war continues, gains made can be turned back by successful *contra* offensives.

### Abortion debate

The discussion and debate that have opened up in Nicaragua over whether to legalize abortion, Barnes pointed out, is another front in the war with imperialism, as well as a further example of the revolution drawing in new layers of the oppressed and exploited. Working-class women, as they have increased their participation in production and defense, have bumped up against the obstacle of illegal abortion and are demanding that the laws be changed.

To actually win the right to control their own bodies will entail a showdown with the main counterrevolutionary force inside the country — the Catholic church hierarchy — which is bitterly opposed to women's equality and which understands and fears the significance of the increasing confidence of women in the revolution.

As with the land reform, the outcome of the struggle over abortion rights will be deeply affected by the progress the Sandinistas are able to make in pushing back the *contras* and in alleviating some of the economic pressures caused by the war.

### Atlantic Coast

The third front where the Sandinistas have made gains — and perhaps the most important, Barnes said — is on the Atlantic Coast.

The eastern half of the country is where the Miskito, Rama, and Sumo Indians live and where most of Nicaragua's Black citizens reside. It is less developed than the Pacific Coast and isolated from it. The peoples of the Atlantic Coast were not involved in the 1979 revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. The Sandinista National Liberation Front had very little knowledge about this part of the country and made many mistakes in the course of trying to involve the Coastal peoples in the revolution.

These factors combined to make the area a special target of the *contra* forces. The situation degenerated to the point where the Nicaraguan government had to use administrative methods and take up arms in response to a significant number of Miskitos being drawn into the armed Miskito *contra* groups.

But enormous progress has been made on this front in the past year. The government has agreed to grant regional government autonomy to the Coast. And it has signed a cease-fire with virtually every armed Miskito group. Some Miskito *contras* have returned to their villages in the north.

The Sandinistas, said Barnes, are treating

the Miskito question as a *political* problem and not a military or administrative one. They are fighting to win the masses away from the *contras* and toward the revolution. In doing this very difficult task, the report emphasized, the Sandinistas haven't flinched from even sharing cities or political platforms with *contra* forces.

This involvement of the Coastal peoples — another new section of the oppressed — in the revolution "is a true extension of democracy in Nicaragua," Barnes said.

In response, Washington is doing everything in its power to get the fighting going again on the Atlantic Coast.

### Contras not defeated

"The battle rages and the war of nerves deepens as the imperialists press to find the ways and means to openly fund and press forward the *contra* forces," Barnes continued. He cited as an example Reagan's demand that Congress openly increase its aid to the *contras* by \$100 million.

The main front where U.S. supporters of the revolution can make an impact is answering the imperialists' lies about Nicaragua and mobilizing the broadest forces possible in visible antiwar actions, Barnes said. This is the best way we can help the Nicaraguan workers and peasants buy the time they need to continue to broaden the base of the revolution and deal blows to the *contras*.

### New and negative factor

Unfortunately, just as it's becoming clear that international protests could help tip the scales in favor of Nicaragua's revolutionary government winning the fight to exist, Stalinist, Social Democratic, and liberal forces internationally have backed off from pursuing the antiwar fight. Instead, Barnes explained, they favor reliance on the arms talks between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The upcoming summit will be one of many such meetings that have occurred between U.S. and Soviet officials since the Soviet Union got nuclear weapons. Each time, "an accord was signed and imperialism escalated its war drive," and there's no reason to think that the outcome in this instance will be any different, Barnes said.

"Washington wants you to think that Star Wars, not the war against Nicaragua, is the main problem, while they go ahead and beat on Nicaragua," he added.

The idea that Washington will voluntarily disarm as a result of signing some agreement is a utopian one. It will take a victorious revolutionary struggle that overthrows the capitalist class and replaces it with a workers' and farmers' government to finally disarm the imperialist warmakers.

Concentrating on support for abstract calls for peace and disarmament accords, Barnes said, is a *diversion* from the real question: mobilizing the broad forces necessary to end the war and bring peace to Nicaragua.

It is within the framework of making the struggle against real wars a top priority that opposition to U.S. nuclear testing and demands for reductions in Washington's nuclear arsenal can be most effective.

### Haiti: masses enter politics

The SWP National Committee met just as Washington had rescued "Baby Doc" Duvalier from the wrath of the Haitian people and as the entire world watched the violent fraud called the Philippines elections.

"The battle is on to prevent U.S. military intervention in Haiti" and to wrest breathing space for the working people of that island to begin to take political action in their own interests, Barnes said. The greatest



Militant/Lou Howort

Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, gave a report on U.S. and world political situation to meeting of party's National Committee in New York.

conquest of the struggles of the workers and peasants in Haiti — and what is decisive for humanity — is that the masses of people in that country can now begin to organize themselves to have an impact on their own destiny.

"Real politics begins when large numbers of working people go through sets of experiences, come to conclusions, go through false leaderships, find an effective leadership — thus making it possible for the toilers to take over," the SWP national secretary explained. That is why the conquest and defense of democratic rights is so important to the working class.

The "ability to practice politics is the greatest treasure of the vast majority of humanity," Barnes continued. The intervention of millions of working people in the fight to wrest political power away from the exploiters and to wield it in their own interest is "the one thing that can lead humanity out of disaster."

Turning to the Philippines, Barnes pointed out that whatever the outcome of the elections, the most important thing is that through their massive mobilizations and armed struggle, the Filipino people are wresting some space where they, too, can begin to practice politics.

### Most important labor struggle in decades

The strike by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, Barnes said, is qualitatively different than any strike battle we've seen in this country in decades. What's different is that members of this union have taken over their local and are using this democracy to exercise some real power in their struggle to win against Hormel's takeback demands.

The Austin battle is not a fight over the right to strike, Barnes noted. "It is a fight for the right to organize a strike that can win; a fight for the right of union members to engage in real politics — that's what the war's about in Austin," said Barnes.

It is because the Austin meatpackers are trying to win that they have sent roving pickets to Hormel plants around the country. The fact that they have been successful in getting workers to honor their lines in Ottumwa, Iowa, and a few other places shows what can be accomplished with this kind of use of union power.

### Which side are you on?

"The power of the meatpackers' struggle — the justice of their cause and the capacity of their fighters — has forced everyone on both sides of the class line to take a stand in this strike," Barnes noted.

The governor, National Guard, cops, courts, and the big-business media have ganged up to attempt to isolate, demoralize, and defeat P-9.

In response, the local, as part of marshaling the forces needed to try to win this fight, has reached out to labor's allies across the country. These fighters are linking up with working farmers, Native Americans, women, Blacks, Chicanos, anti-apartheid fighters, antiwar activists, and other unionists to form a common front, fighting shoulder-to-shoulder against the common enemy.

This points to an important lesson of the strike, Barnes said. The fact that union officials hold formal positions in support of working farmers, or the rights of Blacks and women, or the fight against apartheid





Left, Miskito Indians in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, waiting for trucks to return them to their homes along Coco River. They were displaced in 1982 as a result of mercenary war. Right, Ottumwa, Iowa, farmers protest Hormel's union-busting.

or war in Central America does not lead to *class struggle action* by these officials. The fact that they do hold these positions is important — it gives union militants an opening to actively draw labor into important struggles. But the positions don't mean that the officials are willing to take concrete action in defense of the membership.

Class-struggle experiences by union members, however — such as the ones P-9 is going through — always lead to progressive political thought and action by union members. "The women and men who are fighting in Austin have been changed for the rest of their lives," Barnes said.

#### Working class, unions: center of politics

The Austin battle helps revolutionary unionists and others see more clearly that the working class and its labor unions are moving to the center stage of politics. The union members who are leading this struggle are beginning to think socially and to take political action against the local and state government. That's because this is the only way to win such a battle, especially in the face of great odds. The P-9ers are a small vanguard grouping trying to do what has to be done in the class struggle today when most other unions have either taken concessions without a fight or lost the fights that they did wage.

The taking over of the unions by the membership, Barnes explained, is the only road to preventing the unions from being defeated by the rulers' antilabor offensive, because it's the only way to unleash union power.

This is the way Teamsters Local 544 did it in Minneapolis in the 1930s, he noted. Those men and women led the struggle that made Minneapolis a union town, opened the door to organizing over-the-road drivers in the entire Midwest, and built the Teamsters into a potentially powerful union.

The war in Austin also shows — as did the Teamsters' drive in the 1930s — that the fight to transform the unions into organizations that fight for the interests of all working people begins with battles over the wages and working conditions of the union members.

Aspects of the democracy and reaching out for allies that are features of the P-9 strike have been seen in other recent battles, such as the 1983 copper miners' strike in Arizona and Texas. But what makes P-9 different is that enough elements of union democracy, solidarity, and independence have come together in one place to enable the entire working class to get a glimpse, concretely, of the way forward — the line of march — for the U.S. working class against the employers and the employers' government.

#### Labor needs a victory

"We have to turn everything toward support for P-9," Barnes stressed. The U.S. working class and labor movement above all need a victory as a guide for a way to fight back.

The working class learns crucial, valuable lessons from fights that are defeated,

noted Barnes. But if you only have defeats and can never see the way forward, defeats tend to breed hesitation, demoralization, and caution. Workers tend to radicalize and become more willing to fight back when they see a way forward, when victories are scored despite and against the odds.

That's how the industrial unions and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) were built: three *successful* strike battles in 1934 got national attention and were absorbed and imitated by broad layers of the working class. In Austin today, "what's at stake is a fight to win; for union democracy to be proven better than dependence; for political solidarity to be proven superior to bureaucracy; for the capacities of the toilers and their political abilities to be proven superior to the middle-class bureaucracy that pretends to speak for them," the SWP leader pointed out. The longer and harder and more courageously the workers fight, the higher go the stakes in this battle.

This is why UFCW International President William Wynn has publicly attacked P-9, calling the struggle "suicidal" and "destructive."

It doesn't even dawn on the union bureaucracy that the union is the membership; the officials think the union is *their* organization. A struggle like the one being led by P-9 is viewed as a threat by the entire labor officialdom because the power of its example challenges the notion of unions run by the officials for the ranks, as opposed to organizations run and led by the entire membership.

The spirit in which workers across the country are coming to view this strike was epitomized by a sign displayed by a United Auto Workers local in Arlington, Texas: "Labor needs a victory. Support P-9."

The key task for the SWP, Barnes said, is to talk to the entire working-class movement about the justice of this strike, the stakes in it for all working people, and what they can do to support it.

#### 'The Color Purple'

The process at work both in Nicaragua and Austin of working people increasingly taking the leadership of social struggles and putting their stamp on them is also what's behind the political debate over the movie *The Color Purple*, Barnes said.

Based on a book by Alice Walker, it tells the story of a Black woman in rural Georgia in the first decades of the century who rebels against the violence, degradation, and exploitation she suffers at the hands of her husband.

Many movie reviewers, liberal columnists, and some Black activists have condemned the movie as racist, claiming that it perpetuates stereotypes of Black men as violent and abusive.

But it's important to defend *The Color Purple*, Barnes said, because it reflects a victory for the working class.

Women who are Black and women who are fighters are becoming the *subjects* of society — the doers — and not just the *objects* — whom society does things to. Rather than simply being victims, "Black women are carving out a hunk of the leadership of the working class and of the battle against all forms of reaction and oppression," he said.

What its critics hate about this movie — including a reactionary ideological layer in the Black movement — is that it tells some of the truth about the oppression of

women, especially Black women, and it shows them resisting. The popularity of this movie, Barnes said, is a signal of where the leadership of the working class can and will come from; another layer of leaders is being heard from. "And that is a great step forward."

#### Solidarity work in the unions

In a report from the party's Trade Union Bureau, Tom Fiske outlined the tasks of party members who are industrial workers in relation to the Austin strike.

We want to get our unions, Fiske said, to do everything they can to help win this one. And we will find many coworkers who will want to do the same.

The P-9 strike, despite the open campaign against it by union President Wynn, is officially sanctioned by the International, with members receiving weekly strike benefits.

It's important not to have any preconceived notions about the limits of what's possible to do in our unions in support of this strike, Fiske said. Millions of workers around the country are following the struggle in Austin and are supportive of the meatpackers. The P-9 strike falls on fertile ground among working people who have had several years of experience with the employers' demands for concessions. Workers are beginning to make a connection between their own fights against the bosses and P-9.

During the discussion after Fiske's report, meeting participants, both national committee members and organizers of SWP branches, described the P-9 solidarity work they were already carrying out in their unions and cities.

Cleve Andrew Pulley from Detroit, a member of the United Auto Workers, reported on plans to build a March 1 rally there for the strikers.

Joe Swanson, a longtime rail worker, described a meeting of unionists in New York to discuss what to do to back the meatpackers.

One coal miner in Price, Utah, who was recently on strike against employer contract violations, bought a *Militant* and read the coverage of P-9. His response was: "This is what we should be doing."

What's needed, Fiske said, is a sustained effort in every union to win the maximum solidarity with P-9. This is no one-shot deal. There's much that can be done: sending telegrams and petitions to Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich demanding that the National Guard strikebreakers be removed from Austin; getting locals to send members to Austin to meet the strikers and to see the situation for themselves; having P-9 members come to our local meetings and central labor councils to talk about their strike; getting locals to adopt a P-9 family; joining the national boycott of all Hormel products; and collecting money and distributing informational leaflets at the plant gates.

#### Everyone has a stake in this struggle

Thabo Ntweng gave a report from the party's Organization Bureau on the tasks and perspectives for SWP branches.

Both Ntweng and Fiske outlined a series of tasks for the party — from antiwar work to raising money to finance the organization's activities.

Building solidarity with P-9, Ntweng

Continued on Page 16

## Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



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# Castro speaks on international political

## Excerpts from report to the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist

The following excerpts are from the main report adopted by the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party held February 4-7 in Havana, Cuba. They are taken from the section of the report on the international political situation.

The report was given by the party's first secretary, Fidel Castro Ruz. The translation from Spanish is by the Cuban Communist Party.

During the years under review, a tense and complex international situation — one of the worst in the postwar period — has prevailed, characterized by increasing threats to world peace and the growing danger of nuclear war. This, amid one of the worst economic crises of the capitalist system, whose catastrophic consequences fell hardest on the Third World countries. The responsibility for these deteriorating international conditions rests entirely with U.S. imperialism, especially President Reagan's administration.

In our Report to the 2nd Congress a few days before the beginning of Reagan's first term, we warned that we must be prepared for the grave dangers threatening the world. We based our view on the policy proclaimed by the new U.S. administration. It was a fascist foreign policy based on chauvinist and militaristic principles designed to manipulate U.S. public opinion and raise the specter of an alleged Soviet threat. This was intended to justify the theory of military supremacy as the only way to defend what it calls U.S. interests.

This policy necessarily called for the reassertion of the role of international gendarme assumed by the United States, openly allied to reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces everywhere.

The foreign policy adopted by the Reagan administration was complemented on the domestic front by a set of measures that benefited the wealthiest sectors of U.S. society, while slashing funds for health care, education, and public assistance programs. Low-income groups, among them the elderly, the unemployed, and large numbers of Blacks and Hispanics, were the hardest hit. This domestic policy was accompanied by a process of decapitalization of the economy of the Third World and the capitalist countries themselves, caused by a sharp rise in interest rates. All this is meant to cover the costs of huge increases in military expenditures and rearmament, without raising taxes, while promising to balance the budget.

Reagan and his advisers believed that military expenditures would infuse the sclerotic U.S. economy with new life, while simultaneously exerting unbearable pressure on the economic, scientific, and technological resources of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries to set back the gains of socialism.

The U.S. administration pressured its European NATO allies and Japan to join in this policy. Thus, while promoting new and costlier arms buildup schemes, the U.S. government deployed 572 inter-

mediate-range missiles in Europe aimed at the Soviet Union. This situation recently reached its climax when the Star Wars program was announced.

Despite a powerful and growing popular movement in favor of peace — which brought together the most diverse groups, among them European workers and students and important sectors of the United States itself — the possibility of nuclear confrontation drew nearer.

Only recently have the first, still-feeble signs of the possibility of a return to détente appeared.

The ominous course of U.S. foreign policy has been held in check, to a large extent, by the unbreakable commitment to peace made by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, the determined opposition of progressive forces in Europe and all other parts of the world, and the staunch resistance of all the revolutionary countries and movements of the Third World to the positions of force and blackmail taken by the U.S. in recent years.

The clear, courageous, and flexible proposals repeatedly offered by the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to preserve peace and halt the arms race took the initiative away from the U.S. government and its aggressive policy. This forced Reagan — who had already expressed his refusal to negotiate with the USSR — to agree to the Geneva meeting and hold broad and lengthy discussions — talks that went beyond the official meetings between the two delegations — with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the Soviet delegation. [Applause] Geneva did not result in any solutions, but it did give reason to hope for a change leading to more communication, which in turn would open the way for serious steps toward détente and peace.

The fact that those who base their policies on the pursuit of military superiority have declared that this is unattainable and senseless; and that those who once proclaimed the possibility of winning a nuclear war now admit that that is impossible and therefore such a war should never start is, in itself, an indication of possible change.

On January 15, Comrade Gorbachev, in keeping with the line and positions he held in Geneva, proposed a program of action for the rest of this century for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. This was the first time since the appearance of these awesome weapons of mass destruction — which had become a nightmare for all humanity — that such a categorical, resolute, and concrete proposal had been made. For the first time, the struggle against nuclear weapons and their proliferation was based on not granting any country or group of countries the exclusive privilege of stockpiling them. The same was proposed for chemical weapons. The principle of on-site inspection was accepted.

Imperialism's previous pretexts for rejecting Soviet initiatives in this field were thus neutralized. The Gorbachev program has been well-received throughout the

world, and the president of the United States himself has had to acknowledge what his spokesmen call positive aspects of the proposal.

The Reagan policy endangered world peace and threatened all of humanity. But, in addition, the Reagan administration's drive for hegemony and its activities as imperialist gendarme worsened the situation in different parts of the world, particularly those that are potential hotbeds of tension.

We should never overlook the fact that even if Reagan were to change his overall attitude to global issues, it would not necessarily imply a change in his regional policies. In some places, such as Central America, Angola, and southern Africa, imperialism's policy of aggression has even gotten worse since Geneva.

### Latin America and the Caribbean

A dramatic example of the return to the big-stick policy proclaimed by Theodore Roosevelt almost a hundred years ago and wielded today on a global scale by Reagan is the unprincipled and brutal occupation of Grenada. Playing its self-appointed role as international gendarme, the U.S. government sent a powerful military force against

**“The Sandinistas' firm and courageous decision not to retreat has clearly shown Cuba is not an exception...”**

this tiny Caribbean island covering a little more than 400 square kilometers [154 square miles], with a population of around 120,000 and located thousands of kilometers away from the United States.

Unfortunately, it is true that the errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves made this infamous imperialist act easier. But this does not diminish the U.S. government's crime against international law and the rights of peoples. Nor does it lessen the significance of the deaths of our friend Maurice Bishop, the unforgettable builder of his homeland, nor of the comrades who died along with him, and the Cuban internationalist workers who were compelled by that brutal occupation force to defend their dignity and their lives in an unequal battle, for which they were ill-prepared. This also served as a lesson for us.

But the crudeness and brutality of the Grenadian invasion barely scratched the surface of President Reagan's policy on Latin America.

In El Salvador — a small, underdeveloped Central American country, whose people have suffered for decades the most brutal and corrupt tyranny, whose pro-Yankee and Yankee-made regimes have tortured, kidnapped, and murdered tens of thousands of citizens during the last few years — Reagan poured billions of dollars worth of arms and military and economic aid into the bloodstained hands of its genocidal rulers, in an attempt to uproot the rebellion and impose a military solution to the conflict at all costs. As in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and elsewhere, all this is done in the name of defending world democracy and U.S. security.

The Salvadoran revolutionaries' admirable resistance and capacity to adapt to the fighting conditions imposed by the onslaught of sophisticated military equipment and top U.S. military advisers have dealt a serious blow to imperialism's dream of crushing the rebellion.

The Salvadoran people have given the imperialists an example of the heroism, intelligence and fighting capacity of the Latin American peoples — whom they have always considered a strange and contemptible blend of proud Spaniards, primitive Indians, and ignorant Blacks — who are now showing the empire the limits of its power and strength in El Salvador, one of the

smallest countries of the continent. [Applause]

However, Nicaragua and its young Sandinista revolution provide the most concrete and ominous proof of imperialism's return to the carrot and stick policy. True to its aggressive and reactionary ideology and as a warning to the whole continent, the present U.S. administration is bent on destroying the Sandinista revolution, forcing it to surrender and accept U.S. terms.

Nicaragua is suffering from a war that is financed, directed, and carried out by the Pentagon and the CIA, using a mercenary army based in Honduras and Costa Rica.

But the course of history cannot be reversed. The Sandinistas' firm and courageous decision not to retreat has clearly shown that Cuba was not an exception, that no country, regardless of its power, can impose its arbitrary will on a revolution that resists. After years of heroic struggle to maintain its identity and to uphold the people's decisions, Nicaragua is still there, undefeated, with important social achievements to its credit, such as the agrarian reform, and the great progress made in the fields of education and health. This despite the bloodshed and destruction it is subjected to, which can be measured in the number of lives lost — already more than 12,000 — and in material losses worth over 1 billion dollars. These lives sacrificed to Reagan's dirty war would mean, for the United States, the deaths of 900,000 citizens and material losses that would be considered intolerable. Laboring under the war's economic burden, and mourning its dead, the Sandinista revolution firmly proceeds with its plans for a new independent Nicaragua, democratic, nonaligned, and pluralist. [Prolonged applause]

The Yankees' inability to forcibly impose their policy in Central America is a symptom of a deeper phenomenon. During the five years under review, imperialist plans to govern Our America by means of genocidal military tyrannies experienced a crisis marked by the collapse of the Argentine military junta and [Raúl] Alfonsín's victory [1983]; Uruguay's return to democratic life after years of bloodshed; the democratic opening in a country as important as Brazil; the establishment of a civilian government in Guatemala, where the repression of the military regimes installed by the CIA in 1954 left over 80,000 victims among the missing, tortured, and dead, and where the brave people and revolutionary movement have selflessly struggled and resisted for years and now seek a negotiated political solution for their country, too; and other notable changes on the continent, which have left [Gen. Augusto] Pinochet [Chile], [Gen. Alfredo] Stroessner [Paraguay], and [Jean-Claude] Duvalier [Haiti] the sole survivors of a sinister imperialist scheme doomed to disappear.

The establishment of the Contadora Group, in which Mexico has played an outstanding and positive role, is part of this picture. Despite weaknesses, inconsistencies, and the tendency of some of its members to make concessions to Washington, Contadora is an expression of Latin America's growing desire for respect for its countries' sovereignty, peaceful solutions to its problems without Washington's intervention or dictates, and for the preservation of each nation's right to choose the social and political system it considers appropriate.

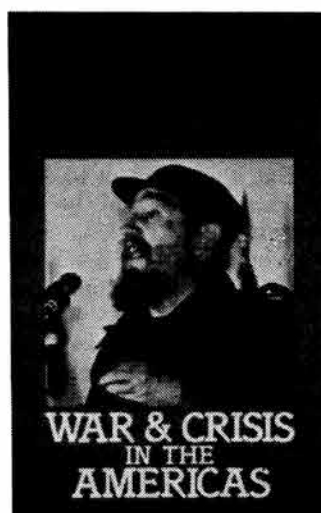
The fact that Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru back this effort through the Support Group strengthens its Latin American spirit.

From the very beginning, the Sandinista revolution enjoyed Cuba's solidarity and wholehearted support; Cuba's young teachers, doctors, construction workers, technical personnel, and — no need to hide it — military and security advisers have been a modest expression of this solidarity. Cuba has also participated in the search for a negotiated solution to the Central American conflict, which should imply a commitment on the part of the United States to stop its acts of aggression against the Nica-

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# situation

## ist Party

raguan people. To demand that Nicaragua make commitments without this prerequisite is tantamount to requesting the Sandinista revolution's negotiated surrender and its renunciation of the country's sovereignty and independence.

In the same vein, the need to find peaceful negotiated solutions to the war in El Salvador and Guatemala cannot be overlooked.

The [1982] Malvinas episode confirmed that the imperialists will not hesitate to ramble on the beliefs of an entire continent, whenever it suits U.S. interests, or even to support the violation of Latin America's integrity rather than come into conflict with its NATO allies. What an unforgettable lesson for the unwary! Only days before, U.S. relations with the Argentine military junta were excellent. Agents of Battalion 601 of Argentine military intelligence, in the service of the CIA, were in Honduras, training the first Somocista groups that were soon to attack Nicaragua. Between the Argentine mercenaries and the British army's Gurkha mercenaries, the Yankees preferred the latter.

The Latin American and Caribbean sense of unity is on the rise. Despite certain differences, the Latin American Economic System — in which Cuba has participated since its beginning — is an expression of that unity. The Caracas Declaration and the Quito Declaration that preceded it reflect this common spirit.

The majority of present-day Latin American governments refuse to accept Washington's demands, yet they do not call for the elimination of imperialism as such and even less do they question the capitalist system. Some propose structural changes, and others do not. The economic reforms they are prepared to implement vary greatly in degree and, in some cases, they are minimal. The issue is resistance to foreign domination, the repugnance of any self-respecting government for being handled like a satellite, the increasingly evident objective contradictions between the empire's interests and those of our peoples — all these reinforce Latin America's necessary historical tendency toward development and definitive liberation and constitute the indispensable prelude to the deeper transformations our region requires.

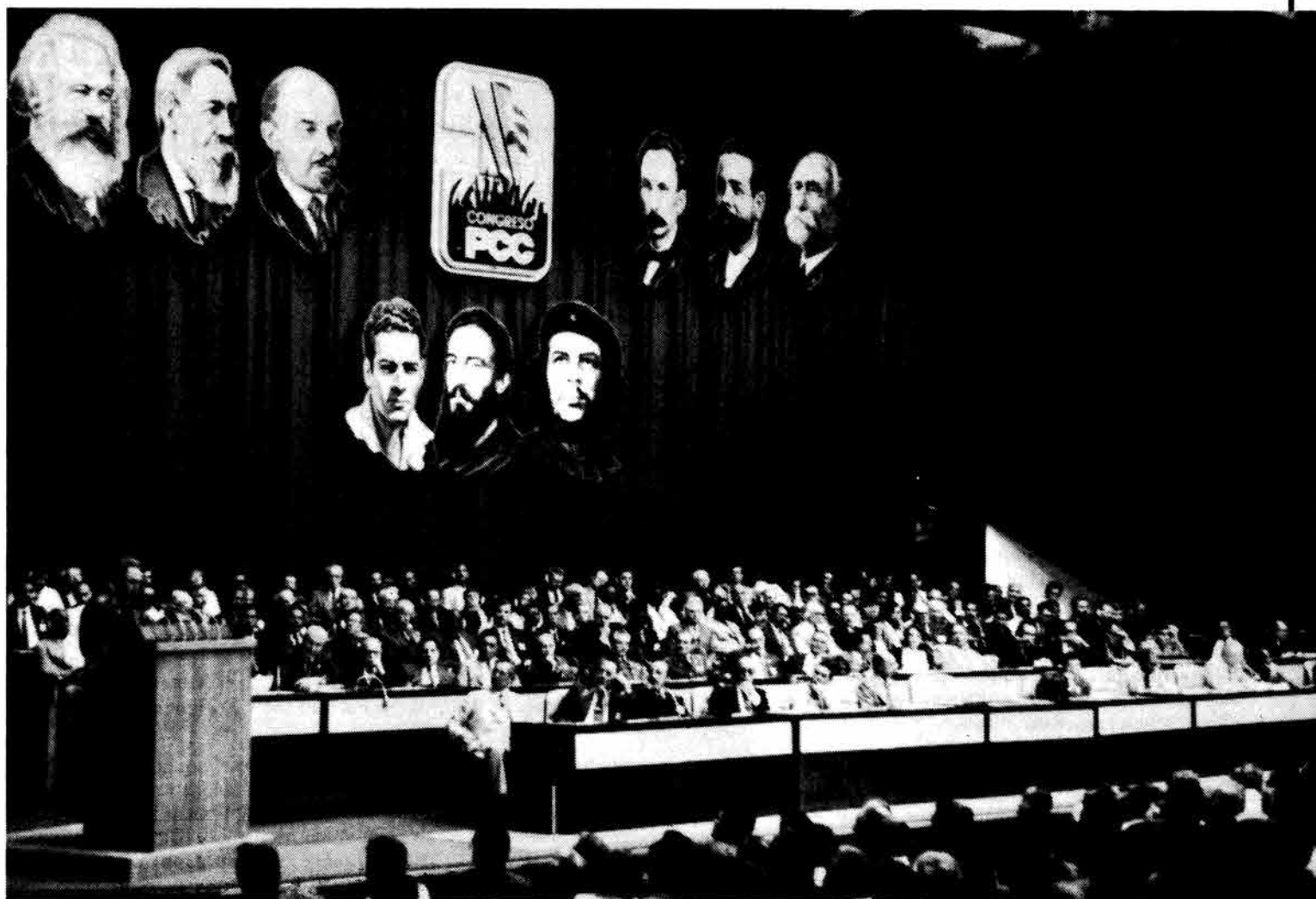
In this Latin American framework, non-Marxist currents such as social democracy can play a certain positive role. Even European social democracy now takes more progressive positions in response to the most negative aspects of U.S. policy.

The positions of European Christian Democrats are not the same. It would be a mistake, however, to ignore the existence of progressive elements among Latin America's Christian Democrats and Social Christians. For this reason, it would be neither correct nor valid to identify all Christian Democratic governments that emerge in the area as necessarily negative forces. Not all are destined always to play the sinister role of Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democratic government in El Salvador.

In addition to the Christian Democrats, there are Christians who are not necessarily Christian Democrats. They comprise hundreds of millions of people in Latin America, largely workers, farmers, and the middle strata, who will not be able to liberate themselves without building socialism, nor can socialism be built without them.

Liberation theology emerged in Latin America with great force. We see it not only as an honest commitment to the poor on the part of those who express their true Christian beliefs in this way, but also in its political sense, as an expression of the desire of many Christians, consistent with their religious beliefs, to build a world governed by brotherhood, equality, and justice among men.

The military should not be neglected in the struggle for Latin America's independence. Although the prestige of the men in uniform has been tainted by dishonor in many countries of our hemisphere, there are others, such as in Peru during the time



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

Fidel Castro presents main report to Cuban Communist Party congress held February 4-7 in Havana

of Velasco Alvarado [1968-75] and Panama, who, together with many individuals in different parts of Our America, have demonstrated the patriotic spirit on the side of the people that many military personnel can adopt and reclaimed the right to be included in this struggle for our nations' second and definitive independence.

### Foreign debt

Caribbean nations are also suffering from the effects of the capitalist crisis, the United States' protectionist measures, and the constant decline in the prices of their main export products. These problems have even led to social outbreaks with a grievous number of victims in such countries as the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Haiti.

The highly touted Caribbean Basin Initiative [of the U.S. government] has only served as a mechanism to strengthen U.S. military, political, and economic control in this region without solving its dire crisis in the least.

Among the Caribbean countries that are experiencing difficulties is Puerto Rico, that sister Latin American nation that is

**“Like it or not, U.S. will have to come to terms with revolutionary Cuba, and with changing world . . .”**

still suffering under the heel of Yankee colonialism.

The crisis that has jolted the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean has caused the region to fall back to 1977 per capita gross product levels. Between 1980 and 1985, Latin American economies registered a meager 0.5 percent average annual growth which, in per capita terms, represented a decline of 2.04 percent. Inflation rates were 5.9 times higher.

The foreign debt of Latin America and the Caribbean ran to \$368 billion in 1985. In that year alone, Latin American countries handed foreign capitalists \$35.09 billion in interest and profits. Over the last three years, \$106 billion in cash has gone abroad for such reasons.

Today Latin America and the Caribbean constitute the world's most indebted region. The gravity and scope of this problem have been widely debated in our country in the meetings of trade union leaders, women, young people, and intellectuals.

The underdevelopment and poverty that these nations inherited from colonialism and neocolonialism, and the historical plundering that they suffered when they were forced to finance world capitalist de-

velopment with the blood and sweat of centuries, were compounded, in recent decades, by increasingly abusive unequal terms of trade, protectionist measures, dumping, flight of capital to the centers of economic power, and monetary and financial manipulations that together gave rise to the debt and the current social and economic catastrophe afflicting these countries.

The increase in interest rates imposed by the Reagan government — ignoring even its Western allies who were thrown into recessions as a result — worsened the problem and helped to turn the foreign debt into an insurmountable obstacle, not only to development, but even to the preservation of the minimal subsistence levels achieved.

When we proclaimed that the debt is unpayable, we did so based on irrefutable calculations and reasonings. With every passing day and hour, the debt becomes more unpayable. The recent drops in the price of oil, as sharp as their increase was late in 1974, should suffice to convince even the oil-exporting countries of our hemisphere that once cherished the illusion that such a huge debt could be paid. We are sure that debtors and creditors alike will arrive at the same conclusion sooner or later, and we hope that it will be through dialogue, and not catastrophic crises, that such debts are declared dead and laid to rest once and for all. If an attempt is made to implement the inhuman payment formulas of the International Monetary Fund, it will be impossible to predict the magnitude of the social explosions and the consequences such a step would provoke — without ever achieving its impossible goal.

The formula proposed by Cuba is simple, understandable, and perfectly feasible: that the governments of the developed creditor countries assume the debts of the Third World countries, with their own banks, and that 12 percent of what is now invested in military expenditures be used to pay off the debts.

We are not proposing that the international finance system go bankrupt, that the depositors in industrialized capitalist countries lose their money, or that the taxpayers of these countries pay more taxes.

Moreover, we contend that a simple annulment of the debt will not solve the profound economic crisis of the Third World countries; that the principles of the New International Economic Order adopted by the United Nations must be implemented to end unequal terms of trade, protectionism, dumping, usurious interest rates, and the monetary and financial manipulations on the part of a few developed capitalist powers; and that unconditional economic solidarity be extended to the poorest and most economically backward countries.

We have insisted that a correct solution to the problem of the debt, and implementation of the New Economic Order, would

increase the needy Third World's purchasing power, and would set many factories in the developed capitalist world — now plagued by unemployment — working at full capacity.

With regard to the development and future of Latin America, we maintain that annulment of the debt and implementation of the New International Economic Order are not enough. Economic integration is essential if we want a place in the world in the 21st century.

We need only remind those who cry crocodile tears over the anticipated effects on the financial resources of the developed capitalist countries that, with the reduction in oil prices over the last year, those countries will save no less than \$80 billion in 1986. This would be enough to meet the Third World's interest payments on the foreign debt for an entire year.

Of course, the economic crisis and the huge unpayable foreign debt have also contributed to the historical convergence of the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

\* \* \*

### Relations with the United States

It is hardly worth explaining — since it is almost a logical sequel of U.S. policy all over the world — that, once in power, the present U.S. administration stepped up aggression against Cuba, tightening the economic blockade against our country and striving even more defiantly than any of the previous administrations to impede our normal financial and trade operations. Without the least compunction, it proclaimed the preparation of new plans for military aggression and subversion against our country. It insisted on threatening us with the possibility of concrete military action, of “going to the source,” as one of its leaders put it, in holding us accountable, with notorious high-handedness, for everything in Latin America and the Caribbean that ran counter to U.S. aspirations of domination. With unmitigated gall, it continues to violate our airspace with SR-71 flights.

As we have already explained, the Reagan administration's threats and organizational measures have only served to strengthen our country's defense capability and turn our homeland into an impregnable bastion. [Applause]

In the midst of this state of ongoing U.S. aggression against Cuba, steps were taken to make it possible for Cuba and the United States to reach a limited immigration agreement [December 1984]. On that occasion, we reasserted our policy regarding that country, namely, that it would be possible for both parties to establish reasonable commitments, independent of the ideological abyss that separates the two

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# Meeting of Latin American parties

Continued from front page

Puerto Rico and called for support to the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

"The Sandinista revolution is the struggle of all the Americas," said Berríos.

Exiled Haitian leader Gerard Pierre-Charles was the third speaker at the opening session, along with Ortega and Berríos. (See page 20 story on participation of Haitian leaders.)

## Who was there

The number of participants in the conference exceeded the Sandinistas' expectations, Arce said when the meeting closed. Delegates came from communist, social democratic, liberal, social Christian, Christian democratic, and conservative parties as well as left-wing anti-imperialist and populist groups and national liberation forces such as the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

Seven delegations came from parties that head governments: the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) in Peru, the Dominican Revolutionary Party in the Dominican Republic, the People's National Congress Party in Guyana, the Communist Party in Cuba, the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, the Colorado Party in Uruguay, and the Conservative Party in Colombia.

Of the governments that make up the Contadora Group, only Colombia's ruling party participated in the Managua conference. The Contadora Group is made up of the Colombian, Mexican, Panamanian, and Venezuelan governments. Its stated goal is to negotiate a settlement to the military conflict in Central America.

The governments of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay have formed a support group for Contadora known as the Lima Group. Of the Lima Group, representatives from Uruguay and Peru participated in the conference here.

Some Social Democratic figures were present at the conference, including delegates from the Dominican Revolutionary Party, the Peruvian APRA, and Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. However, Latin American Social Democratic leaders from countries such as Chile and Venezuela did not attend.

Those parties that did not participate at the invitation of the FSLN clearly felt that to do so was more of an identification with the Nicaraguan revolution and a sharper rejection of U.S. policies than they were willing to make.

## U.S. pressure on the Contadora Group

At the time of the Managua conference, representatives of the Contadora and Lima groups were in Washington meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Ortega noted in his opening speech that

## Nicaragua farmers in war zone

Continued from Page 6

the contras have to offer.

More than anything, the changes in the region around San Juan del Río Coco are due to the character of the FSLN leadership, its roots among the working people of Nicaragua, and the special efforts made to understand and respond to their needs.

At the end of the assembly in Cerro Blanco, the host brought out a guitar and accordion. As the party began, a number of peasants came up to speak with members of the government delegation. Among them were relatives of seven former FDN members who had accepted the amnesty offer and been released in a public ceremony two weeks earlier to return to their families. As the peasants talked, Laguna commented to them, "You know that if those individuals had been Sandinistas, the contras wouldn't even have taken them prisoner, much less released them." The family members and others nodded in agreement.

As one of the peasants put it, "We want to support the revolution. The contras don't offer us any hope."

Aaron Ruby is a U.S. citizen who has been teaching history, geography, and English to junior high school students in San Juan del Río Coco for two years.



Members of Directorate of Sandinista National Liberation Front and Ruben Berríos (far right) of Puerto Rican Independence Party at Conference of Political Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean.

these governments are subject to the "pressure, blackmail, and threats of the U.S. government," which seeks to make the Contadora and Lima groups complicit with the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. He called for Latin Americans to fight so that Contadora will stand up to these pressures and "resolutely defend Latin American interests."

## Discussion on action

Ortega explained that the purpose of the conference was "strengthening the unity of Latin America around and in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution" and "militant and active solidarity" against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Some delegates raised proposals for such actions. Pascal Allende, representing the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left, was applauded when he proposed that the conference draft a "Declaration of Managua" in favor of peace and against intervention. Allende also proposed the formation of an international peace brigade to carry out ongoing solidarity projects in Nicaragua. This brigade would fight to defend Nicaragua in case of a U.S. invasion, Allende said.

Allende also proposed that parties with representation in government raise proposals for economic aid to Nicaragua.

Members of the Anti-Imperialist Organization of the Caribbean and Central America met here immediately before the Sandinista government-sponsored February 10-12 conference. (See story on page 1.) These delegates from 18 countries adopted a schedule of dates for common protest and solidarity actions this year. They then participated in the broader conference where they urged support for the activities on the planned dates.

Other conference delegates demonstratively avoided discussion of any specific action proposals.

Luis Negreiros, personal representative of Peruvian President Alan García, was a featured speaker at the final session. He stressed his support for "political pluralism" and "mixed economy" in Nicaragua.



Conference selected Rubén Barrios of Puerto Rico to speak on behalf of all delegates at opening session.

ragua. Negreiros said Peru would continue to support the Contadora and Lima groups but made no public commitment to further aid to Nicaragua.

Armando Hart, of the Cuban Communist Party Political Bureau, also addressed the closing session. He reported that Cuba has pledged to increase its aid to the Nicaraguan people in response to any increase in U.S. aid to the mercenaries trying to overthrow the Sandinista revolution. He called for broader and stronger denunciations of U.S. intervention and for appropriate initiatives for action to be taken in each country.

Throughout the conference many delegates spoke of the continentwide impact of a possible U.S. invasion of Central America. Several said that the experiences of the U.S. support for Britain's war against Argentina in 1982 and the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 showed the need for greater unity against future interventions.

Due to the range of political views among those at the gathering, however, delegates did not come to any agreement on common activity coming out of the conference.

## Foreign debt

Many of the participants in the meeting had been at the continental conference on the foreign debt held in Havana, Cuba, in

August 1985. The problem posed by the growing foreign debt of Latin American and Caribbean countries was frequently raised in the Managua discussions.

Armando Hart explained that the problem of the debt had become interwoven with the U.S. intervention in Central America and that this had led different parties to seek a way to unite.

"We must banish forever all sectarianism," Hart told the delegates, "and try to unite in our cause all patriots who are willing to fight."

In closing the meeting, Bayardo Arce described the conference as a "successful and productive experience." The discussions and exchanges of opinions were useful, he said. The delegates from different countries came to know and understand the Nicaraguan revolution better.

Many parties held bilateral and multilateral meetings during the course of the conference. These laid the basis for future collaboration, said Arce. All the specific proposals raised in the discussion would be circulated to all the participants so that each party could decide which actions it could undertake.

The success of the Managua conference served to send another warning to Washington that any invasion of Nicaragua will meet with massive opposition in Latin America.

## Philadelphia antiracist action

Continued from front page

the African National Congress gave greetings from his organization. "We, the people, who are dedicated to end racist apartheid in South Africa, are here to show solidarity with the struggle in southwest Philadelphia," he said. "This is a part of the same struggle we face in South Africa. South Africa has to be isolated politically, culturally, financially, and in every other way. We will not rest until we have power, power, power!"

Digna Sánchez from the Puerto Rican 13 Defense Committee said, "As Puerto Ricans we can give testimony about racism in Puerto Rico. We have been denied our rights, our homeland, and our language has been outlawed. Forty percent of women of childbearing age have been sterilized." Sánchez spoke out against the FBI raids that took place in Puerto Rico August 30 and called for freedom for the 13 Puerto Rican political prisoners arrested in those raids.

Another speaker was Doris Pechkurow, president of Philadelphia National Organization for Women (NOW). She said that "women are not reproductive vessels of any government or church. We call on Philadelphia to move forward and go down to Washington, D.C., March 9 to support abortion rights."

NOW had a literature table at the rally with information about the March 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C. A number of young women carried pro-abortion rights signs in the march.

Other speakers included Bernie Denkin, educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and

the Philadelphia Labor Committee Against Apartheid; Lenore Friedlander of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Ralph Acosta, state representative; Rev. Paul Washington, Church of the Advocate; and Rita Addressa, Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force.

The demonstration had been built in Philadelphia by leafleting teams that went to downtown Philadelphia, to high schools and college campuses, factories, garment shops, and oil refineries. Posters on the march were also plastered around the city.

## Good sales at Feb. 15

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — The Pathfinder literature table at the February 15 National Mobilization Against Racism march and rally here was one of the most attractive book displays at the action.

Books on Central America; women's liberation; the Black struggle in the United States, featuring speeches by Malcolm X; and southern Africa were displayed on five full-size tables with an attractive anti-apartheid banner overhead.

Many people were interested in Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle is My Life*. The yellow book could be seen in many people's bags, backpacks, or pockets by the end of the day.

The display had people milling around it from 10:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. More than \$800 in literature and 20 *Militant* subscriptions were sold.

Sixty-six people attended an open house sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.



# Caribbean conference

Continued from front page

by the participants. The fight against imperialism and U.S. aggression in the region was the central concern of the meeting.

The delegates celebrated the victory of the Haitian people in overthrowing the hated Duvalier dictatorship. This victory was seen as a powerful incentive to cement the growing collaboration and solidarity among anti-imperialist organizations.

Solidarity with Nicaragua in its fight against Washington's dirty war was a central focus of the meeting. The fighting people of El Salvador, Guatemala, and South Africa were saluted.

The group's declaration called for the Caribbean region to be declared a zone of peace, independence, and development. The combination of IMF-imposed austerity and the increased deployment of imperialist military forces throughout the region came in for heavy condemnation.

The group's declaration pointed out that "these policies are behind the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which seeks to tie the Caribbean region to the political and military plans of the United States, without at all resolving the region's serious social and economic problems."

The visit by Reagan to Grenada February 20 was called "an attempt to formalize the neocolonialism of that sister country" and condemned as "an act of imperial arrogance, an insult to all Grenadian patriots, and an affront to the peoples of the Caribbean."

The declaration also backed "all the people who are still waging fights against colonialism, as in the case of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, and the Dutch Antilles."

Many participants commented on the significance of the group's ongoing effort to achieve political coordination and sol-

## Haitian leaders at Nicaraguan conference

Continued from back page

around now is for the unconditional return of all the exiles," explained Polo. "Then we will see what other common actions we can take. That will give us a chance to sit down together and discuss political perspectives."

### Impact in Dominican Republic

Delegates at the conference reported that the struggle in Haiti had had a big impact in the Dominican Republic. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are the two countries that share the large Caribbean island of Hispaniola. Hundreds of thousands of Haitians live in the Dominican Republic, including tens of thousands of seasonal workers who cut sugar cane.

The impact on the Dominican Republic has been extraordinary, Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, general secretary of the Dominican Socialist Bloc and a leader of the Dominican Left Front, told the *Militant*.

"The situation in Haiti has brought forth the immense sympathy and solidarity the Dominicans have for the Haitian people," he said. This has undercut the traditional racist, anti-Haitian prejudices fostered in the Dominican Republic and will have "tremendous repercussions" for the struggles in both countries, he added.

Taveras is also president of the Anti-Imperialist Organization of Central America and the Caribbean. Parties and movements from 18 countries met at a plenary of the Anti-Imperialist Organization immediately before the Conference of Latin American Political Parties. (See front-page story.) They issued a declaration to the conference that saluted "the courage of the Haitian people" as an inspiration for other Caribbean peoples.

The Anti-Imperialist Organization also "solidarized with the struggle for a true democracy in Haiti" and opposed any U.S. military intervention there.

Taveras reported that a large solidarity rally with Haiti had been held in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican Republic, on February 8. Any U.S. invasion to crush the popular rebellion in Haiti, he said, would be seen as an attack on the Dominican people. There would be mass support for Haiti, and contingents of Dominicans would go to Haiti to fight the invasion, he concluded.

idity among the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean in the fight against imperialist domination.

Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, president of the Anti-Imperialist Organization and general secretary of the Dominican Socialist Bloc, explained to the *Militant* that the Caribbean islands historically were "isolated from each other, separated by language, and many only recently winning independence. This meeting makes it possible for many militants to discover the historic dimensions of the region and the possibilities for action."

The advances being made by the Sandinista revolution in uniting the six different racial groups that make up the Nicaraguan population were clearly recognized by participants in the meeting. There was great interest in the project to establish regional government autonomy on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, inhabited by Afro-Caribbeans, Indians, and mestizos.

Guerrilla Commander Lumberto Campbell, head of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the Atlantic Coast's Southern Zelaya Province, addressed the meeting. He explained that Nicaragua historically has been part of the Caribbean as well as Central America.

Campbell told the delegates that "the autonomy of the indigenous peoples and communities will serve to create a true national unity where all the social sectors that were previously exploited and oppressed will participate in the construction of a new, multiethnic and multilingual Nicaraguan society."

The participation of Nicaraguans from the Atlantic Coast in the meeting was greeted with enthusiasm by other conference participants, who recognized the important contribution the Nicaraguan revolution can make.

The meeting reelected those who had been serving as its officers and coordinating committee. "Fafa" Taveras is the group's president, and Clement Rohee, international affairs secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, is the coordinating secretary.

The coordinating committee consists of

## Garment workers discuss Haiti, Cuba

BY ART GERICH

MIAMI — Thursday night January 30 the rumor hit the streets here that the hated dictator of Haiti, Jean-Claude Duvalier, had fled that country. This sparked many spontaneous street celebrations here in "Little Haiti." This same excitement showed up at work the next day. (It was only later Friday that the rumor proved to be false. Duvalier fled one week later.)

In the garment shop where I work the day started off quite differently than usual. Shouts of "Divalye alle" (Duvalier has gone) and "Power to the people!" greeted every worker who passed the Merrow sewing-machine operators. After about 20 minutes of congratulating everyone the Haitian women in this department started sewing together bits of red and blue material into Haitian flags to hang above their machines. As more Haitian coworkers arrived, the dancing and chanting intensified.

We could hardly hear the 7:30 a.m. bell signaling us to begin work, such was the volume of the excitement. But by 8:00, with much chattering going on, the machines started up.

At 10:15 the Merrow department shut down and my Haitian coworkers and I gathered to listen to the Haitian radio broadcast. The news stated that Duvalier had left. Screams, tears, and laughter followed and then silence again as the announcer continued. This went on for approximately 20 minutes. After the program, two of the operators ran around the shop with red-and-blue flags screaming "Divalye alle!" The rest of us just danced around the sewing machines chanting and singing.

Everyone in this predominately Latino shop was interested in the news and started following reports on the Spanish-language stations, which went on a campaign to equate the Duvalier dictatorship with the revolutionary leadership of Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party.

Three of the Cuban Merrow operators



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

Press conference after meeting of the Anti-Imperialist Organization of Central America and the Caribbean. Left to right: Clement Rohee, People's Progressive Party of Guyana and coordinating secretary of organization; Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, Socialist Bloc of Dominican Republic and president of group; and Lumberto Campbell, Sandinista leader in Southern Zelaya Province.

representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, Communist Party of Cuba, Workers Party of Jamaica, Dominica Labor Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, and the Workers Revolutionary Movement of St. Lucia.

Participants in the meeting also attended the February 10-12 conference of Latin American and Caribbean political parties, sponsored by the FSLN. They played a significant role in the discussion.

### Role of Grenada revolution

Among the delegates from the Anti-Imperialist Organization to address the FSLN-sponsored gathering was Don Rojas of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada. He pointed to the role of the Grenadian revolution in laying the foundation for the development of a new region-

wide consciousness.

Rojas recalled that "On May 1, 1980, speaking to over 1 million Cubans in Havana's Revolution Plaza with Daniel Ortega and Maurice Bishop at his side, Comrade Fidel Castro said that Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada were three giants rising up at the very threshold of imperialism, proclaiming the dignity and integrity of the peoples of our Americas."

Rojas stated that "it was our revolution, more than any other recent historical phenomenon, which linked our fraternal peoples across the Caribbean Sea."

Summing up the importance of the Anti-Imperialist Organization meeting here, "Fafa" Taveras told the *Militant*, "I think that perhaps the best thing that will come out of this is a strengthening of the determination of the political organizations in each country to increase solidarity actions."

and one Cuban shipping clerk immediately said to the Haitian operators, "Now that we've gotten rid of one dictator we need to get rid of the other: Fidel Castro." One of the Haitian workers responded that Duvalier would probably flee to Cuba where she was sure he would be welcome. There seemed to be general agreement between both Cubans and Haitians that Duvalier and Castro were both hated dictators.

Throughout the day other Latino workers expressed solidarity with their Haitian coworkers by approaching them periodically with chants of "Down with Duvalier!"

Following the 2:00 p.m. break I finally had the opportunity to join the discussion.

## U.S., France bicker over Baby Doc

BY FRED FELDMAN

Who will provide a safe hideout for Jean-Claude Duvalier, the mass murderer and thief who was recently ousted as dictator of Haiti? Washington, which engineered his escape, has yet to find a taker.

One problem is Duvalier himself. Having stolen up to \$500 million from the Haitian people, he would like a nice place to spend it in. He has applied for political asylum in France. His lawyer says Duvalier wants "to forget."

French officials say they let Duvalier come to France after the Reagan administration requested them to do so. Both governments defend their decision by saying that the alternative was a "bloodbath" in Haiti. "Bloodbath" is the imperialists' word for what happens when the victims of repression get their hands on the perpetrators.

The French government claims it will not grant permanent asylum to Duvalier. Asylum in France, claimed Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, "is for the persecuted, but

One of the Haitian operators and I were talking about what actions were planned the following week in the Haitian community when the Cuban shipping clerk approached us and said to me, "Duvalier, Fidel, different systems, same crap." I responded with "No, not the same crap." In both Spanish and Creole I then quickly explained the gains that workers and farmers in Cuba won through their revolution.

The three Cuban operators then started shouting about how bad communism in Cuba is.

Discussions about the Cuban revolution between my Haitian coworkers and me continued over the following week. Opinion is now divided as to whether life in Haiti and life in Cuba are the same.

in this case it is a question of a persecutor."

The government of Liberia, a West African country ruled by a U.S.-supported dictator, initially offered asylum. But Duvalier turned thumbs down.

The French rulers threatened to send Duvalier to the United States. No way, said U.S. officials. Anita Stockman, a spokeswoman for the U.S. State Department, said Duvalier "is inadmissible as an undesirable and undocumented alien." Stockman also noted: "There is a large Haitian exile community in the United States. Security would be a major problem for Duvalier here."

She warned that the U.S. government might come under strong pressure to extradite Duvalier to Haiti if he came here.

Both the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* published editorials stressing the importance of guaranteeing U.S.-supported dictators a haven when they are toppled.

A secure retirement, after all, is one of the fringe benefits offered the Duvaliers, Marcoses, Somozas, and shahs for their services to U.S. big business.



# South Africa's rulers escalate killings

Continued from back page

As Desmond Tutu pointed out January 31, "What is the point of giving citizenship to voteless people?"

When Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, seeking international support for the regime, suggested to foreign reporters that South Africa might someday have Black presidents, the president exploded in outrage. The cabinet member retracted his statement "which," said President Botha, "makes it possible for him to continue in his post."

Botha said legislation would be drafted to remove "existing influx control measures," such as the hated pass laws, with laws to control "orderly urbanization" of Africans.

As the *Washington Post* pointed out February 1, "orderly urbanization" is a racist code word signifying "a substitute system of influx control that would allow only those Blacks with jobs and housing to live in the cities." The white regime would still control where Blacks can live.

Botha claimed that "a single education department" would seek to "progress toward the goal of parity in the provision of education."

But F.W. de Klerk, minister of home affairs in Botha's cabinet, insisted that segregated housing and education would be preserved.

Botha made no move to lift the state of emergency.

He proposed that the government might negotiate the release of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the outlawed African National Congress, who has been imprisoned for more than 23 years, in exchange for the Soviet government's release of Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov and the Angolan government's release of a South African army officer captured in Angola. (Scharansky was allowed to leave the Soviet Union February 11 in an unrelated development.)

As an African National Congress broadcast explained, to "shift the blame for the continued illegal imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners to the Soviet Union and Angola, Botha has dragged in the names of Soviet citizens who have nothing to do with South Africa."

Botha's speech was immediately praised

by the U.S. State Department as "important" and "welcome."

The Reagan administration and the U.S. capitalist media made much of Botha's attempt to sweep apartheid under the rug as an "outdated concept." In fact, the white minority government has not used this word to describe the racist system for some time. As Botha pointed out October 31, "the word 'apartheid' had long ago fallen into disuse in government circles, being replaced by the term 'separate development.'"

Chris Heunis, Botha's minister of constitutional development and planning, summed up the regime's policy: "I'm not trying to change separate development. I'm trying to extend it further."

Botha's talk about "sharing of power" between segregated communities signals his determination to preserve the Bantustan system, which has been used to plunder Africans of their land and force millions of them to live in overcrowded and impoverished reservations.

The process of pressuring Bantustans to accept a phony independence will also continue, as Botha indicated when he offered to appoint representatives of "the governments of the self-governing national states" to the powerless advisory council.

KwaNdebele is to be proclaimed "independent" later this year. Under present law, which remains in force, those assigned to it will lose their citizenship in South Africa.

On February 6 armed cops arrived in the village of Uitvlugt in the Moutse district near Pretoria and forced the population to sign documents saying they wanted to be moved to the Lebowa Bantustan. About 20 families were forced to leave. Their homes and land have been designated as farmland for whites.

Most of the Moutse district, populated by people of Pedi tribal origin, were forcibly assigned by the regime to the KwaNdebele Bantustan.

The Botha government appeared to gain no ground inside South Africa with the proposal to reform the racist system, be it called "apartheid" or "separate development."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the KwaZulu Bantustan and collaborator with the regime, expressed interest at first in joining the council. As opposition grew, he dropped the idea.

Ntatho Motlana, head of the Soweto Civic Association, declared: "We don't want all these contortions on the same theme of apartheid and white minority con-

trol. We want a new constitution where we can all work for a free and just South Africa."

The regime's determination to defend white supremacy at all costs is causing deepening divisions among South Africa's capitalist class and its political representatives. On February 7 Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Progressive Federal Party (the main white opposition party) resigned his seat in parliament. On February 13 Alex Boraine, another member of parliament, said he would resign also.

Slabbert urged negotiations with the outlawed African National Congress and others. "Apartheid is not up for negotiation," he said. "It has to go completely. What is up for negotiation is its alternative."

The African National Congress condemned Botha's speech. In London, ANC Executive Committee member Joe Slovo voiced conclusions that have been reached by growing numbers of South Africans: "Within the constitutional framework, there is no way forward for 90 percent of the people short of combining political activity with acts of revolutionary violence.... Our task is to intensify the armed struggle against the Botha regime and its instruments of force."

## Castro on internat'l political situation

Continued from Page 11

governments. This would be possible in the context of respect for our sovereign equality and renunciation of the absurd and intolerable pretensions of interference that have generally characterized U.S. policy toward Cuba for over 25 years of revolution.

During the four months that the agreement was in force, we scrupulously honored our obligations, but, suddenly, in a provocative way and with hardly a few hours' notice, the United States, through a superfluous and offensive action, decided to carry through its paranoic plans to start subversive AM radio broadcasts against our country [May 1985]. It even had the effrontery to use the name of our national hero [José Martí] for its station. We therefore decided to suspend the agreements.

Cuba is not reluctant, as we have often said, to discuss its long-standing differences with the United States and to search for peace and better relations between the two nations — aims our party once again reaffirms before this Congress. [Applause] We believe that this would help to improve the political climate in our area and have some measure of influence on international politics. But it would have to be based on the most strict respect for our status as a country that will not tolerate any infringement on its independence, a country for whose dignity and sovereignty entire generations of Cubans have fought and died. This will only be possible when the United States is ready to negotiate seriously, in a spirit of equality, reciprocity, and absolute mutual respect.

The time when the empire could do as it pleased in our country is in the distant past. Our perseverance, tenacity, and firmness

in resisting throughout these 27 years, our proven loyalty to principles, the determination with which we have embarked upon the task of creating a new world and a just homeland, the confidence and security with which we are laying the foundations of our future, and the heroism with which we have defended and are capable of defending our revolutionary achievements have earned our people the right never to be ignored or underestimated. [Applause]

Moreover, the bonds we have established with billions of human beings all over the world with whom we share common interests show that we are not lone fighters. Rather they prove that we form part of a multitude determined to win in its fight for survival, peace, freedom, and justice. Like it or not, the United States will have to come to terms with revolutionary Cuba, learn to live with it and with a changing world. [Prolonged applause]

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

## 'PM' builds abortion actions

On March 9 in Washington, D.C., and on March 16 in Los Angeles, thousands of supporters of women's rights will take to the streets to defend the right of a woman to choose abortion.

These important demonstrations will help begin to counter the assault by the U.S. rulers on abortion rights and on women's rights in general.

What is at stake in the fight for women's right to choose? What was it like for women in the U.S. before this medical procedure was legalized in 1973? What did it take to win it? The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* describes this historic battle that shows why women are so determined to fight to defend this right today.

Also in the new issue of *PM* is first-hand coverage of the Hormel meatpackers' strike in Austin, Minnesota, and the vital labor solidarity that this struggle is generating.

This issue also has an interview with Susana Muñoz, who won an award at the recent Latin American film festival in Havana, Cuba, for her film, *Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*.

*Perspectiva Mundial* is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of



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## Socialists hit Mich. ballot restriction

BY ROAYA ABBASSI

DETROIT — The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) joined with elected officials and representatives of several parties to denounce new moves to restrict access to the Michigan ballot.

"If there is anything that appears to be traditional in Michigan political history, it is the hostility of the state government, the two major political parties, and the legislative election committees to the rights of third parties to gain access to the ballot," said Howard Simon, executive director of the Michigan ACLU at a January 28 news conference here.

A bill being considered by the Michigan House of Representatives, House Bill 5089, included a provision to raise the number of signatures for so-called "new" parties from 19,996 to 45,597.

The provision was voted down before the news conference, returning the requirement to its present, restrictively high level. But the bill has yet to come to a final vote, and further moves to restrict ballot rights may still be made.

"The phony excuse given for continuing to require almost 20,000 signatures is a fear of so-called 'frivolous' candidates crowding the ballot," said Kate Kaku of the Socialist Workers Party. "Yet access to the ballot is the minimal requirement for elections that claim to be democratic."

She noted that the SWP has been on the Michigan ballot since 1946 and had beaten back several "attempts to keep us and other working-class parties off the ballot."

Kaku expressed her support for Detroit Congressman John Conyers' HR 2320 bill, which would further democratize the ballot for federal elections. She urged that Michigan follow his proposal, which requires "new" parties to submit only 1,999 signa-

tures of registered voters.

Perry Bullard, chair of the Michigan House Judiciary Committee, stated, "It is extremely important here to recognize that this is an essential part of the democratic process, the ability to put ideas before the voters and not to have to meet the tremendous burden of getting 45,000 signatures to do that."

Lasker Smith of the Communist Party and Charles Congdon of the Libertarian Party also denounced the new efforts to restrict ballot access.

## Pressure forces judge to withdraw from trial of abortion opponents

Superior Court Judge Joseph Hannon removed himself from a case involving nine opponents of abortion rights arrested at the January 22 antiabortion protest at the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C.

The protesters were demonstrating against the 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* that made abortion legal.

After the first witness had just started to testify, Hannon told a courtroom crowded with antiabortion activists that he had participated in the January 22 action along with his law clerk, John Ingram. They had joined the right-wing march but stopped short of the Supreme Court building where the nine were arrested.

Hannon did not decide to step down from the trial immediately. It was only after some pressure from the National Abortion Rights Action League and others that he finally withdrew from the case.



The National Organization for Women has called two abortion rights actions — in Washington, D.C., for March 9, and in Los Angeles for March 16. The theme of the actions is a "National March for Women's Lives" to keep abortion and birth control safe and legal.

NOW is involving a broad range of women's rights, Black, Latino, student, and labor organizations in building the marches.

For information on the Washington march, contact National March for Women's Lives, 1401 New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; telephone (202) 347-2279. For information on the Los Angeles march, 1242 S. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90035; telephone (213) 652-5576.

## Antiabortion initiative won't be on ballot

An antiabortion initiative in California won't appear on the June 1986 ballot. The initiative was aimed at eliminating Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women.

It was called "The Children's Fund" by right-wing opponents of abortion rights. Initiative supporters tried to convince people to back the reactionary proposition by proposing that money not spent on abortion go to aid handicapped children and babies born prematurely.

Supporters of the proposition announced that they had been un-

able to collect enough signatures to qualify for the ballot.

Because the initiative would have permitted the use of public funds to prevent a pregnant woman's "imminent death" after "every reasonable effort is made to preserve the life of the unborn child prior to the abortion," it was considered too liberal for some right-wingers.

A second initiative, called "Choose life," would make no exception to the ban on the use of public funds for abortion — even to save the lives of pregnant women. Efforts to get enough signatures to qualify this initiative for the November 1986 ballot are continuing.

California is one of only 13 states and the District of Columbia that still provide public funds for abortion. A focus of the March 16 West Coast March for Women's Lives will be the defeat of any such attempts to cut off public funding for abortion.

## UAW newspaper: abortion rights a question of solidarity

The following article is reprinted from the *Local 22 Steward*, newspaper of United Auto Workers Local 22 in Detroit, Michigan. It appeared under the headline, "Labor union women back 'March for Women's Lives.'"

BY ED JOSEPHSON

Department 1802

On March 9, thousands of supporters of women's rights will demonstrate in Washington, D.C., in a "March for Women's Lives" sponsored by the National Organization for Women. The march, which is endorsed by the Coalition of Labor Union Women, has been called to defend the right of women to safe, legal abortion and birth control.

In recent years, the right to abortion has come under heavy attack both by right-wing "Moral Majority"-type groups and by the U.S. government. Here in Michigan, antiabortion forces are threatening a referendum to cut off Medicaid funding for abortions, which would prevent many poor and working women from exercising their legal right. Antiabortion forces want us to return to the days when thousands of women died each year from illegal back-alley abortions.

Many of the most vocal opponents of abortion, from Ronald Reagan to Jerry Falwell, also oppose other basic rights of working people such as the right to unionize, the right to decent, affordable health care and education, and the right to equal employment opportunity. The antiabortion campaign is part of a general attack on the labor movement, on women, and on minority groups. Following the motto that "an injury to one is an injury to all," all unionists need to unite to defend the rights of working women. A strong labor presence in Washington on March 9 will demonstrate our solidarity

with all women in defense of their hard-won rights.

## What?

Right-wing anti-abortion-rights fanatic Joseph Scheidler, a founder of Pro-Life Action League, which specializes in harassing women at abortion clinics, explained some of his group's philosophy in an interview with the *Chicago Tribune*. "Most people in the pro-life movement have a certain morality and believe sex is not for fun and games," he said. "I think contraception is disgusting — people using each other for pleasure."

## Baton Rouge campus NOW chapter gears up for March 9

BY KATY KARLIN

BATON ROUGE, La. — The chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) at Louisiana State University, founded a year and a half ago, is part of a growing movement among young women who feel the need to organize around the defense of abortion rights and other feminist issues.

Like other NOW chapters, LSU NOW is busy gearing up for the March 9 demonstration for safe and legal abortion and birth control. "This is designed to be the biggest proabortion demonstration in history," said Dina El-Mogazi,

a 21-year-old senior who is one of the coordinators of the chapter.

The chapter is having three fund-raising events to help pay for the bus to Washington, D.C., for the March 9 demonstration: a dance, a raffle for a restaurant dinner, and a car wash to be held on Susan B. Anthony's birthday — appropriately called the Susan B. Anthony Car Wash.

The chapter is also planning to publicize the demonstration with regular information tables on campus, a mass mailing, and a posting of the rally leaflet on campus and around Baton Rouge.

When the chapter was chartered in the fall of 1984, one of its first actions was to organize a counter-demonstration to a huge antiabortion rally at the governor's mansion. Twenty-five proabortion pickets showed up as compared with 5,000 right-wing antiabortionists. "But we had a big effect," El-Mogazi said. "In spite of our small size, we got half the press coverage."

The LSU NOW chapter initiated a fundraising practice that has already caught on in other chapters. Before the antiabortion demonstrations take place, NOW members solicit a financial pledge for each right-winger who shows up. The proceeds go to pay for the abortions of women who can't afford them otherwise.

The chapter has also organized an escort service for women entering the abortion clinic, who are harassed by right-wingers.

El-Mogazi said that the chapter has grown to 25 members, but the number of activists around the chapter is greater.

# Reveal U.S.-trained Honduran military death squads

BY HARRY RING

Recent developments in Central America continue to underline Washington's reactionary role there.

In Honduras it was disclosed that over a three-year period, several hundred asserted leftists were murdered by military death squads. The squads were trained by the CIA.

And in El Salvador it was disclosed that U.S. agencies and hirelings have been illegally transporting military supplies through El Salvador into Honduras. The supplies are for the Honduran-based, U.S.-sponsored Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, the *contras*, who are waging war against the Nicaraguan government. CIA sea and air attacks on Nicaragua were also launched from El Salvador in 1984.

Meanwhile, in El Salvador, two rank-and-file National Guard cops were convicted of slaying a Salvadoran and two U.S. emissaries. But the officers who ordered and supervised the murders remain free.

At the same time, Reagan has asked Congress for \$54 million for expanded training of Central American police units — in the name of combating terrorism. This is in addition to Reagan's request for \$100 million in aid for the Nicaraguan *contras*.

In the 1970s, in the wake of shocking exposures of wholesale torture and murder, Congress barred U.S. training for such police units. Later, an exception was made for combating "terrorism." The "exception" is now being made the rule.

The two convicted Salvadoran gunmen admitted that five years ago they had entered a restaurant and shot down Mark Pearlman, Michael Hammer, and José Viera. Viera headed a government-sponsored token land reform program. Hammer and Pearlman were advisers sent by the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a CIA-funded outfit.

The two cops testified the killings were ordered and supervised by Army Lt. Rodolfo López and Capt. Eduardo Avila, along with a right-wing businessman, Hans Christ.

Three witnesses corroborated this, but the Salvadoran courts refused to act.

In Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras,

two U.S. officials and a Honduran military officer, speaking anonymously, let it be known that the CIA provided training for special Honduran army police units that systematically sought out and murdered at least 200 people tabbed as leftists.

One of the U.S. officials said the CIA had not been directly involved in the killings, "but they knew about it, and when some people disappeared, they looked the other way."

Members of Congress knew about this in 1984, but said nothing.

According to reports, a Honduran military officer, now dead, told congressional staff members in 1984 of the CIA involvement with a secret Honduran intelligence

unit known as the 316 Battalion, the outfit that was doing the murdering.

This was confirmed by Dick McCall, an aide to Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), and Bruce Cameron, former legislative director of Americans for Democratic Action.

Honduran and U.S. sources also said that Argentine military advisers and Nicaraguan *contras* were also involved in the killings and disappearances.

Argentinian "experts" who had participated in the massive right-wing death squad operations in their homeland were brought into Honduras in 1980. They helped train Honduran units and Nicaraguan "freedom fighters."

One source said the CIA may have

helped finance the Argentinian training. Then, apparently, when the Argentinians pulled out because Washington backed Britain in the 1982 Malvinas war, the CIA took direct charge of training the Honduran killers.

Disclosure that U.S. agencies were transporting supplies to the *contras* by way of El Salvador came after one plane had to make a forced landing and another one crashed. The Salvadoran government takes the official posture that it is not involved in aiding the Nicaraguan mercenaries.

During 1984, supplies to the *contras* were flown through El Salvador on a regular basis, officials now concede. This route

Continued on next page

# Costa Rica, Nicaragua normalize relations

BY PAT GROGAN

The government of Costa Rica officially resumed diplomatic relations with Nicaragua on February 13. Relations between the two countries were cut off by Costa Rica last May following a border incident in which two members of the Costa Rican Civil Guard were killed.

On May 31, 1985, the Sandinista army attempted to dislodge a group of U.S.-backed mercenaries who had set up a base on the Nicaraguan side of the San Juan River, which separates southern Nicaragua and Costa Rica. It was after some of these *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) had fled across the border back into Costa Rica that the two members of the Costa Rican Civil Guard were killed.

The Costa Rican authorities immediately accused Nicaragua of being responsible for the deaths, without presenting any proof. Nicaragua denied the charge, pointing to evidence that the CIA-backed *contras* had carried out the attack in order to make it look as if Nicaragua had crossed the frontier.

The Costa Rican government refused Nicaragua's offer of an immediate investigation of the events by a joint Nicaraguan-Costa Rican commission or by the Prevention and Control Commission of the governments involved in the Contadora talks — Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Ven-

ezuela.

The Costa Rican government broke off diplomatic relations and went on a campaign to whip up war hysteria against Nicaragua within the country.

This was at the same time that the Honduran army staged a series of CIA-backed border provocations against Nicaragua from the north as part of Washington's stepped-up war drive.

Both Costa Rica and Honduras have been the staging grounds for *contra* attacks against Nicaragua since 1981. Given the military situation created on both borders, Nicaragua had taken the initiative in making proposals to reduce tensions.

In the case of Costa Rica, Nicaragua had proposed setting up a demilitarized zone along the border supervised by the Contadora countries and other countries with whom both Nicaragua and Costa Rica have good relations. But the Costa Rican government refused to participate.

Negotiations for the resumption of normal relations between the two countries have been going on for some months.

The February 14 issue of *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, reported on a February 12 letter to Costa Rican President Alberto Monge from Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega that opened the way for the normalization of relations.

Ortega wrote that he "deplored the fact that the actions Nicaragua is obliged to take in order to defend its territory and its national sovereignty against incursions from mercenary forces coming from other countries resulted in the deaths of two members of the Costa Rican Civil Guard."

Ortega reiterated that Nicaragua "does not nurture any desire to attack Costa Rica and only wants to base its relations with that brother country on a peaceful, mutually respectful, constructive coexistence for the benefit of peace between both peoples and governments."

In its response, the Costa Rican government said that it viewed "the explanation given by the Nicaraguan government" of the events last May as "effective steps toward a permanent, respectful, and peaceful coexistence between both countries."

*Barricada* reported that "Nicaragua completely supported the Costa Rican proposal to initiate a thorough discussion on permanent mechanisms to guarantee that border incidents will not be repeated, as well as to establish — through discussion with the Contadora Group and the Contadora Support Group [governments of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay] — a permanent commission to patrol the border for the security and confidence of both peoples."



## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Solidarity with the Hormel Strikers.** Speakers: Darryl Turner, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 422, just returned from fact-finding trip to Austin, Minnesota; Bob Singleton, farm organizer. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3075.

## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Defending Abortion Rights — What's At Stake for All Working People.** Speakers: Francisca Cavazos, community organizer; Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Phoenix National Organization for Women; representative of Arizona Coalition of Labor Union Women. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

**Hormel: the United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 Strike.** Video showing of *Nightline* interviews with Local P-9 President Jim Guyette and an International representative of the UFCW. Presentation to follow by Glenn Orlic, member International Association of Machinists Local 763 and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Haiti: What's Going On.** Speakers: Greg Jackson, representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Bilingual forum in English and Spanish. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**Bitter Cane.** Award-winning documentary film on Haiti. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

### San Francisco

**Bitter Cane.** Award-winning documentary film on Haiti. Fri., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### San Jose

**Bitter Cane.** Award-winning documentary film

on Haiti. Sun., March 2, 6:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**We're Moving On: Rally for 18th Anniversary of the Atlanta Militant Bookstore.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Stephanie Collins, member United Auto Workers Local 10; others. Sat., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**U.S. Aggression Against Nicaragua, an Eyewitness Account.** Speakers: Gertrude Hughes, antiwar activist recently returned from Nicaragua; John Lemon, Socialist Workers Party; representative from Casa Baltimore. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore, with Cuba and Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Nancy Burton and Mark Franklin, Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 22. Grand opening begins 5 p.m., forum at 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. Twenty percent off all Pathfinder Press books. 2135 Woodward Ave. Ausp: Militant Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

## MISSOURI

### Kansas City

**Keep Abortion Safe and Legal.** Video showing of *Silent Screams* followed by *The Facts Speak Louder*. Panel discussion to follow with representative from Planned Parenthood and with Etta Ettlinger, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 93. Sun., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**Stop Union-busting — from Austin, Minnesota, to Kansas City, Missouri.** Panel discussion. Sun., March 2, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## SWP discusses Hormel, Nicaragua war

### Continued from Page 9

said, is the central campaign of every branch today. What happens to P-9, Ntweng noted, will affect the Black struggle, the March 9 and 16 national abortion rights demonstrations, and the efforts to build a movement against the U.S.-organized war in Central America.

Everyone has a stake in this struggle: students, anti-apartheid activists, members of the National Organization for Women, NAACP and other Black rights and women's rights groups, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and unionists. They should all be encouraged to go to Austin, adopt a P-9 family, boycott Hormel, and send messages of support to Austin.

The weekly Militant Labor Forums, SWP election campaigns for public office, Pathfinder bookstores — all should be part of the campaign to support the strike.

Sales of the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication *Perspectiva*

*Mundial* at plant gates, in working-class communities, political events, on campuses, and at high schools are key to getting out the truth about the battle and spreading the word to larger layers of working people.

### Farmers

The Austin strike has already won significant support from working farmers, who are attracted by the combativity of these fighters and who are beginning to see that workers and farmers have a common enemy. The Austin struggle, it was pointed out, will accelerate the development of a fighting farmers' movement in the Midwest. And it makes it easier for working farmers to see that the unions really can be changed from organizations that care only about defending the jobs of an ever-shrinking membership into fighting organizations that are part of a common front against the employers and the government.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Film: Malcolm X: The Struggle for Freedom.** Presentation to follow. Fri., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Albany

**Rally in Defense of Women's Rights: Celebrating Generations of Women In Struggle the World Over.** Speakers: Jeanette Mothobi, women's division, African National Congress of South Africa; Josefina Elizander, Casa Nicaragua; Dorothy Cotton, civil rights activist; Carol Reachert, National Organization for Women; Colia Clark, SUNYA Afro-American Studies Department; others. Mon., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. Campus Center Ballroom SUNYA, 1400 Washington Ave., Donation: \$3. Ausp: SUNYA Women's Rights Coalition and Student Association. For more information call (518) 442-5640.

### Manhattan

**Tribute to Sandino and International Solidarity.** Speakers: Bill Gandall, 77-year-old ex-Marine who fought against Sandino who is now a supporter of the Sandinista revolution, will speak about his experiences; showing of documentary film, *Living at Risk*, about a family in the Nicaraguan revolution. Sat., Feb. 22, 3-10 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W 11th St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

**How to Support the Hormel Workers and Stop Union-busting.** Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Black Women and the Fight to Defend Abortion Rights.** Sun., Feb. 23, 5 p.m. 2219 E. Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, 15 percent off all titles in Militant Bookstore during Black history month. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Socialist Workers Campaign Open House.** Hear Amy Husk, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, report back from her recent trip to Austin, Minnesota, in solidarity with Hormel strikers. Sat., Feb. 22; 5-8 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Ausp: 1986 Oregon Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## TEXAS

### Dallas

#### Celebrate Black History Month.

Forum: "Malcolm X, the Meaning of His Ideas Today." Speakers: Janet Brammer; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 132 N Beckley Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

Books on Black struggle and the fight against apartheid. Pathfinder Bookstore. Hours: Thurs. and Fri., 12 noon to 8 p.m.; Sat., 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Sun., 12 noon to 4 p.m. 132 N Beckley Ave.

For more information call (214) 943-5195.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**Unionists Look at the Hormel Strike: What Is at Stake for Working People.** Speakers: Dave Whipp, recording secretary of International Association of Machinists Local 1525; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22,

7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**Tribute to Malcolm X.** Sun., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 611-A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### Morgantown

**Support the Hormel Strikers.** An eyewitness report. Speaker: Sara Lobman, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

**Why Support a Woman's Right to Choose?** Speakers: Sister Barbara Ferraro and Sister Patricia Hussey, signers of 1984 abortion rights ad, under threat of dismissal from their order. Sat., March 1, 2 p.m. West Virginia University, Collegiate Room in Mountainlair building. Ausp: Center for Women's Studies, Morgantown National Organization for Women.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**The Hormel Strike, Workers Fight Back Against Union-busting.** Speakers: Sandi Sherman, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**Health Care for People or Profits?** A panel discussion. Speakers: Doug Nance, assistant professor UWM School of Nursing; Karen Murphy, Concerned Citizens for HMO Reform; and Lenore Holyon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## U.S.-trained death squads in Honduras

### Continued from previous page

has been reactivated, they say, because of problems with the Honduran government, which has shown some reluctance at having the materiel flown directly from the United States to the contra bases on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

The spotlight was put on the Salvadoran ferrying operation with the two plane mishaps. In both cases, Salvadoran troops quickly sealed off the areas, with both Washington and San Salvador claiming ignorance of the incidents.

Previous information on the funneling of contra aid through El Salvador came to light last year when Costa Rican police arrested five foreign mercenaries at a contra camp in that country.

Two of those arrested — one from the United States, the other from Britain — said they had initially flown from Miami to a military airport in El Salvador. They said the plane was filled with guns and ammo for the contras and was piloted by a Cuban exile.

They said Salvadoran soldiers reloaded the cargo onto a smaller plane, which took it on to the contra camp in Costa Rica.

All of this supposedly without the knowledge of Washington, which maintains a powerful radar surveillance system in El Salvador.

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.

**ALABAMA: Birmingham:** SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO: Denver:** SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

**KENTUCKY: Louisville:** SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA: New Orleans:** SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

**MASSACHUSETTS: Boston:** SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

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

**MINNESOTA: Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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

**NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany):** SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist Books,** 226-8445.

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

**OHIO: Cincinnati:** SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

**PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Mailing address: P.O. Box 4789. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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

**Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

**VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News):** SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

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

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

**WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston:** SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. 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.



**Senior jollies** — Why do some older folk shoplift? Well, explains Dr. Leonard Kaye, a Columbia University gerontologist, some of them are long-time criminals no



**Harry Ring**

longer strong enough for heavy-duty crime. Some feel lonely and want to be noticed. (By the rent-a-cop?) Others are responding to stress. To be sure, the doc agrees, poverty is one such stress. But often it's not hunger. They just

haven't adjusted to lower incomes.

**Oh** — Reagan said to knock off that noise about the Pentagon buying \$600 toilet seat covers. What they bought, he explains, was molded plastic lids that cover the toilet.

**This is it** — We've made a final bathtub choice, the Sensorium. Molded acrylic with gold-finished grip bars. Control the various water speeds with a cordless phone that also operates the stereo system and wall TV screen. Another control deals with appliances, etc., around the house. Call from the office, airport, or car and instruct it to draw your bath. \$25,000 plus installation.

**Sure, it's complicated** — The House "ethics" committee cleared Rep. Dan Daniel (D-Va.). He's the chap who accepted free plane rides home, to golf outings, etc., from Beech Aircraft, a war contractor. He also "erroneously" billed taxpayers for auto trips that were actually made via Beechcraft. The committee said he didn't fully understand the rules on freebies.

**Probably a majority of us** — "To many American taxpayers, the good life involves not only enjoying lunch at '21,' front-row seats at the Metropolitan Opera, a mid-winter trip to Miami Beach, or an orchid-growing hobby — but writing them off as a business expense as well." — *New York Times*.

**Separate but equal, right?** — Several Detroit-area corporations have advised their executives that they will no longer pay their membership dues in the Detroit Athletic Club, which recently reaffirmed its male-only membership policy. But Ford and Chrysler said they will continue paying executive dues. A Ford spokesman said the company also pays for female executives in women's clubs.

**Fair housing** — Boston-area housing is among the most expensive in the country. But not for Richard Leary, administrator of Brookline, a prosperous suburb. He rents a house owned by the town. A neat six rooms and situated in a park, it could bring maybe \$1,500 a month. He pays a

fast \$350, but notes he helps keep an eye on the park.

**Capitalism, it's wunnerful** — Lease a big, fully equipped plant, rent-free, and the owner guarantees to buy your total product at top prices. Why not? Courtesy the Pentagon, General Dynamics has such an aircraft plant in Fort Worth. LTV turns out aerospace products in a government-provided plant in Dallas. And Grumman Aircraft enjoys several on Long Island.

**Thought for the week** — "There are a lot of governments elected by fraud." — White House chief of staff Donald Regan on the Philippine elections.

## 'Move Your Shadow': broad picture of apartheid

**Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White** by Joseph Lelyveld. Times Books, New York. \$18.95, 389 pages, hardcover.

BY AUGUST NIMTZ

In 1966, *New York Times* reporter Joseph Lelyveld, after almost a year in South Africa, was forced to leave the country because of the government's objections to his

### BOOK REVIEW

articles. More than a decade later, the regime, to his surprise, allowed him to return as the paper's correspondent.

Lelyveld was anxious to go back to see if there had indeed been positive changes in the country as apologists for the regime had contended. His new book, *Move Your Shadow*, based on his second stint — from 1980 to the beginning of 1984 — convincingly refutes the claims of Pretoria's defenders.

Lelyveld's book provides the reader with a broad and at times detailed picture of the evil character of the racist apartheid system. He wrote the book in the form of a "reporter's notebook," that is, as a personal account of his experiences and observations.

He presents the figures demonstrating the "gap between black reality and white reality."

"It can be shown," he writes, "that the 4.5 million whites have more than 250,000 swimming pools and 800,000 servants; that the per capita white income may be as much as 15 times higher than that of blacks; that the white 15 percent of the population has reserved more than two-thirds of the land for its own use (leaving the

other one-third to the blacks, the browns, and the animals in the game parks)."

What is perhaps most useful is his portrait of the homeland system, the heart of apartheid, and its devastating impact on Blacks.

Apartheid, or the separation of the races, is necessary, Lelyveld argues, because "once you think of the society as a whole, it is impossible not to think of the distribution of the land — 50,000 white farmers have 12 times as much land for cultivation and grazing as 14 million rural blacks — or of the need to relieve the pressure in those portions of the countryside that have been systematically turned into catchment areas for surplus black population."

Apartheid is the racist answer to this dilemma. "It is the ultimate divide-and-rule strategy, dividing the land into racially designated areas and bogus homelands and the population into distinct racial castes and sub-castes..." The homelands, to which virtually all Africans are assigned on the basis of ethnicity, he confirms, are the regime's creations and have little or no basis in the historical reality of Africans.

The regime, Lelyveld points out, also subdivides Africans into "six distinct impermeable or semi-permeable categories." Urban-rural, homeland-non-homeland, and commuter-non-commuter differences are the bases for the distinctions.

In order to maintain the fiction of the homelands, the government has instituted what Lelyveld correctly calls "forced busing" — the reason so many Africans have become commuters. The "lucky" ones are those who can commute to work everyday as opposed to those who are allowed to visit their families only once a year. Many of the "fortunate" commuters from the new homeland of

KwaNdebele, Lelyveld discovered, spent "up to eight hours a day on buses."

While ethnic origin is supposed to be the criteria for homeland residency, Lelyveld points out that it is frequently baseless. At the same time he describes how the homeland policy promotes "tribalism" — which is the regime's intention. He also shows how the Black elite who have emerged to administer the homelands benefits from such policies.

Lelyveld perceptively points out the "logic" of the system — why it carries out such an insidious policy. "The apparatus must go on... because it is up against the human instinct for survival and the imperatives of black rural development in South Africa, all of which point to an antithetical program: moving people out of the reserves, not in, and land reform in the presently sacrosanct white areas."

Lelyveld's major problem is his assessment of the African revolution. He is convinced that the regime has entrenched the apartheid system in such a way as to make it virtually impregnable. There is no revolutionary leadership in his opinion that could topple the racists. The African National Congress (ANC), he says, "may be one of the world's least effective 'liberation movements'..."

Had he been in South Africa when the current upsurge began in August 1984, he might have come to different conclusions about the prospects for real change. The almost constant mobilizations of the Black masses since then, in which the African National Congress has played a leading role, belie Lelyveld's assessment. At no time in its history has the regime been as vulnerable as it is today, and at no time have the Black masses been as confident in their struggle and in the leadership of the ANC as they are now.

## Portland rally: 'End attacks on abortion clinics'

BY AMY HUSK

PORTLAND — More than 300 supporters of abortion rights came out for a rally here on January 24 to demand an end to the campaign of violence against abortion clinics and family planning centers in the area. The rally was held at the Portland State University campus and was cosponsored by the PSU Women's Union and the Community Clinic Defense Coalition (CCDC). The CCDC was formed in August 1985 to respond to attacks on local abortion clinics.

The rally came at a time of heightened attacks on abortion rights in Portland. Picketing by antiabortionists at area clinics has increased, and in December lethal mailbombs were sent to area family planning and abortion facilities. Fortunately, the bombs were discovered, and no one was injured.

In the week prior to the event, antiabortion fanatics circulated a letter urging a big turnout for the rally to pack the auditorium with abortion opponents. This would not be the first time that the right-wingers have tried to disrupt meetings in support of abortion rights in this area.

Organizers of the rally were prepared for the attempted disruption. The coalition went on a campaign to alert abortion rights supporters. Rally organizers also trained monitors and arranged for campus security and city police to be present.

By 7:00 p.m. when the doors to the rally were to open to the public, the room was already filled to capacity with 200 supporters of abortion rights. About 70 antiabortionists were unable to enter. About 100

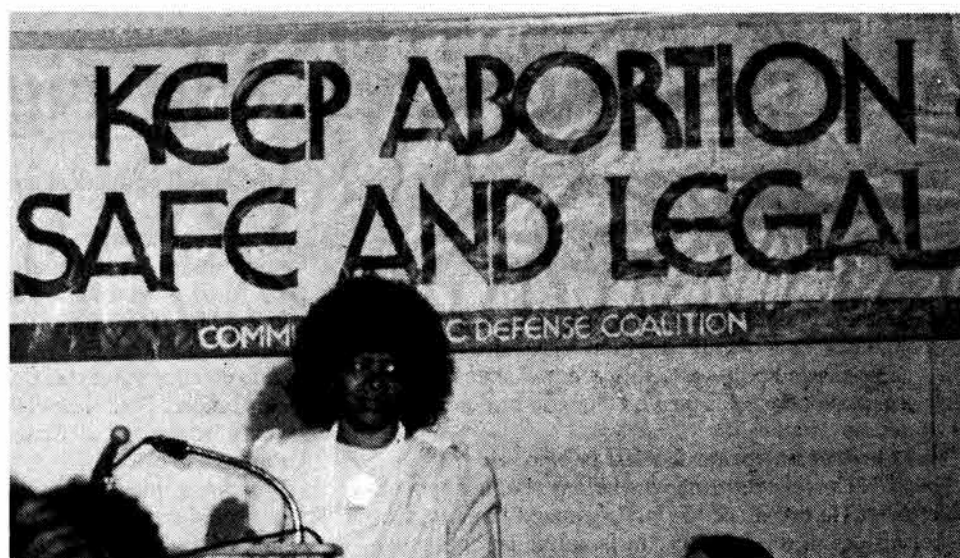
additional abortion rights supporters were also unable to get inside the room.

As the meeting was beginning, those of us on the inside heard chanting from the hallway. At first we thought it was the right-wingers. Then the chair announced that our supporters who couldn't get in were chanting down the crowd of right-wingers. They stayed outside throughout the entire rally chanting "Pro-choice" and "Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate."

Before the speakers were introduced, the chair read a list of endorsers of the rally. The list of 19 organizations included the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Abortion Rights Action League, Portland Rainbow Coalition, Portland National Organization for Women, Portland Democratic Socialists of America, the Socialist Workers Party, and others. Many of the endorsing organizations had literature tables inside the room.

Julia Hicks of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was the first speaker. Hicks is a long-time activist in the civil rights movement and is currently active in the Vancouver, Washington, chapter of the NAACP. She is a member of Portlanders Organized for Southern African Freedom.

She described the "pro-life" people as the same "people who were wearing white sheets when we fought for our civil rights." She also talked about the effects of the Hyde Amendment on poor and minority women. The Hyde Amendment is a bill passed by Congress in 1976 that cut off all Medicaid funding for abortion. Currently,



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Julia Hicks of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union spoke at January 24 Portland rally in defense of abortion rights.

Oregon faces a challenge to state funding for abortion by opponents of abortion rights. They are working to place an anti-abortion referendum on the November ballot.

The rally demanded an end to the terrorist campaign against local clinics, which provide abortion and birth control services. Dr. Peter Bours, who runs a clinic in Forest Grove, Oregon, described the harassment — including death threats — that he has been subjected to. His clinic was one of the targets of the December mailbombs. He concluded his remarks by saying, "We have to be more vocal. We have to fight

back."

This was also the message delivered to the rally by Kathy Fredericks, president of the Portland chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW). She invited everyone to participate in the National March for Women's Lives. These two marches, sponsored by NOW, are demanding that abortion and birth control remain safe and legal. They will be held in Washington, D.C., on March 9 and in Los Angeles on March 16.

Amy Husk is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Oregon.



# Protest U.S. attack on Angola

"U.S., South Africa, hands off Angola!"

Protests on that theme should be the response of every opponent of apartheid and U.S. military intervention to the announcement that Washington is sending anti-aircraft missiles, anti-tank missiles, and other military hardware to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

This is an act of war against the government and people of Angola.

UNITA is a terrorist outfit that already gets large amounts of arms and money, as well as military personnel, from the apartheid regime in South Africa. UNITA operates as part of the racist regime's 10-year war against Angola, a war that has taken more than 10,000 Angolan lives.

The virtually public arms shipments to UNITA are a way of covertly stepping up Washington's support to the apartheid regime's war. Some 4,000 South African troops currently occupy parts of southern Angola.

The Angolan government is a target because it politically supports the struggle against apartheid and the independence fight in Namibia, which is occupied and ruled as a colony by the South African government.

Washington's move to send arms to UNITA comes shortly after Jonas Savimbi, who heads the UNITA terrorists, received a royal welcome from President Reagan during a two-week visit in this country that began on January 28.

It comes after Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker urged the Chevron Corporation to withdraw its investments from Angola and after his February 12-13 meeting with South African Foreign Minister Roelof

Botha in Geneva, Switzerland.

As he was informing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the arms shipments February 18, Crocker urged Congress to adopt a resolution demanding that the Angolan government negotiate a settlement acceptable to UNITA and its South African backers.

The Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency has expressed hope that stepped-up military pressure on Angola will bring about a military coup against the government. A South African military blockade against Lesotho resulted in the overthrow of that country's government by a military coup January 20.

Washington has been involved in the war against Angola from the beginning.

Shortly before Angola became independent in 1975, thousands of South African troops poured into Angola. They marched on the capital city of Luanda where leaders of the independence struggle had established a government. The South African regime's goal was to overthrow this government and impose one based on UNITA and other rightist forces.

It was later revealed that Washington had collaborated with the apartheid regime at every step in the invasion and had provided at least \$32 million to UNITA and its allies.

The invasion of Angola was turned back only after the arrival of thousands of Cuban volunteer troops requested by the Angolan government.

Every opponent of apartheid and U.S. intervention should stand with the Angolan people and their Cuban allies against the escalating attacks.

# French troops out of Chad

On February 16 the French government landed 200 combat troops in its former African colony of Chad. It sent 15 Jaguar aircraft backed up by Mirage fighters and blew up an aircraft in northern Chad. Another 1,500 French troops in the neighboring Central African Republic have been placed on alert.

The attack was ordered by French President François Mitterrand to shore up the imperialist-dominated regime of Hissène Habré against a rebel offensive led by former Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei.

The French government portrayed itself as protecting Chad from "foreign" aggression by Libya, which borders on Chad.

Two U.S. aircraft carriers remain off the Libyan coast. Carrier planes recently "intercepted" more than a dozen Libyan planes. U.S. officials have said that the arrival of a third aircraft carrier in March may set the stage for a move into Libya's Gulf of Sidra, which some openly hope will provoke a clash.

The French imperialists have taken advantage of the war hysteria being whipped up against Libya in order to cover their aggression in Chad.

This is the third time that France has directly intervened in the former French colony since Chad won its independence in 1960. The first time was in 1969.

In 1983, Paris dispatched 3,000 combat troops to Chad to counter important military advances by the rebel forces led by Oueddei. Oueddei was driven from power by the imperialist-backed forces of Habré in June 1982. Oueddei's Transitional Government of National Union has received support from Libya.

After a year-long intervention, backed up by tens of millions of dollars in military aid from Washington, the French imperialists calculated that the Habré regime could survive for a while without the presence of French troops. However, French military advisers remained. The French government continued to use Chadian air space and military transit facilities, and large amounts of French military aid were poured into the Habré regime.

Now Chad's former imperial master has decided to step in once again to bolster the Habré regime and maintain French imperialist domination. This domination has brought poverty and death to the Chadian people, who have a life expectancy of about 40 years and a per capita annual income of \$70.

Working people in this country and throughout the world should take a strong stand against the aggression by Washington and Paris by demanding, "French troops out of Chad! Hands off Libya!"

# Attack on citizenship rights

The United States government wants to revoke the U.S. citizenship of Meir Kahane. Kahane, who founded the racist Jewish Defense League in this country, is now a member of the Israeli parliament and leader of the fascist Kach Party.

The February 5 *New York Times* said that a State Department brief laid out the position that "an American Jew's religious and political affinity for the state of Israel may form part of the basis on which he can be deprived of his American citizenship."

This move against Kahane must be opposed.

Kahane is a racist terrorist who belongs behind bars for his crimes. He boasts of having organized bombings of Soviet offices in this country. In Israel he and his thugs organize racist violence as part of a campaign to drive all Arabs from Israel and territory occupied by it.

But the government's action is not intended to put a stop to the violence of Kahane and his racist gangs. If the government wanted to do that, it could start by arresting the killers of Alex Odeh, West Coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Although the FBI said publicly that the Jewish Defense League was "the possible responsible group," no arrests have been made since the October 11 murder.

The U.S. government has long sought the right to deny U.S. citizenship to people on the basis of their "political affinity" or their political actions in other countries.

The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act passed during the antidemocratic witch-hunt following World War II, stated that anyone who voted or ran for office in a foreign election would lose citizenship.

This stricture has never applied to close allies of the U.S. rulers such as Moshe Arens, an Israeli capitalist politician who maintained dual citizenship while serving

in the Israeli parliament and as Israel's ambassador to the United States.

The same tolerance was not practiced when socialist opponents of the capitalist government were involved. The U.S. government attempted in 1964 to lift the citizenship of and deport Joe Johnson, a member of the Socialist Workers Party. They charged he had voted and run in elections as a socialist while living in Canada some years before. Four years later, after Johnson had waged a widely supported defense campaign, the government dropped the effort.

As government repression met more resistance during the 1960s, court decisions blocked the government from using this provision of the McCarran-Walter Act against political dissenters.

The government is now attempting to expel author Margaret Randall from the United States. Randall gave up her U.S. citizenship (having been misinformed by a U.S. official that this was necessary) when she sought Mexican citizenship in 1961. She did this in order to be able to work in Mexico.

Now the government claims that she cannot live in this country because her books supporting the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Vietnamese revolutions "go far beyond mere dissent, disagreement with, or criticism of the United States and its policies."

Removing Kahane's citizenship will give the government a handle for attacks on the citizenship rights of those accused of "political affinity" for Nicaragua, Cuba, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Angola, Palestine, Iran, Libya, or other countries where revolutions or revolutionary struggles take place.

The move to revoke Kahane's citizenship threatens the democratic rights of all.

# Malcolm X: How rulers' media smears oppressed

Malcolm X was gunned down in Harlem's Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965. He was one of the most outstanding revolutionary leaders in the history of U.S. working people. The possible role of the U.S. government in his assassination has never been clarified because of the official cover-up that followed.

Malcolm X saw support for struggles of the oppressed around the world as key to Black liberation. During much

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

of 1964 he toured Africa and the Middle East, seeking support for the Black struggle in the United States and learning about the world revolutionary struggle.

He was outraged when the U.S. and Belgian governments sent troops and planes to crush a popular uprising in the Congo (now Zaire) in 1964. On Dec. 13, 1964, Malcolm spoke to a rally at the Audubon Ballroom about this crime — and about the capitalist media campaign that tried to justify it.

The speech, excerpted below, is published in *Malcolm X Speaks*, © copyright 1965 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission. It is available in paper for \$5.95 plus 75 cents for postage and handling from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

I, for one, would like to impress, especially upon those who call themselves leaders, the importance of realizing the direct connection between the struggle of the Afro-American in this country and the struggle of our people all over the world. As long as we think — as one of my good brothers mentioned out of the side of his mouth here a couple of Sundays ago — that we should get Mississippi straightened out before we worry about the Congo, you'll never get Mississippi straightened out. . . .

We have to realize what part our struggle has in the over-all world struggle. Secondly, we need allies. . . . But when we realize how large this earth is and how many different people there are on it, and how closely they resemble us, then when we turn to them for some sort of help or aid or to form alliances, then we'll make a little faster progress. . . .

I think it's important to show the importance of keeping an open mind. . . . We never like to think in terms of being dumb enough to let someone put something over on us. . . . But you and I are living in a very deceitful and tricky country which has a very deceitful and tricky government. . . .

They take the newspapers and make the newspapers blow you and me up as if all of us are criminals, all of us are racists, all of us are drug addicts, or all of us are rioting. This is how they do it. When you explode legitimately against the injustices that have been heaped upon you, they use the press to make it look like you're a vandal. If you were a vandal, you have the right to be a vandal.

The press is so powerful in its image-making role, it can make a criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. . . . If you aren't careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing. . . .

Right now, in the Congo, defenseless villages are being bombed, black women and children and babies are being blown to bits by airplanes. Where do these airplanes come from? The United States. . . . [The media] won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men. No.

Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian. As long as they're being piloted by anti-Castro Cubans, that makes it all right. Because Castro's a villain, and anybody who's against him, whatever they do, that's humanitarian. . . .

They take the press with their ability to control you with image-making, and they make mass murder, cold-blooded murder, look like a humanitarian project. All these thousands of black people dying, butchered, and you have no compassion in your hearts whatsoever for them, because the victim has been made to look like he's the criminal. . . .

So I say, brothers and sisters, it's not a case of worrying about what's going on in Africa before we get things straight over here. It's a case of realizing that the Afro-American problem is not a Negro problem, or an American problem, but a human problem, a problem for humanity. When you realize that, when you look at your and my problem in the context of the entire world and see that it is a world problem, and that there are other people on this earth who look just like you do — who also have the same problem — then you and I become allies and we can put forth our efforts in a way to get the best results.



# Women coal miners discuss abortion rights action

The following is a guest column by Clare Fraenzl. Fraenzl is a coal miner, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1197, and secretary of the Pennsylvania Women Miners Support Group.

The idea of a massive march on Washington to defend our hard-won abortion rights is getting a good response among Pennsylvania's women coal miners. At the January meeting of the Pennsylvania Women Miners Support



## WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

Group we discussed how to relate to the March 9 demonstration called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). (The Support Group is part of a network of women miners and their supporters organized by the Coal Employment Project. Support groups work closely with

the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to increase participation of women miners in union activities and to address the special problems of women miners.)

Our group had never formally discussed the question of abortion rights before so we decided that the best thing to do was have an initial discussion to see how our members felt about abortion rights.

The discussion was a lively one. One woman pointed out that without abortion and contraceptive rights, women can't make any decisions about our lives. Another said she had had an illegal abortion and never wanted another woman to have to go through what she did. Another woman was noncommittal about abortion, but expressed concern that antiabortionists might attack the march. Several others just liked the idea of women getting out and demonstrating. They felt a visible presence of so many women would help combat the pressures that stepped-up attacks on women's rights were creating for us on the job.

One miner said she thought we should get the UMWA involved in supporting the march. She pointed out that our union had defended women's rights in the past by supporting the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. Other unions are supporting the march, she said, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, to which many of us

belong, had already endorsed it. Other members of the group thought it would take time before we could get the UMWA to endorse a proabortion rights action.

Since neither a national gathering of women miners nor any of the other support groups have discussed the issue of abortion rights yet, or the national march, we decided not to officially endorse the march, but that many of us would participate as individuals. We felt that we needed more information and further discussions, both in our own group and with women miners around the country. To help the process of discussion, though, we decided to invite a representative from NOW to our next meeting.

Some women thought that getting involved in proabortion activities would make the support group more attractive to other women miners. But others felt that it would turn off many who might otherwise join our group.

We all agreed, however, that this issue is just beginning to be talked about in our union, and that we had made a good start by discussing the issue among ourselves. A number of us have decided that we want to go to the march, and we are sure that as news of the action spreads through the mines, other miners, both male and female, will join us. Look for our hard hats March 9 — we'll be there!

# Balto. Steelworkers protest mill dept. closing

BY REBA WILLIAMS AND JOE KLEIDON

Last December 18, Bethlehem Steel closed down the shearing tin plate lines at its Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, costing 111 workers their jobs. The company transferred the work formerly done by members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2609 to a low-pay, nonunion plant in the Baltimore area.

On December 11, a week before the shutdown, more than 200 steelworkers, their relatives, and other Baltimore area residents attended a rally called by Local 2609. The meeting was called to protest the shutting down of

want to get rid of it so they can bust the union. These companies want to bust the unions so they can go back to \$3 an hour."

Bud White, a shop steward from the shears area, told the meeting, "We get the same old story — 'you're not producing enough.' The company is taking the easy way out. Us young guys have a lot to lose. We're going from the tax rolls to the welfare rolls."

District 8 director of the USWA, Dave Wilson, explained, "Our shearing tin plate is not being hurt by foreign competition. It's happening because Bethlehem Steel refuses to invest \$1.8 million. It's legally wrong, contractually wrong, and morally wrong because we reached an agreement for the crew size to last five years."

Wilson described a conversation he had with Baltimore Mayor William Shaeffer. Shaeffer supports the Baltimore Economic Development Corp., which has backed the development of a local mini-mill where the nonunion wages are \$6 an hour with no benefits. This is the type of production facility that Bethlehem Steel admitted it was negotiating with to send work that its shears performed. Wilson said he explained to Shaeffer that the mayor was ensuring a lower standard of living with his policies. Wilson added that Shaeffer accused him of not understanding economics.

"This is not an economic recovery, it's a sickness," Len Shindel told the meeting. Shindel, a grievance committeeman in the shears area, went on, "Nothing will turn your stomach more than watching a steel mill rusting away."

A number of the politicians, claiming to have relatives who are steelworkers, or to have worked in a steel mill at

one time themselves, professed their support for steelworkers. But they also blamed steelworkers for their current dilemma. One even said, "Steelworkers were sitting back, watching television, and that's why things have gotten to this point."

A young Black worker took this head on and got the most enthusiastic applause when he proclaimed during the open mike period that "the politicians have come here tonight and talked their trash; what we need is action!" He drew attention to the fact that he was still wearing his work clothes because he was too tired to change when he got home from work. "I fell asleep, picked my wife up, and came right to this meeting," he said. "Our political and union leaders have held office while things got worse." He indicated that many steelworkers had come to the meeting because they are beginning to realize that action by steelworkers themselves is needed to improve their situation.

After the meeting, lively discussions took place. Many of the women at the meeting who were steelworkers took note of the fact that very few women were left in the mill. With the loss of the shears jobs, a large percentage of women stand to lose their jobs. A number of steelworkers commented, usually with anger or annoyance, that a meeting like this one should have been held a year ago when the threat to shut down the shears became well known.

Joe Kleidon is a member of USWA Local 2609 at Sparrows Point. Reba Williams is an unemployed member of the International Association of Machinists. Both participated in the December 18 meeting.

## UNION TALK

the shears lines and to pressure Bethlehem Steel to invest in modernization of the antiquated equipment in the finishing mills. Major local press and TV stations covered the meeting. Also in attendance were a handful of local politicians and representatives of elected public officials.

The union had been negotiating with the company for more than a year in an attempt to save at least some of the jobs on the shears.

Marian Wilson, a union shop steward who served on the negotiating committee, told the public meeting, "We worked long and hard. We came up with a proposal to the company that would keep 31 jobs. The company didn't want it." Wilson, who has worked in the mill for 34 years, continued, "They want to get rid of the mill. They

## LETTERS

### Hands off Libya

Pickers slog through freezing rain at the Federal Building in Detroit to demand "Hands off Libya" on February 1, the date Reagan's new anti-Libya sanctions were supposed to take effect.

Anti-apartheid and antiwar activists joined members of the All Peoples Congress, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance in the protest.

Thirty-five people participated, chanting "Boycott South Africa — hands off Libya!"

Arab organizations and activists in the Middle Eastern community who were contacted about the protest reported an increase in visits from the FBI.

This fits in with the announced intentions of the government to step up attacks on the democratic rights of foreign-born workers, as well as the rights of U.S. working people in general to live and work where we choose.

Joanne Murphy  
Detroit, Michigan

### Sagon Penn rally

The fight to defend Sagon Penn received a big boost as hundreds of supporters rallied in the San Diego Black community January 25.

Penn, a 23-year-old Black youth, stands accused of killing

one cop, wounding another, and wounding a ride-along passenger. Penn was forced to defend himself last March when Donovan Jacobs and Thomas Riggs, both San Diego cops, stopped his truck, began yelling racist slurs and then started beating him with their batons.

Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, was the featured speaker at the rally. He compared Penn's case to that of framed-up Indian activist Leonard Peltier.

Many of those who spoke drew the links between racism in the U.S. and the apartheid system in South Africa.

Richard Reeves  
San Diego, California

### 'Another point of view'

When flyers appeared on campus last semester celebrating the arrival of "another point of view" on political issues, many students at my traditionally very conservative university were excited. With the discovery that our new chapter of Young Americans for Freedom was merely a more dogmatic rendition of the most common views here, we realized our excitement was precipitous.

With the hope of actually introducing another point of view, several of us have pooled resources to

subscribe to 12 weeks of the *Militant*.

Tia Murchie  
Williamsburg, Virginia

### Abraham Lincoln

In the month of February falls the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the leader of the social forces that fought and won the second North American revolution, popularly known as the Civil War. The government established by Lincoln and the then newly organized Republican Party was a popular, revolutionary dictatorship, suppressing and repressing pro-Confederate activities in the North, and organizing with iron determination the war against the slaveholder rebellion in the South.

Lincoln himself calls to mind the organizer of victory in another civil war that started in 1640, stretched over a decade, and is known as the English Revolution. The man: Oliver Cromwell.

The astonishing similarity of these two hit me after reading *Lincoln* by the noted historical novelist Gore Vidal. He doesn't draw any connection between Lincoln and Cromwell — that's my correlation, but on the level of high drama and adventure, once you pick this book up you will find it hard, very hard, to put it down. The book is 99 percent history and 1 percent fiction, but the way the



Wagner

"Oh, there'll always be family farms, but it'll be the du Pont family and the Rockefeller family."

story is told entertains and educates the reader. You could even draw some modern-day parallels to Nicaragua under the Sandinistas.

So come now, let's celebrate, get a copy of Vidal's book.

Derrick Morrison  
New Orleans, Louisiana

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.



## 'Heroic struggle of Haitian people'

### Haitian leaders participate in Nicaragua conference



Gerard Pierre-Charles speaking at opening session of Conference of Political Parties of Latin America and Caribbean, held in Managua, Nicaragua.

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "We opened this meeting of Latin American political parties by listening to the message of a people who just expelled the Duvalier dictatorship," declared Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega in his opening speech to the Conference of Political Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean here.

Gerard Pierre-Charles, a well-known Haitian historian and leader of the United Haitian Communist Party, was a keynote speaker at the opening ceremony. He shared the platform with Ortega and Puerto Rican Independence Party leader Rubén Berrios.

"I bring you a message of joy and dignity," said Pierre-Charles. "The people of Haiti have liberated themselves from one of the most horrendous dictatorships in the world."

"Tomorrow, it will be Chile and the day after, Paraguay," he added.

Pierre-Charles paid tribute to the "extraordinary, quiet, difficult, and heroic struggle of the Haitian people." He also pointed to the example set by the Nicaraguan revolution. "I tell you that Sandino is ours," he explained. "The Sandinista revolution has inspired the Haitian youth who defied and finally defeated the [Duvalier] dictatorship."

The United Haitian Communist Party (PUCH), the Haitian Workers Party (PTH), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Haiti (FPLH) had delegations at the Managua conference.

The overthrow of Duvalier, the character of the current military junta, the future course of the Haitian struggle, and the role of U.S. intervention in Haiti were the topic of many discussions at the conference.

#### New junta condemned

All the Haitian delegates condemned the newly installed military junta and characterized it as an attempt to continue the old regime without Duvalier. They pointed out that four of the six members are officers of the Duvalierist army.

"The Haitian people have not struggled, have not invested so many human lives so that a military junta would be installed in power," said Pierre-Charles. "The struggle has been for an advanced democracy, and while the accomplishments so far represent a big advance, we know that the Haitian revolution has many demands and has barely begun. It is a question of resolving the problems of a country with 85 percent illiteracy, resolving problems of misery and malnutrition, problems of the most op-

pressed, the poorest country in Latin America."

The Haitian delegates also agreed that a key test of the new government would be whether it allowed the unconditional return of all political exiles. This will be important for the development of the revolutionary movement in Haiti, according to a delegate of the FPLH. Many leaders have been forced to live in exile for years, some since the early days of the Duvalier regime in the late 1950s.

The junta has said it will allow the return of exiles, but only according to current

legal restrictions set up by Duvalier, according to PUCH General-Secretary René Theodore. This means exiles will have to apply for a visa from the Haitian government. A Duvalierist law outlawing the Communist Party is still in effect, and this would be used against any opponent the junta does not approve of, said Theodore.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Antonio Polo, a leader of the Union of Patriotic and Democratic Forces of Haiti (which the PTH is part of), explained that the U.S. government had decided that Duvalier was no longer able to control the Haitian people and defend U.S. business interests. With the outbreak of massive protests last year, the United States decided it was time to change the Haitian government, he said.

#### Tontons Macoutes

The junta and its U.S. backers are attempting to shift all the blame for the bloody repression suffered under Duvalier onto the hated Tontons Macoutes, said Polo. This 15,000-strong political police force backed up Duvalier's rule through violence and terror. They stole land from peasants and robbed workers and merchants. The Macoutes have been the targets of popular anger since Duvalier's overthrow, and some have been executed by angry crowds. On February 10, the junta announced that the Tontons Macoutes had been dissolved.

However, Polo emphasized, the army and regular police were also used to repress the Haitian people. The Leopards, an elite army unit trained by the U.S. Army at bases in Panama, was especially brutal in attacking demonstrations. Many government and military officials were responsible for the massive corruption in Haiti. In

June 1984, for example, demonstrations broke out in Cap-Haïtien and Gonaïves against officials who had taken food donated by relief organizations. They sold it instead of distributing it to hungry people.

Thus, by putting all the blame on the Macoutes, the new regime hopes to keep the army, police, and old government structure intact, said Polo. They would serve to stabilize the new regime, repressing any popular challenge to it.

"The people are demanding land, work, and freedom," said Polo. "Freedom means freedom to organize unions and peasant, student, and women's organizations. Without these organizations, there can be no guarantee of freedom."

#### For united action of left

The Haitian delegates at the conference strongly supported the perspective of united action by Haitian left organizations. These groups are small, and most exist mainly in exile, although some, including the PUCH, PTH, and FPLH, also have underground organizations inside Haiti.

"The Haitian struggle lacks a fundamental element, as we have learned from the Sandinista revolution," said Pierre-Charles. "[It lacks] a political-military vanguard that can take power."

Antonio Polo told the *Militant* that the return of the exiles would be crucial to building a united revolutionary movement. "We need concrete projects of unification," he said, "but it is not clear what these could be now." The parties that exist clandestinely in Haiti are small and have little experience working with each other, he said.

"A common demand we can unite

Continued on Page 13

## S. Africa rulers escalate killings

BY FRED FELDMAN

At least 42 people were reported killed in South Africa during the 10 days preceding February 17, as the white minority regime continued its efforts to crush the anti-apartheid struggle.

In January alone at least 169 died — the highest death toll in any month since the current wave of antiracist protests began in August 1984. Well over 1,200 people have been killed since then — the overwhelming majority by troops and cops. Death squads backed by the regime are also responsible for a growing number of murders.

More than 11,000 people have been arrested for anti-apartheid activity since the beginning of 1985 — 8,000 under the state of emergency proclaimed July 20. Many remain in jail, where they are subject to frequent beatings and torture.

On January 28 many Black students ended a prolonged boycott of schools, heeding a call by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee. The SPCC says the boycott will resume at the end of March if the government does not meet its demands, which include repair of damaged schools, release of jailed students and teachers, lifting of the ban on the Congress of South African Students, and ending of the state of emergency.

The bloodbath by the white regime and the continuing struggle by the Black majority were the backdrop to the January 31 speech by President Pieter Botha to the opening session of the white parliament. In that speech, Botha promised modifications in the system of white domination.

"Our country today is a symbol of the expansion of freedom," he said. Stating, "We have outgrown the ... outdated concept of apartheid," he asserted, "We accept one citizenship for all South Africans" and

promised "equal treatment and opportunities." There was no mention of equal rights. He said some Blacks would be offered membership in a "national statutory council," which could advise the government but exercise no legislative or executive power.

There was no suggestion of conceding Blacks the right to vote on the South Afri-

can government. Demands for a system of majority rule based on one person, one vote were rejected on the claim that "our nation is a nation of minorities" where only "the sharing of power between communities" is possible. This is the segregationist language that has always been used to justify white rule and apartheid.

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## N.Y.: Haiti film draws crowd

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — One hundred fifty people packed the weekly *Militant* Labor Forum to see the award-winning documentary on Haiti, *Bitter Cane*. An introduction to the film was provided by the film's director, Ben Dupuy.

Dupuy also edits the Haitian weekly newspaper *Haiti Progrès* and is the spokesperson for the Committee Against Repression in Haiti. He announced at the forum that the committee is organizing a demonstration in Washington, D.C., in April to protest "the installation of a Duvalierist junta under the auspices of the United States" and the threat of North American military intervention in Haiti. The action will also condemn the interference in Haiti's internal affairs conducted by the U.S. State Department.

Dupuy explained that the "Haitian people want a government without the friends of Duvalier in it."

*Bitter Cane* documents the superexploitation of the Haitian workers and peasants and the brutal repression they faced under the Duvalier dictatorships, which lasted more than 28 years.

Dupuy pointed out that the "workers in

Haiti receive about \$2.60 a day in wages," and that "sugar-cane plantations are patrolled by round-the-clock watchmen on horseback and in jeeps who seek out troublemakers among the cane cutters. American factories are surrounded by high wire fences, and the Macoutes [Duvalier's private army] armed with Uzi submachine guns guard the doors of each industry."

The film was clandestinely made in 1984 with the help of the Haitian Liberation Movement. It includes interviews with peasants, workers, merchants, landowners, and U.S. businessmen.

*Bitter Cane* shows the U.S. military occupation of Haiti, which lasted from 1915 to 1934. The presence of the marines and a succession of U.S.-backed dictators opened up Haiti to U.S. corporations.

Participants at the forum included people from Haiti, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Peru, and Bolivia. They showed a deep interest in the developments taking place in Haiti.

For more information on the April Washington action call the Committee Against Repression in Haiti at (718) 434-3940.