

Protest apartheid June 14 in N.Y.

BY DEE SCALERA

NEW YORK — Momentum is building here for the June 14 demonstration against the apartheid system in South Africa set for New York City.

The march will demand an end to all U.S. ties with the racist regime, as well as commemorate the 10th anniversary of the rebellion in Soweto, South Africa.

Reports to the Tuesday, May 6, meeting of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council outlined how the demonstration is building throughout the city and region.

Two main marches will begin at the United Nations and Harlem to converge on the Great Lawn of Central Park. These main marches will be met by a feeder march from El Barrio, the oldest Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York City. There will also be feeder marches from Greenwich Village, the lower East Side, and Chelsea in Manhattan, as well as the boroughs of Brooklyn and the Bronx. A feeder march of people from other cities will leave from Penn Station.

Unions in several East Coast cities are sponsoring "freedom trains." The "Nelson Mandela Freedom Train" will be bringing participants from Philadelphia. Other trains will be coming from Washington, D.C., and Boston.

The unions are playing a major role in building the demonstration. Leaflets, posters, and buttons are being made available, and distribution is being organized through several union headquarters.

The union representing New York Philharmonic musicians will be donating their stage as the platform for the main rally. This will mean a savings of \$40,000 in expenses incurred to build the demonstration.

A meeting was called of women's groups to form a women's contingent to address the special needs of and express solidarity with South African women.

Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition reported to the meeting that May is African Liberation Month, and that several meetings will be taking place in Harlem to educate about the situation in Africa and to build June 14 in the Black community.

High school students have recently formed their own anti-apartheid group. They have endorsed the June 14 activities and made building the demonstration among high school students throughout the city their main goal. They are also discussing a fundraiser at the headquarters of District 65 of the United Auto Workers to raise money for the demonstration.

The churches will be building the demonstration and raising money at weekly services.

When reporting on the progress of the logistics, Jim Bell, a central leader of the coalition and president of the New York City Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, explained that the Parks Commission was reluctant to issue a permit because an anti-apartheid rally would draw the "chain snatching crowd." To this, Bell answered, "We will have a peaceful demonstration with or without their permits."

The next four weekends will be targeted for mass leafleting. Volunteers are also needed for phone banks and mailings. Anyone who would like to help in any of these building activities or would like more information, contact: Annie King, District 65-UAW, 13 Astor Place, New York, N.Y. 10003. (212) 673-5120 extension 402.

Minn. strikers fight on; union tops aid Hormel

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — On Thursday, May 9, the striking meatpackers' local here was placed into trusteeship by the United Food and Commercial Workers' (UFCW) International Executive Committee.

This act comes in the ninth month of the meatpackers' strike to win a decent contract from Hormel. It will only aid Hormel's attempt to defeat the strike and bust the union.

After voting unanimously to place striking UFCW Local P-9 into trusteeship, the

See editorial page 22

International Executive Committee (IEC) appointed Joe Hansen, director of Region 13 of the union, the local's trustee. The IEC instructed Hansen to resume negotiations with Hormel. Hansen was also directed to take possession of the local's records, funds, and offices. The IEC suspended the local's elected leadership.

As we go to press, no attempt has been made by the UFCW's top officials to enforce the trusteeship.

At a May 8 press conference responding to the trusteeship, P-9 President Jim Guyette pledged, to the cheering approval of hundreds of strikers and supporters, that the members and officers would continue the fight against Hormel. "We intend to keep doing the jobs we were elected to do," Guyette told the press. "We're fighting for our jobs. We intend to keep pushing the company and those people who get in the way."



Militant/Tom Jaax

April 12 rally to support strikers in Austin. Local is continuing fight, despite latest moves by union tops to strip members of right to decide contract.

The officialdom, Guyette continued, "cannot circumvent the democratic process that exists here." The local, he said, will "fight legally and by every other means to achieve a fair and decent contract."

The strikers have issued an appeal to all working people to send telegrams or call the UFCW International union headquarters in Washington, D.C., protesting the officials' attack on their embattled local.

The trusteeship was imposed on the local following a hearing in April. The hearing was to determine if the local had complied with the IEC's March 14 directive ordering it to end the strike. The local was not allowed to present its evidence at the hearing. Only two of the 17 witnesses the local had requested were permitted by the International officialdom to testify. Local officials

Continued on Page 5

Iowa rally backs fired Hormel workers

BY FRED FELDMAN

OTTUMWA, Iowa — Striking TWA flight attendants; locked-out grain millers from Keokuk, Iowa; farmers fresh from the blockade of federal loan sharks in Chillicothe, Missouri; auto workers from St. Louis; steelworkers from Birmingham, Alabama; oil workers from Texas; and meatpackers from the Oscar Mayer plant in Perry, Iowa, and the Armour-Con Agra plant in Louisville, Kentucky.

These were among the hundreds of workers and farmers who came to Ottumwa to show solidarity with 507 Hormel workers here who were illegally fired January 27 for honoring a roving picket line set up by striking Hormel workers from Austin, Minnesota. The fired workers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431. The Austin meatpackers are members of UFCW Local P-9.

Those attending the rally included more than 150 members and supporters of Local P-9 who came in three buses from Austin. They were not deterred from this act of solidarity by the fact that top UFCW officials have declared the local to be in receivership.

Some rally participants wore T-shirts proclaiming, "I did time for Local P-9", a reference to arrests for participating in mass picketing at the Hormel plant.

Six meatpackers came from the Armour-Con Agra plant in Louisville where, one told the *Militant*, workers took a 35 percent cut in wages and benefits in their last contract and face more concession demands when the contract comes up again later this year.

"We came up to see what is really happening here," he said. "The International told us the Austin strikers are all dummies, getting everybody fired. But if they're

dummies, I think there are going to be a lot more dummies."

Missouri farmer Billy Cameron told this reporter, "The working-class people have to stick together. The farmers can't go on losing money like this." He said his indebtedness has risen by \$450,000 since 1979.

Jo Ann Bailey is a striking Hormel worker who has recently visited several cities to explain the struggle in Austin and Ottumwa to other unionists. "You can't

have any idea how much support there is until you get out there," she said.

Some of the themes of the rally were summed up in banners displayed on the stage in the city park where the rally was held. "In solidarity there is strength," read one. "We support farmers — terminated employees of Local 431, Ottumwa, Iowa," read another. A third declared, "Ottumwa-bound Missouri farmers support P-9 and 431."

Continued on Page 5

Socialist Publication Fund surpasses \$100,000 goal

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The \$100,000 Socialist Publication Fund has gone over the top!

More than \$35,000 was collected in the last week, surpassing the national goal. As we go to press, more than \$115,000 has been received toward the fund. (See scoreboard on page 7.)

The success of the fund is due to the generous support of the readers of the socialist publications — the *Militant*; our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*; the bimonthly newsmagazine, *Intercontinental Press*; the magazine of Marxist theory and politics, *New International*; and the many books and pamphlets published and distributed by Pathfinder Press.

More than 900 people participated in the fund drive, pledging an average of \$137 to the fund. Ninety percent of these pledges were paid before the May 10 deadline,

guaranteeing the successful completion of the drive — in full and on time.

Payments on pledges that are still outstanding will help push the fund even further over the top in the coming weeks.

An important factor in the success of the Publication Fund was the contributions from regular readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. More than 100 readers and subscribers responded to the articles in these two publications or to fund appeal letters, donating more than \$4,000. These contributions helped enable the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to bring our readers timely reports on events around the world.

"It was the response of the supporters of the socialist publications that guaranteed the successful and timely completion of the fund," Jerry Freiwirth, the fund director, told the *Militant*. "All contributions — big and small — have been greatly appreciated."

Good sales and discussion at Albert Lea plant

BY JOHN DANIELS

ST. PAUL — Socialists from Minneapolis and St. Paul have been traveling to Albert Lea, Minnesota, in an effort to get the *Militant* into the hands of workers at the large Farmstead Foods plant

for another concessionary contract, while P-9 members have been fighting against concessions.

This has prompted some P-6 members to comment, "P-9 proud, P-6 poor." In the meantime, solidarity with P-9 and its fight

petition calling on local officers to withhold dues to the UFCW International union until the International Executive Committee supports the striking Hormel workers.

Militant sales teams can attest to this solidarity for P-9 inside the Farmstead plant. One look through the company parking lot shows scores of cars and trucks with "Boycott Hormel" stickers. When questioned, one worker told us, "There's not one spot in that plant where you can stand without seeing a 'Boycott Hormel' sticker."

Many P-6ers wear "P-9 proud" and "Boycott Hormel" buttons to work. They also participate in support committee meetings for P-9, as well as collect funds at the plant gate for the strikers in Austin.

Militant sales team members

average 10 sales apiece as they talk to workers who are on their way to and from work. A two-person sales team recently sold 34 *Militants* at one shift change.

While the *Militant* has been featuring news on the Hormel strike, sales teams say P-6 members are also interested in articles on Nicaragua, South Africa, Libya, the Watsonville strike in California, and the flight attendants' strike against TWA.

Another topic of interest among the workers at Farmstead is the state of the union movement in general. Some workers talk about the need for a new perspective in fighting the employers' offensive against working people. Many of them are eager to discuss how to turn around the unions.

The last *Militant* sales team was

able to discuss with P-6 members our upcoming Socialist Educational weekend, which will be held in St. Paul. The weekend will include classes on the labor movement. After hearing a description of these classes, one young Farmstead worker said he would not only attend himself, but would try to get some of his coworkers to attend as well.

Socialists are trying hard to regularize plant-gate sales at Farmstead Foods even though Albert Lea is an hour and a half drive from Minneapolis and St. Paul. One important reason is the response of P-6 members to the paper. As one Farmstead worker told us, "I like the *Militant*. Are you going to be back out here next week?"

We answered him, "You bet."

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

located there. Farmstead employs about 1,200 workers organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-6.

The struggle in Austin, Minnesota, only 30 miles away, being fought by Local P-9 to win a decent contract, has made a big impact on their brothers and sisters at Local P-6. They recently settled

against Hormel greed has been growing inside the Farmstead plant. From the start, some P-6 members have joined P-9's roving pickets, which extended the Hormel strike to Ottumwa, Iowa; Fremont, Nebraska; and other plants in the Hormel chain.

In the last few weeks, close to 700 P-6 members have signed a

Railroad workers face attacks on job conditions

BY JIM MILES

CHICAGO — The Santa Fe Railroad was shut down for almost a week over a management decision to run a new and highly dangerous experimental train without union operators.

Some 8,000 members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) and 4,000 members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers were forced to strike May 3 when the Santa Fe, in a major attack on the unions, ran an experimental train called a "RoadRailer" from Chicago to Los Angeles and back with a crew of two supervisors.

The strike crippled freight traffic and blocked the movement of Amtrak passenger service over the 12,000-mile rail network of the Santa Fe. All 14 railroad craft unions honored the picket lines. Altogether, more than 20,000 workers on the Santa Fe stayed out.

At least one major derailment occurred from management personnel attempting to operate trains during the strike. Leaking sulfuric acid from a derailed Santa Fe freight forced the evacuation of a family in Tulia, Texas, on May 5.

UTU members on the picket line at the Santa Fe's Corwith Yard in Chicago said the dispute began when the company first approached the union with the offer to run a special reduced-crew train consisting of one engineer and one conductor for a new "RoadRailer" piggyback run from Chicago to Los Angeles that would carry GM auto parts.

The "RoadRailer" is a specially designed truck trailer incorporating the airbrakes and wheels of a railroad car but with only one set of railroad wheels instead of two. It also features retractable road wheels. Authorized to operate at speeds of 70 to 80 miles per hour, this truck trailer sits directly on the rails and is extremely

dangerous due to its very light frame and single set of rail wheels. Unlike much heavier multiwheeled railroad cars, it is even more likely to literally bounce off the rails at high speeds, resulting in severe derailments. These trains have already been tested on the Chicago & Northwestern, although none are currently in operation.

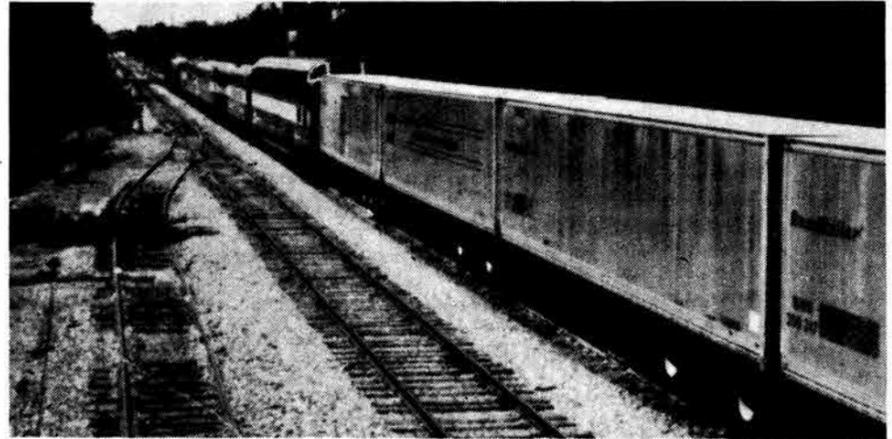
The union refused the initial reduced-crew offer from the Santa Fe since the already agreed-upon minimum crew size in the systemwide contract consisted of at least one engineer, one conductor, and one brakeman.

The company then offered to pay an engineer and conductor to stay home and let management run the train. After this final union-busting offer was refused, the company went ahead and sent the train out of Chicago with management personnel on Saturday, May 3. The union went on strike that afternoon, while management arrogantly declared they'd operate without the unions.

The carrier also demanded a reduction in the number of crews operating between Chicago and Los Angeles from 20 to 6. Each crew would have to travel several hundred miles farther, thus increasing the possibility of accidents from fatigue.

The company is attacking existing agreements with the union on the basis of a joint statement by the carriers and the union in the 1985 national contract. The statement says that in order for the carriers "to compete effectively" and "promote new business," it is in the "mutual" interest of the union and the carriers "to provide this improved service by making changes in operations" and rules.

But rail workers on the picket line say that the company refused even to define what constituted "new business," thus leaving open the possibility of attacking al-



RoadRailer being pulled by a locomotive. Santa Fe workers were forced out on strike for almost a week when the company ran this type of special experimental train without union operators.

ready existing train runs, rules, and working conditions in the case of the Santa Fe.

On May 8, the unions won a temporary restraining order against the Santa Fe, prohibiting the carrier from using any supervisory forces to run trains. No settlement has yet been reached on how the experimental train will be run in the future. As the *Militant* goes to press, talks are going on between the unions and the Santa Fe.

What is happening on the Santa Fe is part of an industrywide attack on rail workers.

Some 2,000 rail workers and their supporters marched and caravanned through Greenfield, Massachusetts, May 3 in a spirited demonstration of union solidarity as the strike against Guilford Transportation Industries entered its third month.

Guilford operates the Maine Central, Boston & Maine, and Delaware & Hudson railroads. The carrier is demanding new wage concessions and wants members of all crafts to pay 50 percent of their health

and welfare benefits.

On May 9 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers voted to authorize a strike against Amtrak. The 24,000-mile Amtrak system carries about 35,000 passengers a day in the Northeast Corridor and about 60,000 passengers a day nationwide.

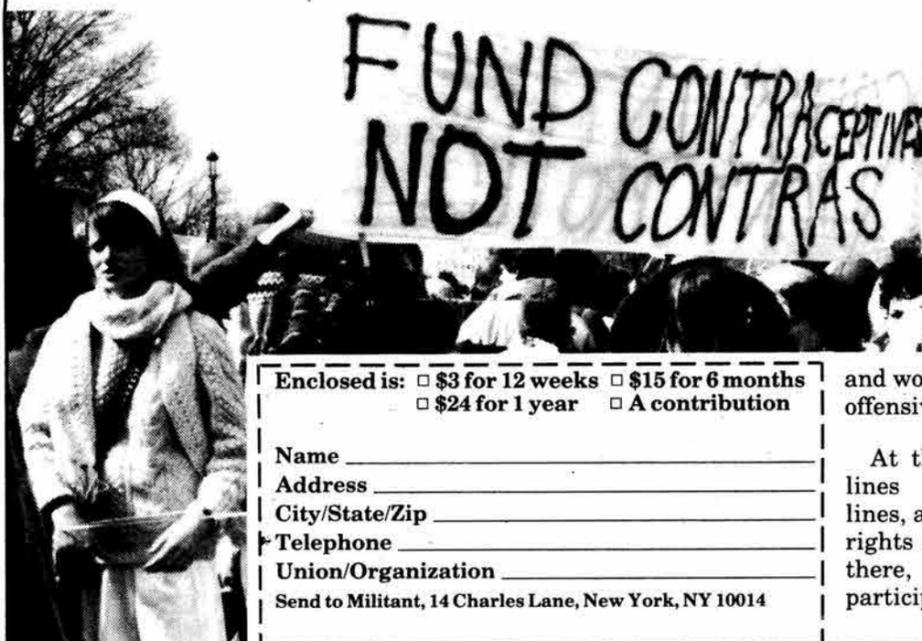
The union, representing 2,000 engineers who work for Amtrak, voted to authorize a strike because Amtrak had made unilateral changes in work and safety rules, job assignments, and wages.

Four days later on May 13 Amtrak and the BLE agreed to binding arbitration over the disputed changes.

Railroad workers across the country are facing and can expect increased assaults on already agreed-upon contracts as the carriers wage war on our jobs, safety, and working conditions.

Jim Miles is a brakeman for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad and a member of United Transportation Union Local 577.

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That's the way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from South Africa and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the U.S. Read our ideas on how to stop apartheid, war, the oppression of Blacks and women, and the employer offensive against all workers.

At the plant gates, picket lines and unemployment lines, at antiwar and abortion rights actions, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in struggle.

The Militant

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U.S. lies about Chernobyl disaster unravel

BY HARRY RING

Top Soviet officials report that the Chernobyl nuclear disaster has been brought under control. This despite the reckless prediction by anti-Soviet "Western experts" of uncontrolled fire and the likelihood of a catastrophic nuclear meltdown.

At the same time, the mounting toll and the extent of released radiation at Chernobyl confirm what a dangerous business nuclear power is and why all nuclear plants should be shut down.

On May 14, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev reported an increase in the accident toll. Deaths had risen to nine — two killed in the original explosion and seven who died since of radiation exposure. He said the total hospitalized for radiation disease so far had risen to 299.

And apparently the extent of the radioactivity was such that a total of 92,000 people have now been evacuated from the area. The initial number of evacuees was under 50,000.

On May 11 Soviet officials reported that a turning point had been reached in coping with the situation at the Chernobyl nuclear power installation and that a "catastrophe" had been averted.

In Washington, the head of a U.S. task force monitoring the accident grudgingly conceded, "We have no real reason to doubt that."

The principal factor in bringing the situation under control seemed to have been the dumping of four thousand tons of lead, sand, and other material intended to douse the flames and absorb radiation.

With that accomplished, engineering crews began the work of "entombing" the damaged reactor by encasing it in concrete.

The principal designer of the reactor said it would have to remain sealed for "hundreds of years" to confine its continuing radioactivity. Despite this, he said, two more units would be added to the Chernobyl station as planned.

Meanwhile, a May 10 dispatch by Tass,

the official Soviet news agency, included an admission that may well be a first for any government involved in using nuclear power.

In an article advising on measures to be taken to reduce the risk of radiation contamination, the Tass dispatch said:

"Even a small amount of radioactivity entering the environment can become a source of great calamity."

This is a scientific truth that the government of the United States and other promoters of nuclear power stubbornly persist in trying to conceal.

Instead, they promote the dangerous lie that there are "safe" levels of radiation. And, curiously, every amount of escaped radiation, be it at Three Mile Island or elsewhere, is always found to be within the asserted "safe" limit.

Soviet officials made another point that underscores why there is no such thing as a safe nuclear operation.

Discussing the 36-hour delay that occurred before evacuation of the Chernobyl area got under way, Aleksandr Lyashko, premier of the Republic of the Ukraine, site of the Chernobyl plant, told reporters:

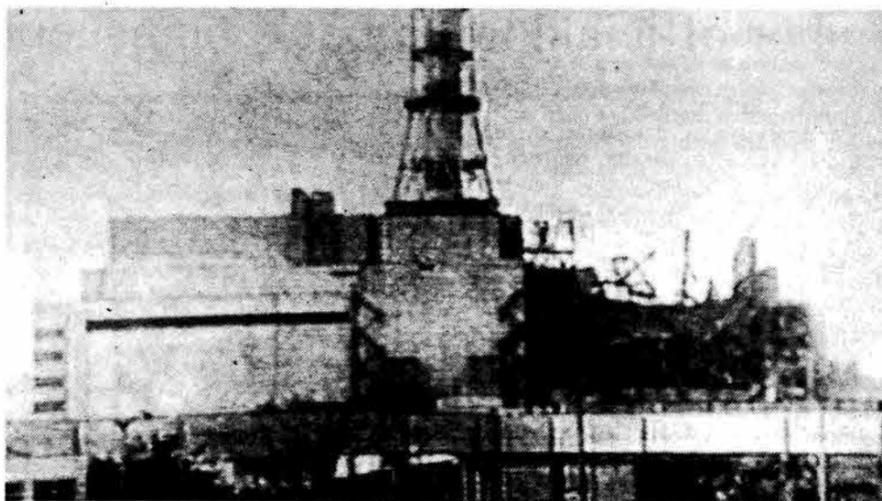
"The accident developed in an unusual way, not as scientific knowledge would have predicted. First there was a small explosion and a small radioactive emission. The measurements at first showed that there was nothing to fear."

"Nobody has ever confronted a similar accident," added Yevgeny Velikhov, a ranking Soviet physicist.

Exactly. And that's how other nuclear disasters can and will occur. All the lying propaganda about U.S. nuke plants being better located, designed, and operated than their Soviet counterparts and therefore "safe" are offered to cover over that reality.

But some of the propaganda lies have unraveled.

For instance, it's hardly reassuring for New York residents to be told that a major problem with Chernobyl is that it was located in a populated area.



Soviet emergency crews succeeded in bringing Chernobyl nuclear disaster under control. U.S. propaganda lies about why it can't happen here are unraveling.

About 288,000 people live within 10 miles of New York's Indian Point nuclear power plant. And about 17 million people live within a 50-mile radius of the site, which is located 35 miles from midtown New York City.

So far, no one has come up with an evacuation plan for U.S. nuclear plant areas that is considered workable.

Yet 92,000 people were evacuated in the Chernobyl area in an apparently orderly way, with 25,000 being transported out of the town of Pripyat in two hours and 20 minutes.

A Moscow dispatch to the May 11 *New York Times* repeated the now standard assertion about "the absence of safety precautions and rescue plans that nuclear power plant operators and regulators in the West have adopted. . . ."

But the very same article felt moved to report: "Despite the problems, Western experts gave the Russians credit for avoiding panic during the evacuation and for finding adequate housing, clothing, and food for the people being moved."

Would any New Yorker seriously believe the same thing would happen if Indian Point blew?

Or the residents of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania? At the time of Three Mile Island,

federal officials refused to order an evacuation there even though the reactor was within an hour of a total meltdown.

The May 10 *Washington Post* disclosed that the Chernobyl plant had an important safety feature, not previously reported, which may have prevented a meltdown of the reactor.

The new design information was released by the U.S. government more than a week after the accident.

The Chernobyl reactor, the *Post* said, "had much stronger containment structures beneath it than previously believed."

"It appears," the report continues, "that the reactor had thick concrete — possibly six to eight feet — under the reactor core, then a double sandwich of thin concrete slabs and pools of water. Beneath them lay another thick slab that was the foundation of the building."

In addition, the flooring under the reactor was exceptionally large. This, specialists told the paper, may have caused the escaping fuel to spread out in a thin layer, rather than building up as a molten lump.

"Many U.S. reactors," the report said, "have flooring with a surface area less than one-tenth of the floor thought to be in the Chernobyl unit."

But it can't happen here?

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #9: Totals as of Militant issue #18, PM issue #9)

SINGLE ISSUES

Area	Militants and Perspectiva Mundials sold this week	Total sold so far	10-week goal	Subscriptions sold so far
Atlanta	121	1,042	1,040	30
Baltimore	73	667	810	38
Birmingham	178	663	900	24
Boston	83	975	1,000	117
Capital District, N.Y.	48	568	650	68
Charleston, W.Va.	42	604	600	15
Chicago	259	1,238	1,500	36
Cincinnati	64	363	500	15
Cleveland	90	546	900	28
Dallas	321	1,445	1,700	44
Denver	35	587	800	41
Detroit	147	1,499	1,730	75
Greensboro, N.C.	105	699	700	58
Houston	117	1,558	1,800	53
Kansas City	88	604	1,120	24
Los Angeles	317	2,005	2,200	123
Louisville	54	332	400	15
Miami	27	381	550	54
Milwaukee	124	706	750	32
Morgantown, W.Va.	89	668	700	16
New Orleans	63	576	650	49
New York	250	2,795	3,250	137
Newark	444	2,226	2,600	97
Oakland	111	684	935	25
Philadelphia	89	600	1,000	17
Phoenix	209	1,225	1,500	48
Pittsburgh	42	488	800	27
Portland	85	603	650	23
Price, Utah	7	101	250	6
Salt Lake City	101	636	640	34
San Diego	0	344	580	14
San Francisco	191	1,157	1,400	65
San Jose	151	899	1,000	55
Seattle	162	838	800	40
St. Louis	181	1,022	1,250	39
Tidewater, Va.	56	363	375	17
Toledo	85	443	500	48
Twin Cities	166	1,317	1,600	81
Washington, D.C.	76	794	800	54
Midwest Sales Team	602	852	—	64
Total sold this week	5,453			
Total sold so far		35,219		1,899
10-week national goal			45,000	2,000
Percent of national goal reached			78%	95%
To be on schedule			90%	90%

Special effort boosts sales in 9th week of nat'l drive

BY TOM LEONARD

The ninth week of our national sales and subscription drive was a resounding success.

This was a target sales week for many Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters around the country. That special effort showed up in combined single copy sales of 5,453 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials*. There were also 275 subscriptions sold to both publications. This raises the total number of subscriptions sold to 1,899, or 95 percent of our projected 10-week goal. (See accompanying scoreboard.)

Sales of the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, sister publication of the *Militant*, continued to be impressive. Dallas, for example, sold 86 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, along with six subscriptions. They also sold 235 *Militants* and two subscriptions. Last Saturday, beginning the last week of the sales drive, Dallas sold 170 *Militants*, 60 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and seven more subscriptions in one day of community sales. (These figures are not included in this week's scoreboard.)

Other areas with exceptional *Perspectiva Mundial* sales were San Francisco, 80; Phoenix, 80; and Los Angeles, 112, plus 13 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Los Angeles finished an excellent target sales week by also selling 205 copies of the *Militant* and 10 subscriptions.

Newark also had a good week, selling a combined total of 444 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials*. They also had a good sale recently at a Haitian film showing in East Orange, New Jersey. In less than an hour and a half filmgoers bought 13 *Militants* and five copies of the Canadian French-language newspaper *Lutte Ouv-*

rière. They also bought \$300 worth of socialist literature off a sidewalk table.

A Houston regional sales team had a fruitful visit to the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, where they sold 40 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* to farm workers and students at Pan American University.

Going into the last week of the campaign, five more areas of the country have raised their sales goal quotas. They include Los Angeles, Greensboro, San Francisco, Louisville, and Detroit.

Canadian socialists report sharp increase in sales of press

Members of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada report a sharp increase in sales of the socialist press in their country.

Bob Braxton, a reporter for *Socialist Voice* and the French-language publication *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle), recently visited the Canadian province of Newfoundland to report on the broadly supported strike of public sector workers there.

During his short stay he was able to sell 261 copies of *Socialist Voice* and 16 subscriptions, as well as distribute 175 introductory copies of the paper. As a result of his work, subscriptions to *Socialist Voice* are continuing to arrive at the paper's circulation office in Montreal.

Canadian socialists also report increased plant-gate sales in Toronto and Montreal. They say they have missed opportunities to sell more papers after quickly selling out their bundles at a number of plants.

Tenacity of Austin strikers worries bosses

Labor officialdom initiates bureaucratic moves to curb union militants

BY TOM LEONARD

The importance of the Hormel strike in Austin, Minnesota, for the entire labor movement is being discussed by thousands of union members across the country who are supporting the strike. It is also being closely followed by the employing class. They, too, recognize that this strike battle is something new and different from other strikes in recent years.

A.H. Raskin, for many years the chief labor correspondent for the *New York Times*, who is now retired, tried to address some of the bosses' concerns on May 4. His views appeared in an article in the business section of the *Sunday Times* titled, "Big labor tries to end its nightmare."

Raskin points to the growing dissatisfaction in the unions' ranks with the AFL-CIO top officialdom's inability to fight back against the antilabor offensive. He also points out that since the offensive against working people began more than a decade ago, trade union membership has declined by about 10 million.

The primary purpose of Raskin's article is to inform corporation heads about current plans of union tops to deal with the growing revolt by the unions' ranks — particularly by the ranks of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in Austin.

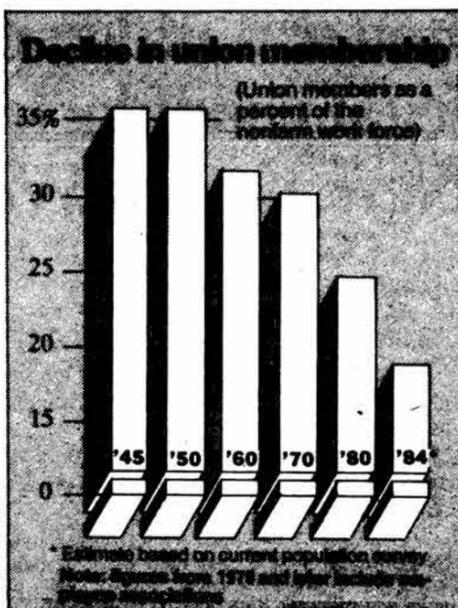
Every union militant knows the bosses hate unions, and that where they exist, the bosses want them housebroken and preferably led by weak-kneed officials. That is why they are keenly concerned about the AFL-CIO officialdom's ability to maintain tight control of the labor movement.

Although a spokesman for the bosses, Raskin also has a line to top union officials. Some provided information for his article.

He points out that these top officials feel their positions and privileges are threatened by the broad support for the P-9 strikers. This has led them to begin to revise some of the decisions they made at the



Lane Kirkland has been AFL-CIO president for nearly seven years. Graph shows big loss in union membership due to continuing government-corporate offensive against workers' wages and living conditions.



AFL-CIO national convention last fall. Among these decisions was a constitutional amendment reaffirming the right of AFL-CIO-affiliated international unions to autonomy. This was supposed to mean that international unions are free to make their own policy decisions without interference from the 35-member AFL-CIO national executive council headed by federation President Lane Kirkland.

Raskin explains to the bosses how the impact of the Hormel strike has changed executive council members' minds. "The strike, now in its ninth month," he writes, "pits a militant local of striking meatpackers not only against Hormel, but also against its own International union and most of labor's top hierarchy." The strike, he continues, has "rekindled fierce debate within labor over how much control in de-

termining union policy should rest with union officials at the top and how much with the rank and file."

Raskin reports that top union officials have no intention of allowing union ranks to make policy decisions as was done by Local P-9. He refers to Lane Kirkland's remarks to the February AFL-CIO executive council meeting as an example.

Referring to a series of setbacks to the labor movement in the recent period, Kirkland told the council, "We must be part of the general staff at the inception, rather than the ambulance drivers at the bitter end." These remarks were primarily directed against Local P-9's struggle to win its strike, which is based on mobilizing and involving its own ranks and reaching out to other unions and their allies for support.

But after years of comfortable peaceful coexistence — class collaboration — with the bosses, Kirkland wants no part of the militant struggle being fought out by Local P-9. Instead, he and the 35-member AFL-CIO executive council came to the defense of UFCW President William Wynn, who grudgingly backed the strike at first, but has since placed the local under trusteeship (receivership).

This scurrilous solidarity between union bureaucrats was codified in a motion passed at the February council meeting. Raskin reports that the meeting was, in part, "a lachrymose [tearful] discussion of labor's difficulties on the strike front."

The weak-kneed motion read, "Today's economic and political climate makes it imperative that unions follow realistic bargaining strategies that will assure gains for workers and protect their jobs."

Raskin is dubious about the officialdom's moves to head off rank-and-file members' increasingly rebellious mood. "The sticky fight by the Austin rebels," he points out, "has the fervent support of scores of local unions and individual activists all over the country."

figures, and elected officials. These include James Bell, president of the New York City Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Rev. Calvin Butts, Abyssinian Baptist Church; David Dinkins, Manhattan borough president; N.Y. State Assembly members Roger Green, Herman Farrell, Jr., and Al Vann; Jim Haughton, Harlem Fightback; C. Vernon Mason; Dennis Mumble, an exiled South African trade unionist; congressmen Major Owens, Charles Rangle, and Ed Towns; Paul Robeson, Jr., and Jitu Weusi, vice-chair of National Black United Front.

The ad was sponsored by the Greater New York Area Labor Support Committee for Local P-9. The support committee is made up of representatives from a number of unions, community, and religious organizations in the metropolitan area.

Ohio socialist runs for U.S. Senate

BY HENRY SCHEER

CLEVELAND — Kate Button, a 26-year-old production worker at General Electric in Cleveland, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the United States Senate seat from Ohio now held by Democrat John Glenn.

Button kicked off her campaign by participating in activities protesting the U.S. war against Libya. In a statement that was picked up by eight radio stations in the Cleveland area, she contrasted President Reagan's unproven charges of "Libyan terrorism" to the real U.S. "state-sponsored terrorism" against the people of Nicaragua.

On April 24 Button addressed an emergency picket line that was called by Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice,

Witness For Peace, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Socialist Workers Party, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Democratic Socialists of America, and others to protest the U.S. bombing of Libya. The picket drew 40 people.

The socialist candidate was well received when she exclaimed, "Because Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi opposes U.S. foreign policy and supports liberation struggles around the world, he is a 'mad dog' and a 'terrorist.' Yet when Howard Metzenbaum [Democratic U.S. Senator from Ohio] openly calls for murdering Qaddafi, and Reagan drops four 2,000-pound bombs on his house and murders scores of Libyans, they are 'civilized leaders.' The real source of terrorism is the White House."

Raskin reports that his contacts in the union movement have a mixed reaction to Kirkland's proposal to give the executive council more power to intervene in the affairs of affiliated unions. Some expressed doubt about the ability of the "labor officialdom" to rise above bureaucratic self-interest. Others said it was about time top officials got involved in labor struggles.

Some union members expressed the concern that intervention by the top officials "will mean a suppression of rank-and-file influence and a damper on militancy."

Raskin also mentions that representatives of the bosses' interests are showing concern about the officialdom's ability to control the ranks. For example, Mark Bernardo, manager of labor law for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said, "It will be positive if it means a more cooperative, responsive movement, one that reins in the maverick locals such as the one in Austin. If it goes the other way," he added, "it will be a problem management will have to counter."

From the point of view of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the AFL-CIO's top officialdom is responding to their wishes by joining in the bureaucratic attack on the P-9 membership's struggle to win a decent contract.

But as Raskin admits, the heroic P-9 fighters have already won broad support in the ranks of labor. This is a matter of great concern to the bosses.

The longer P-9 is able to continue its fight against Hormel, the more the bureaucratic practices of the class-collaborationist union officialdom are exposed. This is an invaluable learning experience for union militants who want to transform the unions into organizations that fight for working people everywhere.

What Raskin knows, however, and carefully avoids is that the increasingly rebellious mood in the union ranks did not begin with workers' opposition to misleaders. That is still in its beginning stages.

The revolt by P-9 members and the growing number of their supporters began with their resistance to the economic and social deterioration of their living standards caused by the Hormel company. Their decision to use union power to fight the company has not only won them widespread support, but has precipitated the broadest debate inside the unions since the merger of the AFL-CIO 31 years ago.

Michigan march defends abortion

BY NANCY BOYASKO

ANN ARBOR, Mi. — Building on the momentum of the National March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, the Ann Arbor-Washtenaw County National Organization for Women sponsored a local march here April 19.

Michigan is one of the few states that still provides state funding for abortion. One focus of the action was to head off attacks on state funding and demand the reinstatement of federal funding. "If one of us is not free, none of us are free," Rev. Ann Marie Coleman told the crowd of 200 mainly young women gathered at the Ann Arbor Federal Building.

Other speakers stressed the need to overcome restrictions on reproductive rights of young women.

After the speakers, there was a spirited march around the university section of Ann Arbor with chants of, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate" and "Fund contraception, not *contra* aid!"

The march was cosponsored by the Ann Arbor League of Women Voters, Citizens Advisory Committee on Rape Prevention, Coalition for Women's Rights, Michigan Abortion Rights Action League, New Jewish Agenda, Planned Parenthood of Mid-Michigan, University of Michigan Women's Studies, Women's Crisis Center, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Women's Law Association.

Black leaders endorse Hormel strike, boycott

"Hormel: You're not welcome in our community," was the headline on a half-page ad in the *City Sun*, a New York Black weekly.

The ad, which appeared in the May 7 issue of the paper, explains that "meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota — members of Local P-9 United Food and Commercial Workers — have been on strike against Hormel for eight months. P-9 workers are demanding the restoration of their wages from Hormel, a highly profitable company. And they want improved safety in a plant where each worker averages two accidents per year.

"Not only does Hormel exploit its U.S. workers," the ad continues, "but it also helps to prop up the apartheid system. Hormel began operating in South Africa in 1984 through a large meatpacking firm, Renown Food Products. Black workers at Renown face racism, harassment, and low wages. Local P-9 and the Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers Union, representing Renown workers, have exchanged solidarity messages and vowed to support each other's efforts."

The ad explains that "Hormel counts on selling a large percentage of its products to the Black community. To boost business during the strike, Hormel is spending millions on advertising directed toward us, while unions and churches are calling for a national boycott. Hormel is depending on us — Black consumers — to ignore its treatment of workers here and in South Africa. But we won't scab by buying Hormel products. Whether you call it Spam, Dinty Moore, or Mary Kitchen — whether it's sausage, ham, or bacon — the proper name for Hormel is 'union buster.'"

The ad was endorsed by a number of prominent Black trade unionists, religious

Iowa rally supports fired Hormel workers

Continued from front page

Mike Dudley, a fired member of Local 431, chaired the rally. He hailed the victory recently won by the fired workers who were ruled eligible for unemployment benefits retroactive to February 23. Hormel has appealed this decision.

Several speakers reflected the broad community support for the fired workers. Father James Grubb of the St. Bernard Church in Ottumwa prefaced an opening prayer with the comment: "My father would have kicked my butt if I had crossed a picket line. I have never crossed a picket line and never will."

Mayor Jerry Parker of Ottumwa also saluted the workers' courage in honoring the P-9 picket line. He criticized those local businessmen who have backed Hormel against the workers. "They are glad to have you spend your money at their stores. But when you act to protect that living standard, that's different."

Jerry Parks got one of the most enthusiastic responses. He is a leader of the farmers who are blockading the Chillicothe offices of the federal Farmers Home Administration and other federal agencies that have refused to help farmers. He also participated in the April 11 protest at the Hormel plant in Austin, which was attacked by the cops.

"I have never seen more social and legal injustice than is going on in Austin," he said. "I think every union and farmer in this country should get together and shut that plant down. We need to stand together."

They drive the farmers off the land," he said. "They drive us to the cities. They force us to look for work, and then they try to use us to break the unions."

Parks linked the attacks on farmers and workers in this country to what the U.S. government is doing to the people of Nicaragua. "The reason the U.S. government is backing the *contras* in Nicaragua is because the Nicaraguans have passed a law saying no one can be foreclosed on. They have another law saying that everyone in the country must be fed. So our government keeps pouring money in for the *contras* so the corporations and banks can run Nicaragua the way they used to."

An Iowa farmer also spoke in defense of the fired workers.

Dan Varner, a fired worker who is chief shop steward at the Hormel plant here, spoke about Hormel's attempt to block the workers from receiving unemployment benefits. "We know that what we did was right," he said. "The people who say we didn't have the right to not cross a picket line are a greedy pack of liars."

Sherry Hacker, a leader of the Ottumwa Support Group, also spoke.

Larry Bastain, recording secretary of United Auto Workers Local 325 at the Ford Motor Co. plant near St. Louis, presented a check to the Ottumwa Support Group. He was part of a delegation of workers from the local.

The local has issued T-shirts with the slogan "Hormel busters" on the front and, on the back, the local insignia and the slogan, "They say give back, we say fight back." More than 100 were sold at the Ford plant in two hours. Another 100 were sold at the rally in 20 minutes. Proceeds went to the P-9 strikers.

"If you want to know the true meaning of brotherhood, sisterhood, and solidarity," said Bastain, "go to Austin. We're sick and tired of being sick and tired. The workers in Austin and Ottumwa have given labor a shot in the arm."

Billy Osburn, secretary-treasurer of United Steelworkers of America Local 6612, presented a check to the support group.

He told the *Militant* his local voted to contribute \$100 a month for the next three months to the Austin workers' Adopt-A-P-



Militant/Greg Preston

Larry Bastain, of United Auto Workers Local 325, told the rally, "If you want to know meaning of solidarity, go to Austin. Workers in Austin and Ottumwa have given labor a shot in the arm."

9-Family Fund.

The final speaker was P-9 President Jim Guyette. Guyette discussed the UFCW top officials' decision to place the striking local in receivership. He talked about the top bureaucrats' use of surveillance and other methods of harassment against the struggling local.

"Why all these moves if this is a struggle that can't be won?" he asked. "The reason is on this platform. People ready, despite

the pressure, to stand for what they know is right."

"Pressures will come on you in Ottumwa to betray each other, pressures from people who don't understand the meaning of solidarity," Guyette said. "But Ottumwa has a proud heritage that has been passed on to people who know that in unity there is strength. No longer can they isolate the workers in Keokuk or the flight attendants or the meatpackers. They can make their

Minn. meatpackers pledge to fight on

Continued from front page

Officials characterized the hearing as a "kangaroo court and an insult to union solidarity."

On May 9, the International officials sought and won a court order enforcing the trusteeship. U.S. District Court Judge Edward Devitt ordered the strikers not to physically harm or intimidate the appointed trustee. He also ruled that records and funds could not be moved or transferred from the union offices until further notice.

In asking for this restraining order, the International officials claimed that an "emergency existed." They cited as evidence an Austin police report claiming that surveillance teams had observed boxes being taken from the union hall. The International officials claim that the boxes contained union records.

Judge Devitt has scheduled a hearing to make a final decision on the legality and implementation of the trusteeship May 27.

The striking local also sought a restraining order May 9 to stop the trusteeship. But U.S. District Court Judge Gerhard Gesell in Washington, D.C., denied the local's request.

The local had filed an earlier lawsuit against the UFCW International in Gesell's court May 6. That suit asked the court to block the trusteeship and fine the UFCW International \$13 million in damages for its campaign against the local and moves to end the strike.

Following the announcement of the trusteeship, the strikers organized a symbolic protest action. They briefly chained the doors of the union hall shut. Two strikers, imitating the National Guard, who were sent into Austin by Democratic Gov. Rudy Perpich to herd scabs for Hormel in January, carried batons. The big-business media seized on the action to violence-bait the strikers. The media reported that strikers "armed with baseball bats" were "guarding the union hall."

The violence-baiting was echoed by UFCW spokesperson Allan Zack, who told the media that he was afraid to "expose his staff to violence" in Austin.

In the days following the announcement of the trusteeship, workers and officials from other unions around the country called the local to express their outrage at the trusteeship. They pledged to continue organizing support for the strike.

Nearly 700 of the approximately 1,000 members of UFCW Local P-6 at Farmstead Foods in nearby Albert Lea signed a petition to withhold their per capita dues from the International union until the officials support the Austin strikers.

At a labor solidarity rally May 10 in Ottumwa, Iowa (see front-page story), farmers from Iowa and Missouri pledged to stand by the strikers in their fight against Hormel.

On May 9, the strikers organized a demonstration outside the union hall. More than 100 people lined the streets carrying signs that read, "Wynn [UFCW International president] says it's over, we say it's just begun" and "Boycott Hormel."

How Hormel rakes in profits from apartheid South Africa

The following article is reprinted from the April 11 issue of *The Unionist*, the weekly newspaper of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. The local is currently on strike against Hormel company in Austin, Minnesota.

Renown Food Products, one of the two or three largest meatpacking companies in South Africa, has technical service and licensing agreements with the George A. Hormel & Company. As far as we know, Renown uses Hormel's meat-processing technology, which is advanced even for the United States, to produce some of its meat items, which include various smoked, packaged, and canned products like bacon and salami.

South African workers at Renown are organized by the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union, which is part of COSATU, [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. Jim Cason at ACOA [American Committee on Africa] spoke to David Makhema, the general secretary of SFAWU. Makhema said that the union wished to "express solidarity with the Hormel strikers — we will do everything we can to help them." Makhema said that Renown is "totally anti-union" and that the company is currently harassing union members. On Wednesday morning, a SFAWU member was arrested without ap-

parent cause by the South Africa police.

Makhema believes that this arrest, and others like it, were made at the behest of the company.

According to other experts on South African labor, Renown was one of 17 companies targeted by a nationwide boycott campaign prompted by wage and other working conditions. The meatpacking industry is apparently "highly brutish" even by South African standards.

Makhema believes that the Renown plant which is most likely to be using the Hormel technology is the Deep City plant near Johannesburg, which produces processed meats. Renown is a subsidiary of Imperial Cold Storage which is owned by Barlow Rand, a major South African conglomerate.

The following is from the George A. Hormel Annual Report, 1984, International operations section:
"George A. Hormel & Company continued to strengthen its position in fiscal 1984 as an international enterprise through its wholly owned subsidiary, Hormel International Corporation.
During the year, new technical services and licensing agreements were established with Renown Food Products Corp of the Republic of South Africa, and with HaiTai Confectionery Company Ltd. of the Republic of South Africa."

cause known.
"This Hormel Co. cannot win if we stand united."
Guyette announced that on May 17 hundreds of unionists would leaflet and carry out other activities to support the boycott of Hormel products on the first day of fishing season in Minnesota. He also reported that the efforts of farmers to organize a boycott on sales of hogs to Hormel are taking a toll on the company, which is now advertising for hogs for the first time.

Missouri farm activist Perry Wilson, Sr., told the *Militant*, "We're taking the hog boycott before every group we can. When people find out the real issues, they're sympathetic."

Other speakers at the rally included Frank Vit, a leader of the 50 unionists at the Fremont, Nebraska, Hormel plant who were fired for exercising their contract right to honor a P-9 picket line there; Dave Willoughby, president of United Auto Workers Local 977 at the Maytag plant in Newton, Iowa; David Arian, president of the Southern California Longshoremen's Council; David Foster, chairperson of the National Rank and File Against Concessions; Larry Regan, president of United Steelworkers Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana; Peggy Glavas, president of USWA Local 2629 in Galesburg, Illinois; Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania; Thomas Ludgood, representing Teamsters Local 600 in St. Louis; Francois Letellier of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants; Barbara Mungovan of International Association of Machinists Local 702 at Eastern Airlines in Miami Springs, Florida; and Ron Schreiber of Local 48 of the American Federation of Grain Millers.

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Why Washington is cool toward Aquino gov't

BY HARRY RING

Soon after returning from meetings with top Philippine officials, Secretary of State George Shultz publicly rebuked former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos.

On TV May 13, Shultz said Marcos was "causing trouble" in the Philippines, "and some of it goes beyond just argument."

From his haven in Hawaii, Marcos has been promoting right-wing demonstrations in Manila against the new government of President Corazon Aquino.

The move to distance the Reagan administration from Marcos came but four days after Shultz's visit to Manila where he had ducked the issue. There, he had hypocritically claimed Washington could not interfere with Marcos' right to free speech.

Apparently on his return to Washington, it was decided that the ambiguity toward Marcos was proving costly to U.S. policy in the Philippines.

In his TV appearance, Shultz also conceded that the Philippine economy was in serious difficulty, but reiterated his claim that "the budget picture" here does not permit the additional U.S. funding which the Aquino government has urgently requested.

Meanwhile, President Aquino said it would take time to resolve her country's desperate financial situation, "especially since the promised assistance has not come through yet."

Last February, when it was clear that Marcos was finished, Washington reluctantly cut its longtime ties with him and moved to establish relations with the new Aquino government.

Developments since then have shown that while Washington sees no alternative to Aquino, its relations with her government are far from warm.

This was clear from Shultz's May 9 visit to Manila. Shultz held a 45-minute meeting with Aquino where she stressed that proposed U.S. aid was grossly inadequate.

In addition to the \$240 million in economic and military aid committed by Congress for 1986, the administration says it will ask for an additional \$150 million. There is no assurance that Congress will vote even this paltry amount.

A single comparison indicates how paltry it is. For the state of Israel, the administration recommended a 1986 economic and military aid package of \$3 billion.

Yet when Philippine Vice-president Salvador Laurel said his crisis-ridden country needed much more than the \$150 million in added aid, Shultz had snapped, "We don't have an infinite capacity to provide money."

Surely, the Philippine government has every moral right to insist on more adequate U.S. aid. For nearly a century, U.S. bankers and businessmen have reaped lucrative profits from the Philippines, leaving its people impoverished. And, for years, Washington permitted Marcos and his

cronies to steal the country blind.

At the Manila meeting, President Aquino reminded Shultz that the Philippines are saddled with a foreign debt of \$26 billion and that half the nation's export earnings are soaked up by debt service payments.

Meanwhile, the Philippine economy is suffering the aftershocks of the years of Marcos' rule.

The entire 1986 government budget is but \$4.6 billion, and it is anticipated there will be a deficit of a billion dollars.

After the Shultz visit, Solita Monsod, minister of economic planning, said she had told him that if there could not be more adequate aid then, at least, Philippine sugar and garment import quotas should be raised.

The quota of Philippine sugar permitted into this country had been reduced, and it is allotted but 2.5 percent of all U.S. garment imports.

Yet, Monsod said, "All we heard from Shultz were sympathetic noises."

Washington's reluctance to help alleviate the economic difficulties of the Filipino people is not simply the customary capitalist response to human need. It is also a time-tested form of pressure on the new government, one that it apparently does not consider sufficiently "reliable."

Indeed the coolness has been so pronounced that top Philippine officials had deemed it necessary to insist that Reagan declare publicly if he supports the new government in Manila, or if he is still looking to the exiled Marcos.

Vice-president Laurel said there had been "lingering doubts" about Reagan's stand ever since he made his astonishing statement that maybe there had been fraud "on both sides" in the election Marcos had tried to steal from Aquino.

Reagan does support the new government, Shultz then curtly responded, arrogantly adding, "Let me remind you, the president is not on trial."

Washington's frosty attitude toward the Aquino government involves more than Reagan's personal partiality to dictators. Major issues are involved.

These include the U.S. military-base agreement which expires in five years, the question of the Philippine debt, and Aquino's proposal to negotiate a cease-fire with the popular-based guerrilla force, the New People's Army.

While Aquino has said no more than that she will review the military-base agreement when it expires in 1991, Washington would apparently prefer a firm, public commitment for renewal now.

Washington — and Wall Street — also seem uptight about the demand now being voiced in the Philippines that the onerous \$26 billion debt be canceled, even though Aquino has declared she does not agree with this demand. Instead, she has requested less onerous repayment terms.



U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Philippines President Corazon Aquino. In recent trip to Philippines, Shultz scolded Philippine officials who demanded more economic aid to reduce high foreign debt.

And, like the Philippine military, the Reagan administration seems wary of the Aquino proposal for a cease-fire with the liberation fighters, despite the fact that Aquino includes the ultimatum that the rebels lay down their arms as a precondition for negotiations.

The skepticism on the issue of a cease-fire was signaled by the choice of the first ranking U.S. visitor to Manila after Marcos was ousted — Caspar Weinberger, secretary of war.

The number one job, Weinberger had stressed, was to shape up the Armed Forces of the Philippines so they could effectively do battle with the rebels.

In sum, the present strained relations are an expression of U.S. concern about

whether the Aquino government can keep the mass of Philippine peasants and workers in check. That means thwarting the popular drive to root out all the Marcos cronies in positions of power, win legalization of political parties, free the remaining political prisoners, and win other democratic changes, including establishment of a freely elected constituent assembly to draft a new constitution.

Washington recognizes that while Aquino is a capitalist politician heading a capitalist government, the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship was an enormous victory for the people — one that opens the way for their active participation in politics for the first time. That's what makes Washington uneasy.

Antiwar actions set for May 17

BY RASHAAD ALI

The Pledge of Resistance National Clearinghouse reports that there will be more than 70 regional and statewide antiwar actions to "make the war visible" on May 17, Armed Forces Day.

These protests are a continuation of the campaign against aid to the U.S.-backed *contras*, who are fighting against the government and people of Nicaragua.

The debate over contra aid has sparked a number of antiwar actions, most notably the April 19 antiwar demonstration of 25,000 in San Francisco and the April 14 coordinated local actions by the Pledge of

Resistance in more than 200 cities.

Reagan's proposal to send \$100 million to beef up the mercenaries is set to be voted on by Congress in mid-June.

May 17 gives opponents of the U.S. government's expanding war drive in Central America an added opportunity to bring out antiwar forces in their areas.

In Denver, Colorado, antiwar activists from all over the state will converge on the governor's mansion to protest his refusal to block the training of Colorado National Guard in Honduras.

The governors of Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont have refused to send state Guard units, which they command, to Honduras. Several other states are considering doing the same.

An all-night vigil will be held in Fox Valley, Illinois, to welcome back returning Illinois National Guard from Honduras.

The deep South is planning a "Peace Picnic" in Biloxi, Mississippi, for May 17. Antiwar activists will be coming from the tri-state area of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

A march through Washington, D.C., is planned by Pledge activists and others. They will march past some of the symbols of war in that city, including the U.S. Congress, the Heritage Foundation, and the U.S. council on World Freedom. Protesters are expected to come from Maryland and Virginia.

New York antiwar protesters will be gathering at the USS *Intrepid* on Armed Forces Day to condemn U.S. intervention in Central America, Puerto Rico, Libya, and South Africa. This old warship has been turned into a military historical museum.

Other antiwar actions will take place in San Antonio and Austin, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; Akron, Ohio; Cape Cod, Massachusetts; Reno, Nevada; Augusta, Maine; and in Detroit, Birmingham, Pittsburgh, Portland, and St. Louis.

For more information call the Pledge Hotline at (202) 328-4042 or the Pledge of Resistance National Clearinghouse at (202) 328-4040.

'IP': Castro speech on Cuban economy

The forthcoming June 2 issue of *Intercontinental Press* will feature part of a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro, presented to a meeting celebrating the 25th anniversary of the defeat of CIA-backed mercenaries at Playa Girón (also known as the Bay of Pigs).

In the April 19 speech, Castro reminded the Cuban people that the new generations have ahead of them tasks equal to or greater than those of the generation that defended the revolution at Girón.

Specifically, he pointed to the challenge of rooting out all vestiges of the old system of capitalism. Cuba's economic strength has been undermined, he said, by habits of laziness, profiteering, and other sources of inefficiency: "Those who look for privileges and cushy jobs," he stated, "are doing the mercenaries' work."

"The first thing a communist cadre must ask himself is not if his firm is making more money," he said, "but how the country makes more. From the moment we have

alleged entrepreneurs who worry more about the enterprise than the interests of the country, we have a capitalist in every sense of the word."

The current, May 19, *IP* includes reports on antigovernment protests in South Korea, Greece, and Paraguay.

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Chicago mayor gains control of council

Washington faction of Democratic Party is victor over old machine

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — For the first time since he was elected mayor in April 1983, Harold Washington appears to have gained control of the 50-member Chicago City Council. Two Washington-backed candidates won special aldermanic runoff elections on April 29, 1986.

In the predominantly Black Southside 15th Ward, the runoff election shaped up as a head-to-head between Democratic Party machine incumbent Alderman Frank Brady and Washington-backed Democrat Marlene Carter, a Black woman. Carter won the election by a wide margin.

But the face-off that received the most notice was in the Latino 26th Ward. There, Washington-backed Luis Gutiérrez beat out machine-supported Manuel Torres, 7,429 votes to 6,549. Both candidates are Puerto Rican.

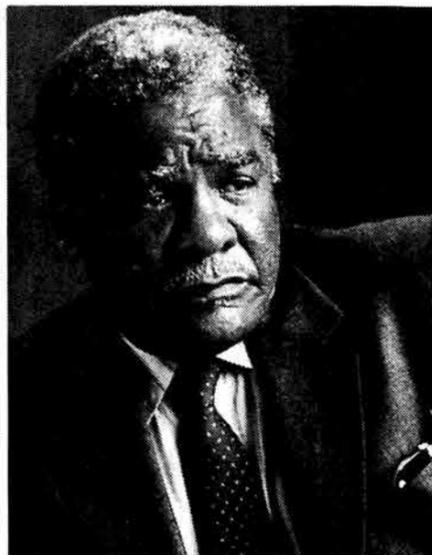
Washington supporters now hold 25 council seats. With Washington's vote in case of a tie, the mayor is expected to push through many of his proposals previously denied by the machine majority. Prior to the recent elections the machine had a 29 to 21 majority.

The runoff election was the second round of a special election ordered by a federal court decision last December. The court held that the Democratic Party machine under former Mayor Jane Byrne had gerrymandered the ward map of Chicago in such a way as to prevent Blacks and Latinos from having fair representation on the city council and the Democratic Party Committee. The court decision remapped seven of the city's 50 wards to give Blacks or Latinos a substantial majority of the voters.

In the first round of the election, the Washington faction of the Democrats made headway, winning two new seats on the council. With the results of the second runoff, Washington has overturned the voting control of the machine faction on the



Edward Vrdolyak (left), chair, Cook County Democratic Party. Chicago Mayor Harold Washington.



council.

The faction fights of the Democratic Party have dominated city council politics since Washington, Chicago's first Black mayor, won office in 1983. Edward Vrdolyak, the alderman from the 10th Ward and chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party, has headed a faction of 29 aldermen since 1983. They represent local capitalist interests grouped around the remnants of the old Democratic Party machine.

Once headed by longtime mayor and "Boss" Richard J. Daley, the machine ran Chicago politics for over two decades through a system of open patronage, ward fiefdoms, and blatant racism. The election of Washington in 1983 marked a shift in the way the rulers run Chicago in the interest of big business and to head off any attempt by working people and Blacks to engage in genuine working-class political action. Through newspaper editorials and television commentaries the city's big-

business fathers have expressed a growing impatience with the disruptive tactics of the Vrdolyak-led faction.

The bankers and steel barons who run Chicago want to see more rationalization of city government, more economizing, more layoffs of city workers. Washington, under the guise of "anti-machine" policies, has carried out a series of cutbacks and anti-labor policies. But he has been thwarted by the maneuvers of the Vrdolyak faction from doing what the big-business owners demand.

For their part, the old machine faction has rallied mostly under the banner of racism to fight any reform of the Democratic Party organization that would undermine their control. They are also preparing for the 1987 elections when they hope one of their own will be put back in City Hall.

The special elections were marked by charges and countercharges of fraud, violence, and vote theft. Hundreds of special

officers were brought in to monitor the election. Manuel Torres accused Gutiérrez of being a communist and a terrorist. Gutiérrez backers circulated a letter accusing Torres of adultery and failing to pay child support.

But the single most important issue in the 26th Ward election was who backed which faction in the Democratic Party. Washington walked the ward and actively campaigned for Luis Gutiérrez. Citywide campaign activities and fundraisers were held by Washington people and "independent" Democrats to win support for Gutiérrez.

Likewise, the machine pulled out the stops to back their candidate, Manuel Torres. Besides Vrdolyak's, Torres also got the active backing of both Jane Byrne, an announced candidate for mayor in 1987, and Richard M. Daley, Cook County state's attorney and possible contender for the machine-backed mayoral candidate.

Mayor Harold Washington summed up the significance of the election results, saying, "The Democratic machine is dead. It killed itself. It committed suicide."

Even though Washington has only a tie breaker margin on the city council, the election reflects much more about how the Democratic Party organization is being restructured and strengthened as the rulers' party in the city.

It will be impossible for Vrdolyak to maintain discipline on votes. Many Vrdolyak "loyalists" are already defecting and declaring themselves "independents."

It seems that the Washington-led Democratic Party will have a freer hand in running the affairs of the city. What this will mean for working people, however, will not be so good. Despite the internal fight in the Democratic Party since 1983, Washington was able to raise taxes and cut the city labor force by about 4,000 workers. And he's already announced plans to close the 1986 budget deficit of \$150 million by new cuts in social services and another round of taxes.

Over the top!

City	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	1625	1625
Baltimore	1124	1119
Birmingham	1740	1585
Boston	4385	4385
Capital District, N.Y.	870	680
Charleston, W. Va.	1830	1360
Chicago	4460	3640
Cincinnati	1757	1727
Cleveland	1420	1420
Dallas	4035	3868
Denver	2520	2495
Detroit	4315	4016
Greensboro, N.C.	1405	1350
Houston	7770	7470
Kansas City	2560	1795
Los Angeles	8710	6621
Louisville	1012	892
Miami	1454	1297
Milwaukee	1270	1270
Morgantown, W. Va.	1925	1790
New Orleans	3953	3218
New York	10010	8720
Newark	6220	6060
Oakland	4930	4483
Philadelphia	3370	3005
Phoenix	1060	438
Pittsburgh	1555	1235
Portland	1886	1880
Price, Utah	775	675
Salt Lake City	2075	1675
San Diego	2210	1880
San Francisco	6320	6320
San Jose	4850	4250
Seattle	3025	3025
St. Louis	4552	4222
Tidewater, Va.	590	475
Toledo	1930	1745
Twin Cities	4575	4020
Washington D.C.	2895	2895
Other cities	5170	5033
Total pledged	128,138	
Total paid		115,659

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On March 15 we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$100,000 by May 10.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant*, our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other socialist publication projects.

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Pa. March for Women's Lives

BY LOUISE CHRISTOPHER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Chanting, "Free choice now," about 300 people marched along the Susquehanna River to the steps of the State Capitol here May 10. The abortion rights action, initiated by Planned Parenthood, was called the "Pennsylvania March for Women's Lives."

Endorsed by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and many other organizations, the action drew people from across the state from Erie to State College to Gettysburg. Buses came from Philadelphia,

Pittsburgh, and Wilson College in Chambersburg.

Banners proclaimed, "Keep abortion and birth control safe and legal," "Give mother her rights for Mother's Day," and "Motherhood by choice, not by chance."

Organizations present included the Greater Harrisburg chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Association of Social Workers, NOW, Planned Parenthood, YWCA, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, In-

Continued on Page 20



BARRICADA

INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY OF THE SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

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Zimbabwe's Prime Minister visits



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What's behind debate on 'The Color Purple'

BY MALIK MIAH

In the last decade two Black women writers have caused a big stir among Black journalists, academics, and political activists and among other liberal and left circles for their writings about the lives and oppression of Black women. They are Ntozake Shange, who wrote the play *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When The Rainbow Is Enuf*, and Alice Walker, who wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Color Purple*.

For Colored Girls, with its all-Black cast, opened on Broadway in September 1976. The play told a part of the Black woman's story through a series of vignettes. It described a Black woman's life — growing up, coming of age, aspirations, broken dreams, verbal and physical abuse, rape, abortion, and most important of all, survival.

This powerful play, told from the point of view of a Black woman, was highly praised, especially by women — Black and white.

But it was attacked by many others, especially a reactionary layer of Blacks, for being negative toward Black males.

Chicago columnist Vernon Jarrett wrote at the time in the city's Black daily, the *Chicago Defender*, that Shange's play was equal to "that classic pro-Ku Klux Klan achievement of 1915, *Birth of a Nation*."

He asserted that *For Colored Girls* was "a degrading treatment of the black male... a mockery of the black family."

In Chicago and other cities meetings were held in the Black community to denounce the play. Many of the critics had never seen *For Colored Girls*, but claimed it was hostile to Black men.

Repeat performance

Ten years later we find a similar performance against the book and film *The Color Purple* — the best-selling novel and one of the most widely seen Hollywood-made films about a piece of Black life.

Syndicated columnist and TV host Tony Brown called *The Color Purple* "the most racist depiction of Black men since *Birth of a Nation* and the most anti-Black family film of the modern film era."

The Nation of Islam — which is led by Louis Farrakhan — headlined its review in the *Final Call* "Purple poison pulses through community." A subsequent article by Harry Davidson claimed the movie "exploits all the stereotypes (negative images) traditionally associated with Blacks: the buffoon who appears not to have the slightest intelligence; the devoted slave who is put in her place; the immoral sexual brute who is distorted and dehumanized; the Black jezebel; the dominating Black female; and the emasculated, weak Black male."

Washington Post columnist William Raspberry called the movie "libel" against Black men.

James Jackson, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party, wrote in the party's monthly journal, *Political Affairs*, "Indeed, in the book and the film, Black men are depicted as bestial violators of female humanity, venomous predators who rape and commit incest upon their own children."

"What has emerged," he claimed, "from the Walker-Spielberg collaboration [Steven Spielberg directed the film] is the grossest slander of a people, whose men and women have fought side by side to create, defend, and advance the opportunities and well being of the nuclear family against merciless, oppressor ruling classes, first of slavemasters, then plantation overlords, and now capitalist exploiters and landlords."

T. Willard Fair, writing in the *Miami Times*, called *The Color Purple* "a very dangerous movie. And Black children should not be allowed to see it without parental presence," he added.

Concluding his assault with an appeal to antiwhite and anti-Semitic prejudice, Fair said, "Finally, I wonder why I went to see a movie in which several of the colored principals had already shown an inability to deal with their color. Alice Walker, the author of *Color Purple*, is married to a member of the Jewish community. Quincy Jones, who scored the music for the movie, is married to a white woman. And Whoopi Goldberg wears a Jewish name that she selected."



The Color Purple exposes Black women's oppression. Debate it generated reflects leading role of Black women in fight for abortion rights, as in the recent March for Women's Lives (right), in the fight against apartheid, and other issues.

(The purpose of this reactionary white- and Jew-baiting is clear. It is an attempt to prevent Blacks from objectively considering what Walker has to say.)

In the wake of the 1986 Academy Awards ceremony, which gave *The Color Purple* no awards after it received 11 nominations, Tony Brown gleefully wrote, the "ceremony was a 'blue' night for Purple People, but a night of liberation and rejoicing for proud Africans everywhere."

Behind heated attacks

There is no question that *The Color Purple* has produced the most wide-ranging national political discussion and debate about Black women, male-female relations, and the relations between the fight for women's equality and the struggle to end racist oppression in many years.

The debate generates so much heat because the book and film touch on a very profound social, political, and personal question: *the oppression of women, especially Black women*.

What's most noteworthy about the attacks by irate males is that little recognition is given to the real suffering and oppression of Black women, which is the centerpiece of *The Color Purple*. It's as though Walker had made up the story out of whole cloth.

Few critics are willing to discuss the central question treated by Walker: the oppression of Black women as women.

Some of Walker's opponents admit there is at least a grain of truth in her story of a Black woman, Celie, growing up in rural Georgia in the first decades of this century. Celie is raped, brutalized, and degraded, first by her stepfather, then by her husband. Eventually she resists and gains some self-confidence and respect in the process.

But even many of those who grant that such things do happen claim that the overriding message is that Black men are animals, and therefore *The Color Purple* is racist and reactionary.

But Walker's story is not antimale. It simply expresses the strivings of women to be treated as human beings, with all the dignity and rights that entails. And that's what her enemies don't like.

Is it racist to admit that there is violence among Blacks, especially violence by Black men against Black women?

Is it racist — or at least an adaptation to racism — for Black women to talk and write about this violence?

These questions are at the heart of the political debate over *The Color Purple*.

Violence in the Black community

There is violence in the Black community, including physical and verbal abuse of Black women by Black men. That's the bitter truth.

This antiwoman violence is an obstacle to Black women gaining confidence in themselves. And it blocks them from becoming full participants in and leaders of the struggles of Blacks, women, and the working class against oppression and exploitation.

Other violence between Blacks — bred

by the capitalist system — is generally seen as a social problem by the Black movement and opposed as such. Sexist violence, however, tends to be viewed differently — by Blacks and whites.

When it is acknowledged at all, it tends to be seen as a personal matter, with the woman often being blamed for provoking the man into beating her.

But sexist violence is widespread. Nearly 6 million women are reported beaten by their husbands each year. Some 2,000-4,000 women in the United States die annually as a result of family violence.

The fact that such violence occurs among Blacks as well as whites cannot be wished away or hidden just because racists use its existence to bolster anti-Black prejudice.

We — supporters of social progress — must face the facts and stand foursquare against the triple burden of racial and sexual oppression and class exploitation that Black women suffer.

Unless we do so, we are harming the fight for Black liberation. We are undermining unity and solidarity within the Black nationality and movement.

Women fight back

When women stand up to these assaults, however, they are called "bitches" or accused of being antimale. This is true for all women — Black and white.

When, in *The Color Purple*, Celie says "no more" to Mister, she's not attacking the male of the species. She's simply trying to live free of abuse.

Everything is turned upside down by the critics, however. It's an example of the victim being turned into the criminal. Walker is accused of denigrating men by showing the real abuse Black women suffer.

Just how reactionary many of the criticisms of Walker's book and the film based on that book are can be seen by the fact that Celie's lesbian relationship with Shug Avery comes in for particular attack, often being the target of undisguised antigay comments.

The reason so many Black women and other women identify with this movie is that they can personally relate to Celie — her oppression and her rebellion.

The identification by women — and many men — with an oppressed woman fighting back, growing, and developing her understanding and self-confidence is progressive, not racist. It is inspiring.

Impact of women's liberation movement

The Color Purple is both a product and a reflection of changes that have taken place in U.S. society over the last several decades.

The civil rights victory in the 1960s not only smashed the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South and opened new political and economic doors to Blacks, it gave Black women more self-confidence just as it gave confidence to all women fighting to advance their rights.

The feminist movement, in fact, was inspired by the fight of Blacks for equality.

And the fight for women's liberation has helped change the consciousness of women — and men — about women's role in society.

There were some Black women involved in the feminist movement from the beginning, though not in large numbers. Black women — the most oppressed women — stood to gain the most from the demands that women's rights supporters fought for: legal abortion, affirmative action, childcare, pay equity, and the Equal Rights Amendment.

More women working

Another important change has been the incorporation of large numbers of women into the labor force.

More than half of all working-age women are in the labor force today as compared to 34 percent in 1950 and 43 percent in 1970. Women are now 44 percent of the entire labor force, with the number continuing to rise. This includes more women integrated into the most strongly organized, predominantly male, sectors of the industrial working class.

These social changes make working women — including Black women — more economically independent and thus less dependent on men to survive. This is true even though working women earn on average 64 percent of what men earn and also have the double burden of working and taking care of family and home.

Economic independence gives working women more options. It gives them more confidence to make decisions. Combined with other advances won by women, it has a progressive impact on women's attitudes toward themselves and their place in society. It also affects the attitude of men toward women.

Ruling-class offensive

The last decade, however, has seen a determined offensive by the government and employers against the gains won by working people, including by Blacks and women. The reactionary ideological offensive against women's rights has been an important part of the attacks by the employing class.

The employers' goal is not to drive women out of the labor force. It is to get women — including women of the oppressed nationalities — to see themselves less as part of the working class and as political and union activists and more as women with family responsibilities who just happen to work.

Today the organized labor movement is under severe attack, suffering many setbacks and defeats. Gains won by the Black and women's rights movements are also taking blows. While there is some resistance, there is no mass fightback led by the labor movement to answer the employers' attacks.

In this context, the ruling class' antiwoman ideology gets an echo among a middle-class layer in the Black community. If Black women followed the logic of this antiwoman ideology, it would lead them to

Continued on Page 21

Fidel Castro on Cuba's victory at Bay of Pigs

Speech marks 25th anniversary of mercenaries' defeat and of declaring socialist nature of Cuban revolution

The following is the first part of a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro at a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba, April 17-19, 1961. The presentation marked both the defeat of the U.S.-organized army of Cuban exile mercenaries at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs) and the April 16, 1961, declaration in Havana on the socialist character of the Cuban revolution. This declaration was made at a funeral for the victims of an aerial bombing raid the day before.

Castro spoke April 19 at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana. The text is taken from the April 27, 1986, issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Distinguished guests;
Relatives of the fighters killed in Girón;
Veterans of Girón;
Comrades all:

About half of our country's present population was yet to be born when the Playa Girón incidents occurred. Many of those who are now adults were children. But millions of persons remember perfectly well those events, which were lived intensely by our people.

These days our press has dealt at length with all those events.

I have observed that although many interesting testimonies exist about these events, an exact, precise and global story of that battle is yet to be written. There are times — as far as we can remember — when there's a certain confusion as to dates, despite the fact that the battle lasted only three days. Things that happened on the 19th are presented as if they had taken place on the 18th and later events, on the 20th, are presented as having taken place on the 19th and so forth. Perhaps, after 25 years and taking advantage of the numerous written testimonies, past and present, and of the opportunity to interview many of the participants in the battle, some historian or group of historians may be able to reconstruct those events with a maximum of precision.

The international press, encouraged by the fact that the 25th anniversary of that battle is being celebrated, has also dealt at length with those events. A number of news agencies have said that certain institutions that participated in the events haven't recovered yet from the defeat.

The attack on Girón had its antecedents. As far back as Dec. 11, 1959 — December 1959, mind you! — the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency presented the U.S. government with a plan to destroy the Cuban Revolution. And as early as March 17, 1960, President [U.S. President Dwight] Eisenhower issued orders to prepare for the attack. Of course, we didn't know about it at that time. We found out later, when the authors and participants themselves confessed to their crimes.

Preceded by destabilization, sabotage, assassination

The attack on Girón was preceded by a whole program of destabilization, acts of sabotage, assassination plots, organization of armed bands, landing of weapons and explosives, and weapons drops. Long before the attack on Girón the imperialists had succeeded in organizing numerous groups of bandits in the Escambray [Mountains] and there were armed groups organized by the CIA in practically every province. There were hundreds of counterrevolutionary organizations in our country. Every time three or four and even two or three counterrevolutionaries got together they set up an organization. That was the CIA's style, to promote as many organizations as possible, although some were stronger and preferred, and those were the ones used for its activities.

Two days before the air attack, El Encanto department store was burned to the ground in an act of sabotage that cost the life of Comrade Fe del Valle, one of the workers.

The air attack was launched at dawn on April 15. The night before they had tried to make a landing in Oriente province, in the Baracoa region, and the invasion got under way on the 17th.

Many things have been written, especially on the other side, by journalists, CIA agents, U.S. government officials, former CIA agents, and U.S. politicians, in an attempt to explain the imperialists' defeat. For us, however, the events are quite clear.



Fidel Castro during Playa Girón battle. He took personal command of Cuban forces that smashed in 64 hours the U.S.-sponsored attempt to overthrow revolution.

The mercenary invasion didn't take anybody here by surprise despite the fact — and this is a good example of the serious work of the news transnationals — that the president of the United States had given orders not to talk about or publish any news having to do with the preparations for an invasion that many people already knew about.

The main dailies, among them *The New York Times* — which on that occasion betrayed its reputation as an objective newspaper — were told not to publish any information about the preparations for the invasion. Therefore, neither the wire services nor the press provided any indication of what was about to take place. But, through other means, given the antecedents, and the revolutionaries' acquired capacity to guess what the enemy is going to do, we knew that an attack was imminent. We can't say that we knew the exact date it would take place, but we could detect all the symptoms of what was to happen.

We had worked very hard in the weeks preceding the attack. A tremendous effort was made in the organization and training of the personnel, hundreds of thousands were trained and armed in the space of a few weeks. The weapons arrived at a steady pace and just in time. We can say that a few weeks before the invasion a large number of weapons arrived: ground artillery, antiaircraft artillery, antitank artillery, tanks and self-propelled guns. And we had been able to put together hundreds of thousands of weapons, most of them from socialist countries, because our initial attempts to buy arms lots in Western Europe were sabotaged.

Some Western countries sold us ammunition but not the guns. One of the freighters loaded with a shipment of rifles and munitions, *La Coubre*, was sabotaged and dozens of workers and soldiers died in that typical act of CIA sabotage. Since then, despite the fact that probably thousands of ships have unloaded weapons in our country, none of them has exploded. Naturally, it was easy for the CIA to sabotage a ship that had taken its cargo aboard in a Western European port, to set up a booby trap so that when one of the munitions cases was lifted it would explode.

We made every possible study and came to the conclusion that the explosion was no accident. Crates of grenades in that shipment were dropped from airplanes at various heights, at thousands of meters, and none of them exploded. It was evident that this was a case of sabotage organized abroad and one in a very sophisticated fashion in order to cause a double explosion, because that's what it really was. The first explosion was followed by another one several minutes later, when numerous soldiers and workers were helping their comrades, making that act of sabotage even more bloody.

Emergency training of an army

The arms we received days before the attack did not remain long in storage. The organization of the battalions was stepped up. At that time, the largest unit in our armed forces was the battalion: heavy and light battalions we called them, according to their armament. We worked out a program for the training of officers and personnel, an accelerated program because all we had was a handful of technicians, mostly Soviet and Czech, and the training in the handling of that type of weapons was a long-range program. The first batteries were supposed to be ready after several months and we had the armament of hundreds of batteries.

These were special circumstances, an emergency situation. We visited the camps where the first batteries were being trained and told the militiamen there: "What you learn in the morning you'll have to teach in the afternoon." We recruited thousands upon thousands of fighters to train them as gunners. They were volunteers from the various units that had already been organized.

Ciudad Libertad became an enormous training camp along with other places. Weeks before the invasion, tens of thousands of men were being trained in Mariel, in Cabaña Fortress, everywhere. That was fundamental, not a single minute was wasted. And that was what made it possible on the day of the attack for all the armament to have the personnel ready to handle it, with varying degrees of training.

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

You must understand that a rigorous training of that personnel was impossible in such a short space of time, but they knew how to handle their weapons. The rest was the result of the bravery, heroism, and determination of the workers, militiamen and soldiers.

The tanks, too, had arrived a short time before and the tankers had barely a few weeks to train. They already knew something about tanks due to the experience acquired while driving the tanks that the tyrannical regime had left in our country.

Steps were taken to protect the airports because we had the idea that the enemy might try to pull a surprise attack. Antiaircraft batteries were set up and the planes were dispersed.

On the night of April 14 and the morning of April 15 we were at the improvised general staff post we had set up in a section of Havana, waiting to see what would happen in Oriente, whether or not a landing was to take place there.

Air attack

It was dawn when several planes flew overhead, flying very low in the direction of Ciudad Libertad. Less than a minute, maybe half a minute after we saw them fly overhead, they opened with rockets and machine guns on the camp in Ciudad Libertad. We were also able to note how incredibly fast the militiamen in charge of the antiaircraft batteries began to fire on the planes. I don't think 20 seconds elapsed between the attack and the moment they began to fire back, and accurately.

That's the way the first battles began, with a surprise attack using planes disguised as our own with the emblem of our air force painted on them. When we saw them fly overhead we were puzzled by their presence, and we wondered where they were coming from since we didn't know anything about it. But they turned out to be enemy planes in disguise.

We thought it was strange for them to launch the air attack 36 or 38 hours before the main attack. Maybe they thought they'd fool us with the landing they tried to make on the night of the 14th in the Baracoa area. Anyway, our forces were waiting for them there and everything would have been over within a very short time.

They would have never fooled us by pulling a landing in Baracoa with 200 men. We still had no idea what they were going to do with that numerous mercenary force that — as everybody knew — was being trained in Guatemala and other places; whether they would use them in small groups in order to create many fronts, or concentrate on a single point. We preferred their concentrating on a single point because we would be able to solve the problem much faster. But we had taken steps just in case it was otherwise.

Several months before there had been a clean-up operation in the Escambray Mountains with the participation of militiamen from all over the country, but mainly from Havana, and the number of bandits in the area had been cut down to less than 10 percent. Some 50,000 men took part in that operation, were given training, became familiarized with the mountain area, and acquired experience that came in very handy in the battles fought at Girón.

We had taken steps in case they decided to divide their forces into many groups and in every place in our coasts where a landing might be possible we had at least one platoon. In every place where a landing might be possible!

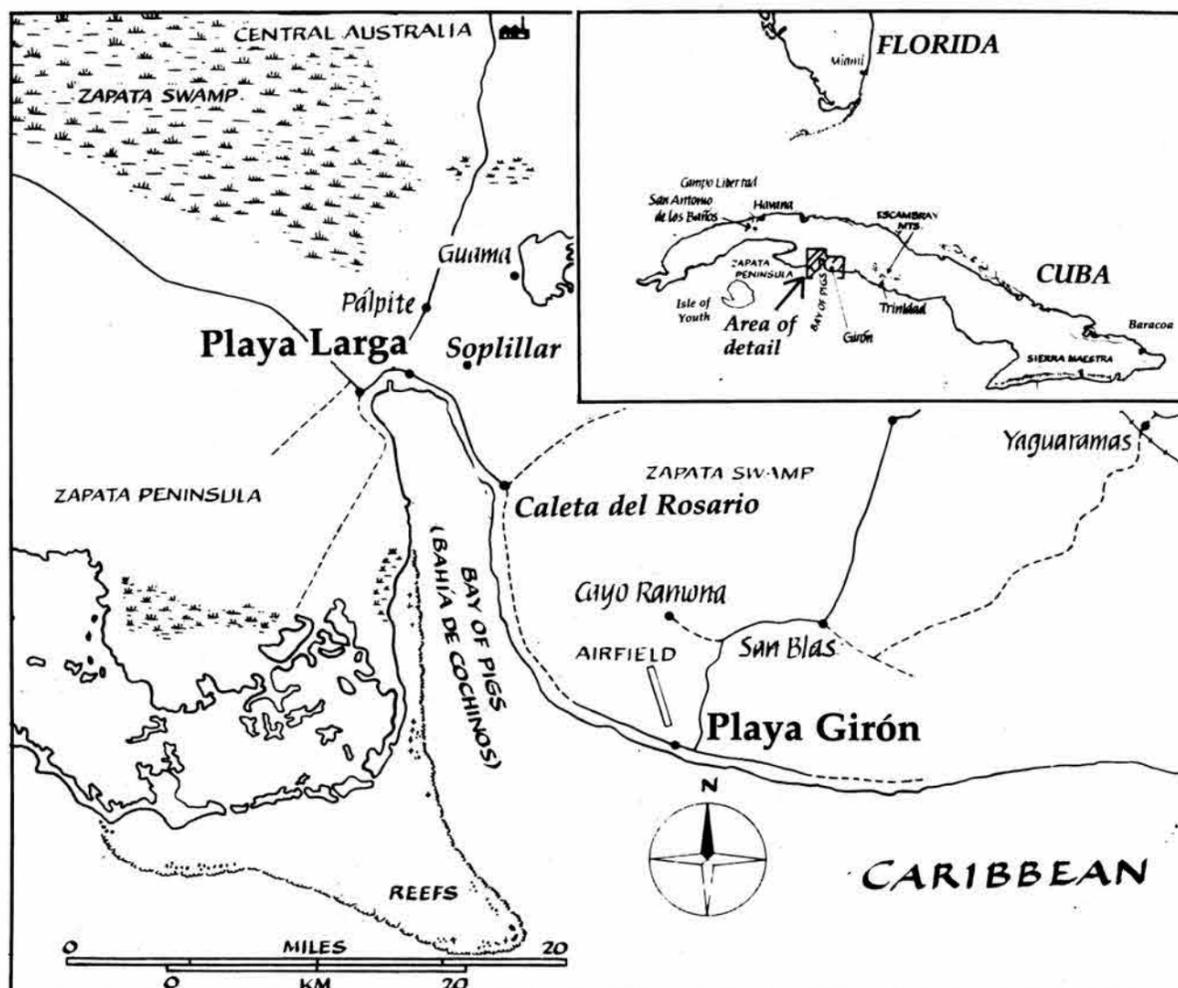
We also analyzed the possibility that they might try to create a sort of Taiwan around Cuba. For example, capturing the Isle of Pines, now the Isle of Youth, where of course thousands of counterrevolutionaries were imprisoned. Many of the bandits captured in the Escambray and many counterrevolutionary saboteurs were imprisoned there because we had no other place to confine them. We had to consider the possibility of an attempt to land there with the idea of freeing the counterrevolutionary prisoners and occupying a piece of our national territory to set up a provisional government.

We had also foreseen the possibility of a landing in the area of Trinidad, near the Escambray. There's no doubt that that area was also considered by the enemy, but the big clean-up operation months before apparently made them change their minds. The fact that we had turned the Isle of Youth into a veritable fortress with thousands of trained and well-armed militiamen who made it impossible for the island to be captured by a mercenary invasion had a great deal to do with the change in their plans.

Measures were also taken in Trinidad, in the airport, on the coast, to prevent any possibility of the enemy landing. Therefore, it was up to them to decide where to land and how to use their forces, whether in groups or a whole unit.

The air raid did not destroy all our planes. Only a few were destroyed, thanks to the steps that had been taken. In fact, when the invasion began, on the 17th, we still had more planes than pilots. We had eight or 10 planes — the exact number is still unknown — and only about seven pilots. I remember that there were more planes than pilots.

The defense of the airports was reinforced. Some



theoreticians, some of the imperialists' armchair strategists, have argued that not bombing the San Antonio air base and destroying what planes we had left was one of the reasons for the failure of the invasion. But we had foreseen that as well; we had reinforced the defense of the air bases with numerous antiaircraft guns and our planes were given greater protection.

The important thing is that before daybreak on the 17th, once it was verified that there had been a landing in Playa Larga and Playa Girón, our planes were in the air and flying toward Playa Larga and Playa Girón. The enemy wouldn't have found a single one of our planes on the ground. We did it deliberately, forestalling the possibility of another attack on our small air bases and insignificant number of planes.

We received the first news of the landing about 2:00 a.m. We'd been trying to get a few hours' rest following several days when we hadn't slept a wink, when we were told that a landing was taking place in Playa Larga, which I believe was the first point reported. We went to the command post. How did we realize that that was the main direction toward a beachhead? As we received more reports about the landing at Playa Larga, news that the militiamen guarding that spot had engaged the enemy in combat and that there was another landing under way at Playa Girón, we came to the conclusion that the enemy was trying to occupy a piece of our national territory.

Invasion designed to pave way for U.S. intervention

There was a great deal of logic behind that strategy, because no one could expect a mercenary expedition to defeat the people of Cuba. That had to be the beginning of a maneuver designed to bring about U.S. intervention through the OAS. That was crystal clear. They already had the apparatus set up, they had the leaders, the president, the minister, the chiefs, everybody, for a government that would request the immediate support of the OAS. No mercenary expedition of 1,500, 5,000, 10,000, or even 100,000 men would have been able to defeat the Cuban people. Later it was evident that this was a maneuver designed to pave the way for foreign intervention.

Not even those who spread the story that the enemy's hope for success was based on a popular uprising believe it. And if they ever believed it, that shows how mistaken they were. But it's evident that that wasn't in the program or the plan. Maybe it was in the minds of those who organized the mercenary expedition, but what they did was not designed to support an uprising. It was evident from the very beginning that what they wanted was to occupy part of our territory.

To me, this was very clear. Since they were unable to attack the Isle of Youth because it was strongly defended, since they couldn't land in Trinidad because the territory could be defended in both directions and the mountain roads could be used efficiently in defense operations, making it impossible for the invaders to join the Escambray bandit groups, then it was obvious that the ideal area would be the southern part of Zapata Swamp, an area separated from the mainland by a stretch of marshland about eight to 10 kilometers wide and with only three ac-

cess roads: between Australia and Playa Larga; between Covadonga, further eastward, and San Blas; and between San Blas and Yaguaramas. Three access roads very easy to intercept and defend.

When we heard the news of the battles between the militia platoons and the invaders in Playa Larga and Playa Girón we knew those were the ideal places for the enemy to do what it hadn't been able to do in the Isle of Youth or Trinidad; that that was the focal point of the attack. The pertinent orders were given and the first units were sent to that area.

It was clear that if the enemy landed there we had to guarantee our forces the use of at least one of the three access roads, and we opted for the closest one. We didn't mind if the enemy occupied part of the territory and gained control of the other two roads. At least one of the three had to be under our control and that was the mission given to the School of Militia Instructors of Matanzas and two of the battalions in that area: to make sure that one of the roads remained open for our troops.

We began to move troops into action against the enemy, but not 100 percent of our troops, only a small percentage of the country's total forces. What was sent to the theater of operations consisted of tank units, artillery and antiaircraft batteries, and infantry, still acting with the necessary caution, foreseeing the possibility that the enemy might also try landing in other places, and also admitting — in theory, because even from a theoretical standpoint one must take into account the various risks involved — that the landing could be a diversionary maneuver.

However, as time went by and there were no reports of landings anywhere else, the idea that that was the area selected by the enemy to deal the main blow was confirmed. And that's one of the reasons why our planes were in the air and flying in that direction before sunup.

Invaders attempt to hold territory

What really confirmed the idea that the area was chosen for the main blow was the landing of paratroops at dawn in an attempt to take control of the Yaguaramas-San Blas, Covadonga-San Blas, and Australia-Playa Larga roads, precisely in the swamp area. The paratroops did take control of two of the roads, but the militia was waiting for them on the third one. In other words, those who landed at the entrance to the swamp on the Australia-Playa Larga road were unable to occupy their positions, and those who landed further south on the same road didn't have time to reach their positions either, and one of the roads remained in our hands.

That was very important. Anyway, I'm sure that even if they had had all three roads under control we would have crushed them and our tanks would have run over them the way they did in some places. But, as I've said on repeated occasions, a straight 10-kilometer-long road running across the swamp, across impassable marshland, can become a sort of Thermopylae, easy to defend, very easy to defend, especially if you have tanks mortars, anti-tank weapons, and a supposed air superiority. And that's what the enemy thought.

And they did have air superiority given the number of planes and spare parts, about 30 planes to our 11 planes and only seven pilots. The secret lay in how our planes were used.

The Pentagon and CIA plan seemed reasonable because they assumed that the famous brigade — with its tank company, its many antitank weapons, its artillery, its paratroopers, etc. — well-trained by the CIA and the Pentagon, could hold on to that piece of territory. When the paratroopers landed, we were convinced; there was no longer any doubt about where the main blow was going to be; it was clear. And then the Revolution's objective was not to give them time for anything, not to let up the pressure, because we couldn't allow them to consolidate a beachhead and set up the provisional government that was already appointed, with bags packed in Miami and waiting to land in Girón.

The curious thing about this is that they picked a spot which, objectively speaking, had characteristics similar to Trinidad or the Isle of Youth, was easy to defend. But they landed in one of the places which we knew best, almost as well as the Sierra Maestra. This was because the Revolution had taken an interest in the poorest and most remote parts of the country, for social not military reasons, and it had already built two tourist centers and three roads there.

The curious thing is that the three roads and the Girón airport had all been built by the Revolution. We were very familiar with that area and so were quickly able to draw up countermeasures. Of course, we didn't know how many planes the enemy had, we had to be careful and not make mistakes. There was no doubt about what our planes had to do. Their mission was to sink the mercenary fleet.

Thus, while their planes tried to strike at our forces and give cover to theirs, our planes concentrated on sinking their fleet, and in two or three hours all their ships had either been sunk or had fled. That famous fleet with its auxiliary ships didn't even last three hours. The United States had been giving them protection all along the way for several days, using aircraft carriers, destroyers, etc., but offshore at Girón and Playa Larga they were wiped out in a flash. [Applause]

They couldn't hold out here. Even the ship with the communications command post was sunk by our planes which in addition shot down some enemy planes that morning. Of course, it wasn't possible to provide cover for our forces at that time. At about 11:00 a.m. or between 10:00 and 11:00 two planes were assigned to provide air support for the militia instructors' battalion so that it could cross the road and head for Pálpite. That was the only time at which our planes let up their pressure on the enemy fleet, to support our forces and consolidate that move.

However, large-scale movement of enemy planes was evident. We couldn't tell if there were 20, 50, or 100. Who knows how many planes the United States could mobilize! That's why our troops were always accompanied by a considerable number of antiaircraft batteries, and during the day the artillery and tank units especially were ordered not to go beyond Jovellanos so they wouldn't be in the area of operations during daylight. But after sunset, a flood of artillery, men, and tanks moved to the front.

Of course, there weren't many tanks there at first because at that time our special trailer trucks could only move five at a time, while the others had to go under their own power along the roads for over 200 kilometers, but they were drawing near. We had a lot of ground and anti-aircraft artillery and all the infantry we needed.



USS Essex. Aircraft carrier and its destroyer escort stood off of Playa Girón covering invasion. U.S. plan called for mercenaries to hold a piece of Cuban territory, proclaim "provisional government," and have it invite direct U.S. attack. Castro said fact that battle took place in presence of U.S. Navy was "measure of courage of the Girón fighters."



Cuban artillery in action against mercenaries. Weapons had arrived in Cuba only weeks and days before attack. Militiamen being trained in their use were told, "What you learn in the morning, you'll have to teach in the afternoon."

We didn't give the enemy a minute's rest, not a minute! That was an important factor. In 64 hours — it was 64 even though people say 72 or less than 72, but in fact they landed at about 2:00 a.m. on the 17th and by 6:00 p.m. on the 19th there was no longer any organized resistance; they had been routed. They weren't given a minute's rest.

Of course, forces were dispatched in other directions, but the bulk was sent in the directions I mentioned before.

We wanted to reach Girón that same night. In one of his accounts, Flavio [Capt. Flavio Bravo Pardo] explained his instructions; he was in one of the first four tanks advancing on the enemy, and he said they had to reach Playa Larga, go onto Girón and from there to San Blas, all in one night.

Perhaps Flavio and some of the readers thought that was too much, but I'm convinced it was the right thing to do and was not beyond our means. In fact, I'm absolutely convinced that Girón could have been reached on the morning of the 18th, that there was no need to wait until the 19th.

There was heavy enemy resistance at Playa Larga but, as I said, we knew every inch of the terrain like the back of our hand. When we saw the resistance they were putting up in Playa Larga, we were planning a simple, elementary flanking operation along a sort of narrow trail but where vehicles and even tanks could pass. This was between Soplillar and Caleta del Rosario. We were awaiting the arrival of the tanks that were coming on their own power to flank them on the left, surrounding Playa Larga from the west. We wanted to split the mercenary forces in two and move rapidly to Girón, still under cover of darkness. The enemy might have encountered the tanks at Girón before sunrise.

A battalion was sent by land to Cayo Ramona also to divide the enemy between Girón and the roads they held leading to Covadonga and Yaguaramas.

In my opinion, it was at that moment — we would have to check the information, the exact time when the rest of the tanks arrived — that Havana headquarters contacted me to say an enemy landing was taking place west of Havana. That seemed very strange to me and I wondered whether they had enough men after the effort they were making in Girón and after having dropped the paratroopers. Did they have another army to be used west of Havana? I asked if they were sure, if the news had been confirmed and I was told our forces had already clashed with the enemy.

This was about 1:30 a.m., when we were waiting for the tanks to arrive. Given the news that the enemy was landing west of the capital, that it was confirmed and contact had been made, I decided to leave for Havana right away. I really regret it, because I believe that although the idea might have seemed an exaggeration, with the other tanks heading for Girón, the plan could have worked. The historians will have to talk with the members of that tank force and other participants to get their opinions, because I had to leave for the capital.

I left a comrade who didn't have much military experience at the Australia command post, but I gave him all the instructions: don't fail to undertake the operation. I returned and arrived at dawn. At that time we didn't have the highway we have now, which makes the trip so much faster; it was a three- or four-hour journey by car. Our cars didn't have the means to communicate with Havana; we could telephone from a given place, but we didn't even have radio communication at the time. When I arrived in Havana at dawn, I was disappointed to learn that

the news of the landing was a false alarm.

I expected there would be a really big battle west of Havana. I thought to myself, it will be worse still for the mercenaries if they land there. We had the bulk of our forces in Havana, even naval forces: two frigates which we had fitted out with antiaircraft guns. In fact, they were bristling with antiaircraft guns. In Havana our small air force would have been able to play a greater role since it was closer; the navy could have participated; and many more forces and combat equipment were in Havana than in Girón.

When I got here I found there was no landing. I will always regret that the left flank operation wasn't undertaken that night.

The enemy, which was fighting hard at Playa Larga, came under pressure from our forces and pulled back at dawn. They were able to do so! They were able to link up with the others at Girón. Otherwise they would have been split in two by simply cutting off the road at the spot I knew perfectly well.

U.S. fleet simulates landing

What had happened? The U.S. fleet had simulated a landing in the area of Cabañas and Bahía Honda. They had indeed simulated a landing, and now we know that they used electronic means to give the impression of a landing and fighting.

The U.S. fleet's help enabled the mercenaries to last 30 hours more than they should have, for at the most they shouldn't have lasted more than 40 hours. The fact that they lasted 64 hours was due to that maneuver of simulating a U.S. landing.

On the 18th, given the resistance in the Playa Larga area, or rather in the direction of Playa Larga-Girón, and the fact that all the mercenary forces were concentrated in Girón, we decided to speed up and intensify the offensive at Covadonga and Yaguaramas. Thus, on the 18th there was heavy fighting in that area for they also resisted desperately there — perhaps they were waiting for the U.S. planes and fleet to come in.

Heavy fighting continued on the 19th as we advanced. I think we had two or three helicopters at the time and we used them to move troops. We stationed a small force east of Girón, several kilometers away, and they advanced by land; they were joined by bazooka operators who were flown in by helicopter. The helicopters were also used to fly in a bazooka company to be stationed along the road leading from San Blas to Girón to cut the mercenaries off in that direction, since they were resisting with the help of tanks in San Blas.

All these steps were taken. A trap was set for them with the force stationed east of Girón, in the direction of Cienfuegos. They were told to remain silent, to not show any signs of life and lie in ambush on the edge of the sea. This turned out to be a snare where we picked up all the *gusanos* who fled from the fighting heading east.

Actually, we didn't plan to storm Girón on the 19th if enemy resistance continued. We had a different idea. We had positioned 10,000 shells — 10,000 cannon and 122 millimeter shells — and the idea was to pound them with the artillery on the night of the 19th and move in at dawn on the 20th.

Shortly after noon or in the early afternoon, I left the command post and headed for San Blas, and since, as I explained, there was no car radio I had to stop at every town and call by phone. I think it was when I was calling Havana from Jovellanos or a nearby town that I was told there was another landing and that the planes had spotted many small boats sailing between the U.S. ships and Girón.

Invaders try to escape

I thought for a moment and wondered at a landing at this stage, a new landing at this stage? I already knew that the forces coming from Playa Larga were close to Girón, just a few kilometers away, and that the others had recaptured the roads and were advancing from the north. I told the comrades at the command post, "No, it isn't a landing, it's an evacuation attempt, an attempt at evacuation!"

We told the air force to go all out and attack those boats heading for the coast and then we went on to San Blas. We told Pedrito [Maj. Pedro Miret Prieto] to please make full use of the artillery in attacking the position at Girón and the sea between the coast and the U.S. fleet since we couldn't allow the mercenaries to escape. At that point the objective was to prevent them from escaping.

Of course, the U.S. ships and a U.S. aircraft carrier were onlookers to the whole battle. Nobody knew what they would do, but nobody worried about that. In fact, when destroyers got close, the 85 millimeter cannon were aimed at them. I remember that when we reached Girón, the first tanks there — it was nighttime — were lined up on the shore facing the U.S. fleet, which had all lights out. They would only turn on a reflector every so often.

The whole battle at Girón was fought in the presence of the U.S. fleet and its aircraft carrier, and I think that also gives a measure of the courage of the Girón fighters.

Continued on ISR/6

Bolshevik leader on formation of (

Introduction

The following document, "The Hour for a Genuine Communist International Has Struck," by Gregory Zinoviev is reprinted from *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power; Documents: 1918-1919, Preparing the Founding Congress*. This is the second volume of *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, a documentary history of the Communist International from its beginnings until the death of V.I. Lenin in 1924. The new volume, published by the Anchor Foundation and distributed by Pathfinder Press, is scheduled to be released later this month.

The new volume is divided into two parts. The first focuses on the German revolution and the founding of the German Communist Party. Last July's *International Socialist Review* reprinted documents from the first part of the book.

The second part takes up the international debate on Soviet power, as well as the preparations for the March 1919 founding congress of the Communist International. The document by Zinoviev is from the second section of the book.

The document first appeared as an article in *Pravda* (newspaper of the Russian Communist Party, which had changed its name from *Bolshevik* in 1918) on March 2, 1919. This was the opening day of the founding congress, held in Moscow, of the Communist International (also known as the Comintern or the Third International.)

The Communist International was an international organization whose goal was to help build and train Marxist parties capable of leading the workers and exploited farmers in the overthrow of capitalist rule in their countries. It began to take shape after the most prominent parties and leaders of the Second International supported their respective imperialist ruling classes in World War I (1914-1918).

In October 1917 the Bolshevik Party of Russia led the workers and farmers of that country in a revolution that established the first victorious workers' and farmers' government. Lenin was the central political leader of the Bolsheviks.

The revolution inspired working-class fighters all over the world and spurred the founding of the Communist International.

After Lenin's death in 1924, a bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin consolidated its control over the workers' state that had been forged by the revolution. This caste subordinated the interests of the workers and farmers, in the Soviet Union and around the world, to the protection of its special privileges and the search for agreements with the imperialist powers.

As a result, the Communist International degenerated and collapsed as a revolutionary formation.

Gregory Zinoviev (1883-1936) joined the Russian Marxist movement in 1901 and was an early supporter of the Bolsheviks. From 1919 to 1926 he was president of the Communist International. He was executed by Stalin's regime on frame-up charges.

The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power, Documents: 1918-1919, Preparing the Founding Congress is available at a special pre-publication price of \$9.00. The regular price will be \$12.95. This offer is good through June 14. It can be ordered by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 (please send \$.75 for handling), or purchased at the end of May at Pathfinder bookstores listed in the directory on page 20.

'Hour for a Genuine Communist International Has Struck'¹

BY GREGORY ZINOVIEV

I

As early as the 1907 International Socialist Congress at *Stuttgart*, when the Second International came up against the questions of colonial policy and imperialist wars, it was revealed that a good half of the Second International — and the majority of its leadership — stood much closer to the views of the bourgeoisie on these questions than to the communist viewpoint of Marx and Engels.

At *Stuttgart* the revisionists' proposed "recognition" of bourgeois colonial policy — that is, support for imperialist wars — was rejected by only a very narrow majority. The leading parties of the Second International — the German, French, and British — and especially the trade union leaders in these countries — spoke out there definitely and absolutely *against* revolutionary policies.

1. "Kommunistisches Internationales," in *Pravda*, March 2, 1919.



Gregory Zinoviev, president of the Communist International from 1919 to 1926.

Nevertheless, the *Stuttgart* congress accepted an amendment, introduced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, stating: "In case war should break out anyway, it is [Socialists'] duty to intervene for its speedy termination and to strive with all their power to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."²

II

The Balkan War of 1912³ could only be the prelude to an imperialist world war. That was clear to all socialists.

At the *Basel* congress (November 1912), convened during the Balkan War, the Second International announced: "Let [the bourgeois governments] remember that the Franco-Prussian War was followed by the revolutionary outbreak of the Commune; that the Russo-Japanese War set into motion the revolutionary energies of the peoples of the Russian Empire. . . . Proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the profits of the capitalists, the ambitions of dynasties, or the greater glory of secret diplomatic treaties."⁴

III

As late as the end of July and the beginning of August 1914, twenty-four hours before the beginning of the imperialist war, the leading bodies and institutions of the Second International's chief parties continued to denounce the impending war as a monstrous crime. Statements of these parties dating from those days and collected by the Viennese professor Carl Grünberg serve as the most eloquent indictment against the leaders of the Second International.⁵ These documents show more convincingly than anything else that on August 4, 1914, the leaders of the Second International called "white" what they themselves on August 3 had called "black."

IV

As the first shots rang out on the fields of the imperialist war, the leading parties of the Second International betrayed the working class. Under the guise of "defending the fatherland" each party crossed over to the side of "its own" bourgeoisie. In Germany Scheidemann

2. John Riddell, ed., *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1984), p. 35.

3. In October 1912 the governments of Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia attacked Turkey. The conflict threatened for a time to expand into a world war. In this first Balkan War, which ended in May 1913, Turkey was defeated and forced to cede most of its European territories.

During the peace negotiations held in London under the supervision of the European imperialist powers, the victorious Balkan states fell out over the division of the spoils. Behind these differences were the imperialist powers.

This conflict led to the second Balkan War (June-August 1913) in which the Serbian, Greek, and Romanian governments defeated Bulgaria and forced it to cede some of its territory. Turkey also seized the opportunity to retake some territory from Bulgaria.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

5. Carl Grünberg, "Die Internationale und der Weltkrieg, Materialien," in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 6 (1916), pp. 373-541, and vol. 7 (1917), pp. 99-248. A selection of these documents are printed in Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 111-39.

and Ebert, in France Thomas and Renaudel, in England Henderson and Hyndman, in Belgium Vandervelde and de Brouckère, in Austria Renner and Pernerstorfer, in Russia Plekhanov and Rubanovich, in Sweden Branting and his party, in America Gompers and his accomplices, in Italy Mussolini and Co. — they all called for the proletariat to conclude "civil peace" with the bourgeoisie of "its own" country, that is, to reject the struggle against the exploiters, to reject a war against the war — in reality, to become cannon fodder for the imperialists.

At that moment the Second International went completely bankrupt and perished.

V

This sudden conversion of the Second International into an organization carrying out the program of the imperialists was, in reality, not so sudden. It was prepared little by little in the course of over thirty years of "peaceful" capitalist development — roughly from the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871 until the first Russian revolution in 1905.

Thanks to the general course of economic development, the bourgeoisie of the wealthiest countries acquired the ability to bribe and corrupt the upper layers of the working class — the labor aristocracy — with crumbs from their superprofits. The *petty-bourgeois* "camp followers" of socialism flooded into the ranks of the official Social Democratic parties and gradually shifted their political course in a bourgeois direction. The leaders of the conciliatory parliamentary workers' movement, the leaders of the narrow-minded trade unions, the party secretaries, the editors, and the functionaries of Social Democracy came together into a whole caste, the *workers' bureaucracy*, having its own self-satisfied group interests even to the point of being hostile to socialism.

As a result of all this, official Social Democracy degenerated into an *antisocialist* and *chauvinist* party.⁶

The war wiped out all conventions, tore away all verbal covers. It shook up all humanity, and compelled all the parties and groups to show their true colors. What had been concealed was now in plain view. The Second International showed itself for what it really was: an organization dominated by the petty bourgeoisie and agents of the big bourgeoisie, who played the part of workers' leaders. Solemn vows to fight to the death and internationalist resolutions were forgotten. Each "leading" party of the Second International began to call on the workers of its country to kill the workers of other countries — to serve the interests of a gang of bankers and generals. Each of the "Social Democratic" parties began to carry out whatever tasks that had been entrusted to them by the bourgeoisie of their respective country or imperialist coalition.

VI

Three fundamental groupings had already taken shape in the heart of the Second International. During the war years and up to the onset of proletarian revolution in Europe these three groupings took shape quite clearly.

VII

1. The *social-chauvinist* tendency (the "majority" tendency). Its most characteristic representatives are the German Social Democrats, who now share power with the German bourgeoisie and are the murderers of leaders of the Communist International, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.⁷

During the entire war partisans of this tendency in Germany, France, Britain, Russia, Austria, and all the other countries supported finance capital and monarchy, inflamed chauvinistic passions, participated in the murderous extermination of the flower of the working class, preached "war to the finish," converted the workers'

6. This question is discussed in Zinoviev's article, "The Social Roots of Opportunism," and Lenin's article, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," both printed in Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 475-504. Zinoviev's article can also be found in the Marxist periodical *New International*, vol. 1, no. 2, \$4.00, distributed by Pathfinder Press.

7. Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919) was a founding leader of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. She later moved to Germany and joined the Social Democratic Party there in 1898, becoming a leader of the left wing. A revolutionary opponent of World War I, she became a leader of the Spartacus group and was imprisoned by the German government. A founding leader of the German Communist Party, she was arrested by troops of the Social Democratic Party government and murdered in January 1919.

Karl Liebknecht was a founding leader of the Socialist Youth International in 1907. He was the only member of the German parliament to vote against war credits in December 1914. A leader of the Spartacus group, he was jailed by the German government in 1916 for antiwar propaganda and released as a result of the November 1918 revolution. Like Luxemburg, Liebknecht was arrested by troops of the Social Democratic Party government and murdered in January 1919.

Communist International

press into a tool of bourgeois corruption of the proletariat and the workers' party into a housemaid of the imperialists.

The "majority Socialists" carry the same share of responsibility for all the crimes committed during the war against the working class of all countries as do the kings, bourgeois ministers, heroes of secret diplomacy, and bankers.

Now that the imperialist war is over, now that it is at last being replaced by the civil war of the oppressed classes against their ancient oppressors, the social chauvinists assume the role of the out-and-out butchers of the international proletarian revolution.

The social chauvinists have now fully revealed themselves as the class opponents of the proletariat and are carrying out the program to "liquidate" the war urged on them by the bourgeoisie: burdening the working masses with the main weight of taxes; preserving the inviolability of private property and bourgeois control of the army; dissolving the workers' councils rising up everywhere; keeping political power in bourgeois hands; and counterposing bourgeois "democracy" to socialism.

Majority "Social Democrats" are one of the main obstacles to the workers' victory over the bourgeoisie in the present epoch. The bourgeoisie deliberately installs the social chauvinists in power, in order to facilitate massacring the workers. In Germany, Austria, and Hungary the bourgeoisie at this very moment is carrying this out, trying to defeat the Communist proletariat under the banner of the "Social Democratic" Party. This confirms the words of Engels in his foreword to *Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*:

"Petty-bourgeois democracy in Germany is even now the party which must certainly be the first to come to power in Germany as the saviour of society from the communist workers."⁸

Up to this point the Communists have not struggled sharply against the "majority Social Democrats," since we still did not all recognize the scope of the danger these traitors posed to the international proletariat. Opening the eyes of all working people to the Judas-like role of the social chauvinists and neutralizing arms in hand this counterrevolutionary party is a most important task of the international proletarian revolution.

VIII

2. *The center tendency* (social pacifists, Kautskyites, Independents). This tendency began to take shape even before the war, mainly in Germany. At the beginning of the war the center almost everywhere was in fundamental solidarity with the social chauvinists. The theoretical leader of the center, Kautsky, came out with a justification of the policy conducted by German and French social chauvinists. The International became "an instrument for peacetime," as Kautsky wrote at the beginning of 1915. Once the war has broken out, only one thing is left for us to do, he added: "Struggle for peace, class struggle in peacetime."⁹

During four years of war the center sometimes wavered to the left, but in general it remained true to the policies outlined above. During the January uprising of the Berlin proletariat, the center played a very ambiguous role and weakened the workers with the prospect of negotiations with the government hangmen.

From the very start of the war the center insisted on "unity" with the social chauvinists. After the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the center continued to preach the same "unity" — that is, unity of the worker-communists with the murderers of the Communist leaders Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

As soon as the war began the center (Kautsky, Victor Adler, Turati, MacDonald) started to preach for a "mutual amnesty" of the leaders of the social-chauvinist parties of Germany and Austria, on the one hand, and of France and England, on the other. The center preaches this amnesty even now at the end of the war, and that hinders the workers from understanding the reasons for the collapse of the Second International.

The center sent its representatives to the Bern international conference of class collaborators, making it that

8. Frederick Engels, "On the History of the Communist League," in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), vol. 3, p. 187.

9. The reference is to Karl Kautsky's article, "Internationalism and the War," where he wrote, "The International is at its strongest in peacetime and its weakest in wartime. While we must certainly regret this, it does not lessen in the slightest the International's importance in times of peace, that is, in times of normal social development.

"The International is not merely at its strongest in peacetime. It is also the most powerful instrument to keep the peace. . . .

"Our partisanship in the war will not prevent the International, firm and united, from fulfilling its great historical tasks: Struggle for peace, class struggle in peacetime." (Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle*, pp. 148-49.)

much easier for the Scheidemanns and Renaudels to deceive the workers.

The center continues its petty-bourgeois-pacifist propaganda for "disarmament" under capitalism, courts of arbitration under imperialism, and so on, easing the counterrevolutionary work organized by the allied imperialist-infamous "League of Nations."

It is of the utmost importance to clear a path for the international proletariat through the reactionary rubbish heaped on the road of revolution by the leaders of the center. It is necessary to break away the most revolutionary forces from the center, and that requires ruthless criticism and exposure of the center's leaders. An organizational break with the center is a historical necessity. The timing of this break must be determined by the Communists of each country, according to the movement's stage of development.

IX

3. *Communists*. This tendency remained in the minority in the Second International, where it defended Marxist views on war and the tasks of the proletariat (at Stuttgart in 1907, through the resolution of Lenin and Luxemburg). The "left radical" group in Germany (later the Spartacus League), the Bolshevik Party in Russia, the "Tribunists" in Holland, the youth group in Sweden, and the left wing of the Youth International in a number of countries constituted the initial nucleus of the new International.

Since the start of the war this tendency, true to the interests of the working class, has proclaimed the slogan: "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!"

At the Zimmerwald conference (1915),¹⁰ the *Zimmerwald Left* was formed, the first nucleus of the Third, Communist International. Since then, and especially since the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, communism has grown in a number of countries.

In Germany the Spartacus League, which had won worldwide fame and affection from the workers of all countries, formed the Communist Party. It is growing with every passing day, marching to power at a rapid pace.

In Russia the Communist Party has won the sympathy of the entire working class of city and country, united

10. The Zimmerwald conference was an international conference of socialists opposed to the imperialist war, held in Zimmerwald, Switzerland. The majority at the conference refused to call for a definitive break with the Second International.

The Zimmerwald Left was a minority at the conference made up of several revolutionary currents. It was organized by Lenin, the leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party (later Communist Party).



German communist leader Karl Liebknecht, left, was only member of German parliament to vote against war credits in 1914. He was jailed by German government in 1916 for antiwar propaganda. Rosa Luxemburg, right, founding leader of German Communist Party, was arrested by Social Democratic Party government and murdered in January 1919, along with Liebknecht.

700,000 members in its ranks, worked out a scientifically based program, held power for fifteen months, created a strong Red Army, and aroused the warm sympathy of the proletarians of all the world.

In Austria an influential group of Communists has been formed, which has a great future.

In Hungary the Communist Party already has won the majority of the town proletariat, and in the near future it will also win the majority of soldiers and peasants.

In Italy at the last congress of the Socialist Party a victory went to the Communist forces, who led a heroic struggle against imperialism during the war and who have won the sympathy of an enormous majority of the Italian proletariat.¹¹

In France sympathy for communism is growing, which is indirectly reflected in the conduct of the French center group. The statement of such a man as Henri Barbusse that he considers himself a French Spartacist is an extraordinarily significant sign of the times.

In Britain the British Socialist Party as well as the MacLean group are moving toward the early formation of a Communist party.

Likewise, in a whole number of other countries (Romania, Sweden, Holland, Bulgaria, Denmark, Norway) and in territories formerly part of the Russian Empire (Poland, Latvia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Belorussia, Estonia), strong Communist parties have formed.

X

The program of the RCP, which will receive the approval of the eighth party congress, will on the whole undoubtedly be acceptable for all the enumerated parties, and will become the program of the Communist International.

The tactics of the Communist International are defined for the most part in fifteen theses, published in the name of eight Communist parties on January 25, 1919, with a specific proposal for calling the first congress of the Communist International.

These tactics are determined by a profound conviction that the present-day epoch is one of the decay and collapse of the entire world capitalist system, and that the proletariat's task is now to seize state power rapidly, to realize the dictatorship of the laboring classes, and to create a proletarian state on the basis of soviets or similar organizations.

The organizational forms of the Third International
Continued on ISR/8

11. A congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Rome, September 1-5, 1918, approved a left-wing resolution hailing Soviet Russia and calling for the dictatorship of the proletariat in Italy.

Continued from ISR/3

News of the evacuation attempt that was presumed to be another new landing, but that I was sure was an evacuation, was what led to the decision to continue operations and capture Girón that same day to prevent the mercenaries from escaping. That's what we did.

Upon reviewing those events — and, I repeat, I think a historian or team of historians should undertake a minute and accurate compilation of everything that happened and when, since the lack of communications between different units was a serious problem — I remember that after reaching Girón, Pedrito's artillery force, which had not received any information, continued firing on us. So I can imagine what the mercenaries went through because of what we went through with that shelling. Every time they fired, the earth shook and there was no way of telling if they were firing from land or sea. We were under fire from our own artillery for a while.

The lack of communications, the final orders when we got four commanders each into a separate tank, given the news that the highway between San Blas and Girón was intercepted by mercenaries with antitank cannon. . . . The lack of communications with the other forces advancing from Playa Larga prevented us from knowing exactly what was happening, and, as darkness set in, the tanks were ordered to run over the cannon at full speed. It seems that when the mercenaries heard the noise or even before then, they had left that position and the tanks went on to Girón. What developed was an exchange of fire between two of our tanks and there was almost a clash with our forces coming from Playa Larga.

Unfortunately, there were many such incidents because of the lack of good communications between units and the dynamics of the situation. However, this was no obstacle to success nor was it used as an excuse to keep the different forces from fulfilling their missions. There were other incidents after that which have been talked about. I wasn't planning to discuss this at such length, but I especially wanted to talk about this to the new generations, the millions born after Girón. That's why I've gone on a bit.

Demoralized mercenaries

As I said, these operations lasted 64 hours. The enemy was absolutely, totally demoralized. The next day most efforts were concentrated on collecting prisoners and weapons. The mercenaries were so demoralized that when we were out picking up prisoners as we moved east and pressuring those scattered so they would fall into the trap set by our waiting forces, at one point heavy shooting broke out up ahead. In spite of my instructions, a tank in our group went ahead and wound up clashing with our own forces. I was told there was a group putting up tenacious resistance and my reply was, "Tenacious resistance on the morning of the 20th? I doubt it, that's very unlikely."

In any case, we sent a mortar and some troops to see what was happening. Those who were lying in ambush had become used to, or fallen into the vice of, capturing everything that came their way — the day before they'd captured a mercenary company, or at least two platoons with a tank. So they saw another tank that looked similar and fired a bazooka at it. [Laughter] Yet another clash between our own forces. Luckily, there were no casualties and some shots were exchanged until — nobody still knows how — they realized this was not the enemy. Fortunately, there were no casualties but that was the tenacious resistance I'd been told about.

It sounded strange because all this has its psychology and laws, and when demoralization sets in, it is total. The



"The mercenary forces were totally demoralized. Isolated groups don't offer resistance, neither tenacious nor light, nor of any other kind. This is the mentality of mercenaries, or of those who aren't defending a deeply felt, just cause."



Castro at right giving speech April 16, 1961, at funeral for those killed in air raids. It was here that socialist nature of Cuban revolution was declared. He said then, "This is what they can't forgive us for, that we made a socialist revolution right under the nose of the United States. And that we defend this revolution with rifles."

mercenary forces were totally demoralized. Isolated groups don't offer resistance, neither tenacious nor light, nor of any other kind. This is the mentality of the mercenaries, or of those who aren't defending a deeply felt, just cause.

Then something else happened. I was heading toward the site of the alleged battle and was about 30 meters from the sea along that trail with some berry bushes between the sea and the path and I passed about 10 meters, about from here to that door, from an armed squad of mercenaries lying amidst the trees. I didn't see them but they saw and recognized me.

As we discovered afterwards in questioning, they were totally demoralized and this comes as no surprise. Not one single mercenary fired a shot from the moment they were disorganized, not a single one! Some were left on the *Houston*, which had run aground off the Bay of Pigs to avoid sinking, since [Capt. Enrique] Carreras had scored a direct hit with a missile on the first day. It was sinking and they moved it to the coast. Part of a battalion was left there and they didn't know what had happened so they were still resisting on the night of the 19th, but the problem was solved afterwards.

Courage, patriotism, and zeal

I would say the most notable thing about the Girón events was the courage, patriotism and zeal of the fighters. That was the most important thing about the battle, the conduct of all those who participated in it. Of all the comrades who were given assignments, the planes with the seven pilots — they destroyed the enemy squadron and part of their planes, those not shot down by anti-aircraft guns. Enemy planes virtually disappeared. Their air force was destroyed. The fleet was partially destroyed and the rest fled at top speed. They didn't show their faces in the area any more. There were [our] seven pilots — the enemy had about 30 planes. The courage of the tank crews, artillery gunners, anti-aircraft gun crews — many of them youths 16, 17, or 18 years old — the infantry which advanced constantly without stopping in the face of any risk, against an enemy that had taken up positions and which we had to uproot, almost without communications where commanders often had to act at their own discretion.

In the first attack against Playa Larga on the morning of the 18th the tanks reached the enemy positions. . . . One of the five served as a command post and the advancing four reached the trenches and one of them fell in the enemy trenches.

The infantry advanced along a highway at night and early morning, a straight road where there was no cover. All comrades given assignments fulfilled them immediately with no hesitation. Those were the features of Girón, heroism above all. Those circumstances meant more casualties.

The enemy was dug in and our forces had to advance in open areas. The enemy planes inflicted casualties at the start because they attacked a bus carrying personnel, they attacked various trucks with troops that were taken by surprise. They would pass by and salute and the comrades would think they were our planes; then they would return and strafe. This meant higher casualties, to such an extent that 156 comrades, including those who died afterwards from their wounds, lost their lives in these actions.

At that time we didn't have the number of doctors we have now and the experience we have now. However, we learned the importance of medical care. If we had had the medical care and the resources we have now, many of the wounded would have been saved. That is the truth. Hundreds of comrades were wounded in the fighting where, I repeat, the most notable thing was the heroism, courage, patriotism and revolutionary spirit of the fighters.

Proclaiming socialist nature of revolution

Yet another event of tremendous historic importance was the fact that on the day of the funeral, the very hours of the funeral for those killed in the air raid on the 15th, we proclaimed the socialist nature of our Revolution. [Prolonged applause] Historically this is as important as the fighting at Girón itself, and actually it happened before the battle and before the outcome of the battle was known.

The imperialists claimed this was a revolution betrayed, when the Revolution started enacting popular laws, just laws, laws which had even been announced years before, because they were laws that had been outlined following the Moncada attack.

It was the Moncada Program that was strictly implemented. Rent reduction was one of the first laws, followed by electricity rate reductions, recovery of ill-gotten gains, and, of course, most important of all, the Agrarian Reform Law, which aroused the ire of the empire although it wasn't ultraradical. It was radical in relative terms, if we keep in mind that there were huge estates and many U.S. firms held many thousands of hectares, one with more than 200,000 hectares [500,000 acres], so a law which set a limit of about 400 hectares [1,000 acres] was very radical. But on a world scale, if you check the land left for landowners elsewhere it wasn't very radical, because up to 400 hectares were allowed in the first Agrarian Reform Law. But since it affected the interests of big U.S. companies they decided to wage war on our country.

The Agrarian Reform Law was enacted in May 1959 and it was followed by other legislation such as the Urban Reform and other measures mentioned in the Moncada Program, which was not strictly speaking a socialist program.

Of course the imperialists began to take measures against the Revolution, measures of an economic nature, closing credits and threatening to deprive us of our sugar quota, which they did bit by bit. And there was always a response by the Revolution to all enemy action: nationalization of U.S. firms, takeovers of oil refineries which refused to refine Soviet oil. It appears Soviet oil is communist oil and therefore different from other oil, so the U.S. refinery couldn't refine communist oil. Then we demonstrated that the oil could indeed be refined. We took over the refinery, and with the help of the workers the Soviet oil was refined. At that time we were also still refining oil that had come from Venezuela.

As a result of revolutionary legislation to punish killers, thugs, regain money stolen from the country, and the other things we mentioned, they started saying this was a revolution betrayed, that this was socialism and communism and therefore a revolution betrayed.

Following the bombing and in the wake of the Girón attack, when our people were on the eve of an attack whose scale and consequences no one could imagine, when we perhaps faced the biggest war in our history —



National Institute of Agrarian Reform
Peasants receive title to land in 1959 agrarian reform

since nobody knew how something which began like that was going to end — we openly proclaimed the socialist nature of the Revolution. [Applause] Therefore our people were struggling directly for socialism, for socialist revolution.

Socialist stage had already begun

Of course, at the time of the attack and as a result of all the measures taken previously, some in response to imperialist and counterrevolutionary action, we could say that the socialist stage of the Revolution had begun because — after having nationalized 35 U.S. sugar mills, the oil refineries and other U.S. firms — on August 6, 1960, all the banks were nationalized, in addition to 383 major firms in the country on October 13 of the same year. At the time of the Playa Girón mercenary attack, the banks had been nationalized, the big monopolies had been nationalized, U.S. property had been nationalized, big firms had been nationalized regardless of nationality; the country had regained control over its natural resources and industry. This marked the start of a new stage and its socialist nature was openly explained. Then those men fought and died for socialism.

Actually, all those who have fought and died in Cuba in each historical period have fought and died for socialism — if we view socialism as what it is, a higher stage in the development of human society — from those who took up arms along with Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, those who fought alongside Agramonte, Gómez, and Maceo in the first war of independence, which led to the abolition of slavery and acts as radical as the nationalization of U.S. property and capitalist firms, because at that time the world was inconceivable without slavery.

Later, when the patriots in our struggle for independence against Spain called for peasants and slaves to join the Liberation Army, this was a very radical act for the independence and freedom of the homeland and for justice in our country. And socialism is a higher form of justice, humanism, dignity, and fraternity among human beings. It is the higher form of true freedom! [Applause]

Thus we can rightly say that all those who have fought throughout the history of our country since October 1868 also fought for socialism. Only that for the first time this was already done directly and during an advanced stage of our history and of the development of our society and our people — one of the most heroic peoples of the hemisphere — because before they had to fight alone against Spain, all alone, against hundreds of thousands of Spanish soldiers when our population hardly exceeded 1 million. And they passed on to us these heroic traditions, the same traditions we followed after 1953, when we began our fast and final struggle for independence! It was those fighters back then who made these advances possible, who made it possible, before 100 years had passed since that epic struggle, for us to start building socialism in our country.

First socialist state in Western Hemisphere

As I was saying, our people has been one of the most heroic peoples in the hemisphere, given its history, its accomplishments, what it did in the last century, and also what it's done in this century. We believed and were certain that a people capable of doing what it did in the last century was also capable of doing what it did in this century, [Applause] carrying out the feat of becoming the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, a deed that occurred in our country, of which our present and future generations can be proud. [Applause]

Also in this century and in this hemisphere we had to struggle alone for many years against the Yankee empire, much more powerful than the Spanish empire. And we were even betrayed by the immense majority of the Latin American governments. Our people won the right to struggle for freedom, to struggle for independence, to struggle for justice, and to struggle for socialism.

Those who on the eve of the invasion fought and died in the Escambray Mountains or in other provinces of the country, fighting against the bandits, also fought for socialism, as did those who died in the underground, those who died in the Sierra Maestra, those who died in the Moncada attack. That's the idea, the conviction we all have, yet the imperialists and the gusanos claimed that ours was a betrayed revolution. On the contrary, never before had a revolution been served more loyally! [Applause]

In Girón — just so they don't have the slightest doubt — our people and the thousands of fighters who were capable of so many feats fought for socialism openly! Let the imperialists and their lackeys have no doubt about it. [Applause]

These are two great historical events. Some U.S. journalists reported that they had expected an uprising that didn't materialize. Some even said, "It didn't materialize because quick measures were taken against the dissidents." As you know, they call the counterrevolutionary gusanos dissidents. And they didn't rise up. Indeed, many were arrested because we knew who they were and we wanted to keep them from committing acts of sabotage.

But that crowd was so split, carried so little weight among our people, and was so demoralized that even if they were chickens, which rise every day, they wouldn't have risen up on that morning of April 17. [Laughter and applause]

That crowd couldn't have staged anything here even remotely resembling an uprising. To launch an uprising you need the people on your side and who ever heard of the counterrevolutionary gusanos having the people in our country on their side? They can't understand that.

Laws of the Revolution popular

Others have mentioned, and this is a bit more logical, that there was no uprising because the laws of the Revolution were popular. I'm very happy to hear them say that the laws of the Revolution were popular, that expropriating or confiscating the property of the big estate owners, the capitalists, the owners of big businesses, and the Yankee monopolies are very popular laws! [Applause] But I also say to them that these popular, very popular laws are socialist laws, communist laws! [Applause]

And so I ask myself why so much anticommunism, why so much anticommunism, if the laws passed by socialism and by communism are popular laws, just laws, for which the people are willing to die. By saying that they are confessing, without realizing it, that what is not the least popular or just is capitalism — the exploitation of man by man, large landholding imperialist investments, and all those measures to exploit the people, keep them uneducated, neglected, deprived of medical care, often unemployed, and wrapped up in corruption and vice.

That's what they're confessing to when, searching for justifications, they claim that the people didn't rise because of popular laws! We are extremely happy that they recognize this, because that's where the strength of the Revolution lies, in the justice inherent in its social changes.

Of course, such hateful things as begging, prostitution, racial discrimination, illiteracy, and all those evils of capitalism, and even worse, of the underdeveloped capitalist world, could never be popular. We're happy to

hear them recognize that socialism brings an end to all those ills!

Many lessons can be drawn from Girón. It would be impossible to list them all, nor do I pretend to do so; but there's something I wish to point out now that, even if I have mentioned it before, is worth repeating on a day like today. The importance of Girón is not in the magnitude of the battle, the fighters, and the heroic deeds there; Girón's great historical relevance is not what occurred there, but what did not occur thanks to Girón! [Applause]

I'm not saying that capitalism would have been restored in our country had the effort to establish a beachhead been successful, because there's no way in which they could have restored capitalism in our country, of this I'm certain! [Applause] Not because it foiled a plan that would have turned our country into a Yankee colony again, because I'm convinced that this country would never again have become a Yankee colony!

The relevance of Girón lies in the price we would have had to pay for our Revolution, the price we would have had to pay for socialism, had the Yankee plan to establish a beachhead been successful.

Back in those times the events of the Vietnam War and the imperialists' defeat in Vietnam had not yet occurred. And we here, close to the United States, isolated, lacking any logistical possibilities whatsoever, would have had to wage a Vietnam War in our own country, with a much smaller population than Vietnam's, on a much smaller territory than Vietnam's, and without borders with any socialist country, but rather on the United States, the aggressor country.

How much that battle would have cost our people had their plans succeeded, had they brought over the new government, which was left stranded with its bags ready at the side of the plane! It's a pity it failed to reach Girón for it would have been captured together with the full mercenary contingent and we would have had all these big shots, the entire council of ministers, in our hands. [Laughter]

I said we would have had to be the first to confront what Vietnam confronted later under different conditions. For were they by any chance going to subdue the people again? Would they restore capitalism? Would we surrender? [Shouts of "no!"]

Two things worked in Girón, the tactic we used was a combination of our experience in irregular warfare with elements of conventional warfare. All the movements we made in the enemy's rearguard. We came from the Sierra Maestra and were familiar with that experience, we weren't rank amateurs.

The country had weapons, I said we had hundreds of thousands of weapons, plus a people willing to fight and die. Could they have disarmed that people? Supposing they would have established the beachhead, could they have occupied the whole country — the flatlands, the mountains, the cities — without a fight? Could they have wrenched from us our 300,000 weapons? [Shouts of "no!"] They could not have wrenched them from us.

And who else but us could be more convinced of that, after having gone through the experience of the Sierra Maestra, after initially having just a few rifles there, after having had to cope with a huge army of 80,000 fully armed men? It was then that we resumed our fighting with seven rifles, brought by the group Raúl [Castro] was leading and by myself. Seven rifles with which to face a huge army! Could they take our seven rifles away? [Shouts of "no!"] Those seven rifles increased manifold and they kept on increasing.

The Cuban revolutionaries specialized in fighting with the enemy's weapons. When the war ended, over 90 percent of the Rebel Army's weapons had been captured

Continued on next page

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Castro on Cuban victory at Playa Girón

Continued from preceding page

from Batista's army. Fighting with weapons captured from the enemy was precisely our philosophy.

Just imagine! Even if the Yankees and their Organization of American States lackeys had intervened, would they have been able to disarm us? Never! A terrible war would have ensued in our country, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Cubans would have been killed. But they would have never been able to subdue us. I'm certain that in the end, instead of those 300,000 weapons, we would have had a million weapons. And let the Yankees know right here and now what's in store for them if one day they invade our country. [Applause]

Lessons of Girón

Girón meant that those who gave their lives there saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Cubans, saved the lives of maybe millions of Cubans. We would have been victorious anyway, but at a terrible cost and also at the price of having the country totally destroyed. That's one of the lessons we must all draw from Girón. It's one of the things that the younger generations must always understand and be aware of. It's one of Girón's undeniable merits.

But there were also other consequences to Girón that highlight the cost for humanity that these imperialist adventures may bring. As a consequence of Girón, of the defeat sustained by imperialism, of its resentment and humiliation, the government of the United States conceived new ideas for a direct aggression on our country, to seek revenge in this way and cause the destruction of the Revolution.

This led to the measures that later brought on the Missile Crisis that placed the world on the brink of nuclear war. You can see for yourself the significance of the imperialists' irresponsible acts that, through Girón and its defeat there, nearly brought the world infinitely greater tragedies. That's another lesson, the unforeseen consequences of the imperialists' irresponsible acts.

Girón also teaches us how perfidious, aggressive and voracious the imperialists are, the way they behave, their characteristic style.

Many of you will remember how after the April 15 bombings they claimed that the attacking planes belonged to our own air force that had revolted, and the U.S. representative said so at the United Nations. The big lie told quietly. It is still unknown whether the man knew what he was saying or if he was fooled, because they even fool their own people.

The head of the U.S. delegation at the time was [Adlai] Stevenson, a politician who enjoyed certain prestige in the United States, with a reputation as a liberal. And they made him say that — that was his statement — so you see the methods of imperialism, the style of imperialism: a treacherous, surprise attack at dawn, with planes painted with the Cuban insignia. You can see the degree of perfidy.

But it isn't just Girón that showed the aggressiveness and perfidy of imperialism. Before Girón they had organized a similar plan for Guatemala and had toppled the democratic government of [President Jacobo] Arbenz. But in Girón all they did was make a big mistake; they didn't realize how different the circumstances were between the adventure they had carried out and the adventure they were trying to carry out now.

After Girón

After Girón they intervened in Santo Domingo with tens of thousands of soldiers to crush the revolutionary struggle of the Dominican people.

After Girón they waged their bloody and brutal war on Vietnam, which cost thousands of heroic Vietnamese lives.

After Girón they promoted South African intervention in Angola to try to prevent the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] triumph.

After Girón they promoted the reactionary intervention against the Ethiopian Revolution.

After Girón they committed countless aggressions against the Arab countries and against the Palestinian people, through Israel.

After Girón they intervened wherever there was a revolution and organized dirty wars wherever the people struggled against genocide or feudalism, whether in

Kampuchea or Afghanistan.

After Girón they organized the dirty war on Nicaragua, mined its ports, promoted the formation of mercenary bands that have committed all kinds of misdeeds and crimes.

After Girón they supported the genocidal government of El Salvador, which has killed tens of thousands of Salvadorans. They supported the genocidal government of Guatemala, which has killed, since the intervention against the Arbenz government, over 100,000 people in that country, and among the victims are tens of thousands of missing persons.

After Girón they intervened in Grenada.

After Girón they intervened in Lebanon, where they strafed, bombed and killed Lebanese people.

After Girón, 25 years later, they have just attacked Libya. This shows the aggressive, perfidious nature of imperialism everywhere, using the same methods, the same lack of scruples, the same total lack of morality. This teaches us what imperialism stands for: perfidy, aggressiveness, voraciousness.

The imperialists now have the Latin American peoples by the neck, suffering their worst crisis with a public debt of nearly \$400 billion, high interests, dumping, protectionism. Imperialism is insatiable, that's what Girón also shows us. What they did here was aimed at recovering their properties, restoring capitalism, regaining the country's natural resources, and it is for that reason that they have waged war everywhere. That's also another important lesson, an unforgettable lesson taught by Girón.

In order to understand what imperialism is, the role it plays against the peoples, the role it plays against humanity's peace hopes, the role it plays against Latin American interests, no one has to read Marx, Engels or Lenin, because all these events I have mentioned occurred a long time after these visionary men died and objectively show the Latin American peoples who is dividing them, exploiting them, keeping them underdeveloped and poor, who is interfering in their affairs and plotting against their independence. These are lessons on which we must meditate and which help us to understand the phenomenon of imperialism.

Zinoviev: 'Hour for Communist International has struck'

Continued from ISR/5

must be determined at the first congress of the Communist parties. It must establish a strong leading center able to direct the movement ideologically and organizationally in all countries.

XI

At present we invite the following parties to join the Communist International: . . .¹²

All other workers' organizations that stand on the published platform and whose work shows dedication to the cause of the Third International have the right to join its ranks.

XII

The League of Nations, now being organized by the imperialists, is in fact the "International" of the bourgeoisie whose aim is to strangle nations. The League of Nations is a cooperative society founded by the Entente¹³ imperialists to exploit the entire civilized world and to drown in blood the workers now initiating the proletarian revolution in all the main countries.

The Bern International "Socialist" Conference, which attempted to reanimate the corpse of the Second International, is in fact a tool of the imperialist League of Nations.

As a counterweight to the international organization of the exploiters and their lackeys, the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party decides to organize the *International Organization of the Toilers — the Communist International*.

The Federation of Foreign Communist Groups affiliated with the RCP, groups of Communists who were prisoners of war, must receive the most ardent support from our party.

The RCP must do everything it can to help achieve all that is undertaken by the First Congress of the Com-

munist International and its executive body.

The international league of Communist parties announces a decisive struggle with the international league of the imperialists.

The Eighth Congress of the RCP is unshakably convinced of the imminent victory of communism. The Communist International will triumph as the *international union of Soviet republics*. In the name of this great goal the Communist proletariat of the entire world proclaims *revolutionary war* against the bourgeoisie. The Russian proletariat, the first to win power in its own country, began this war, with the help of its socialist Red Army. The international proletariat, organized in the Communist International, will wage it to its conclusion.

At the end of 1873, when the First International — founded by Marx and Engels — fell apart after the smashing of the Paris Commune, Marx predicted: "Events and the inevitable development and complication of things will of themselves see to it that the International shall rise again improved in form."¹⁴

Now this prediction is coming true. The hour of the creation of a genuine Communist International has struck. In the near future it will unite suffering humanity in a worldwide league of Soviet republics and abolish the state itself in the old sense of the word.

14. Karl Marx, "To Friedrich Adolph Sorge," in *Selected Correspondence* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p. 269.

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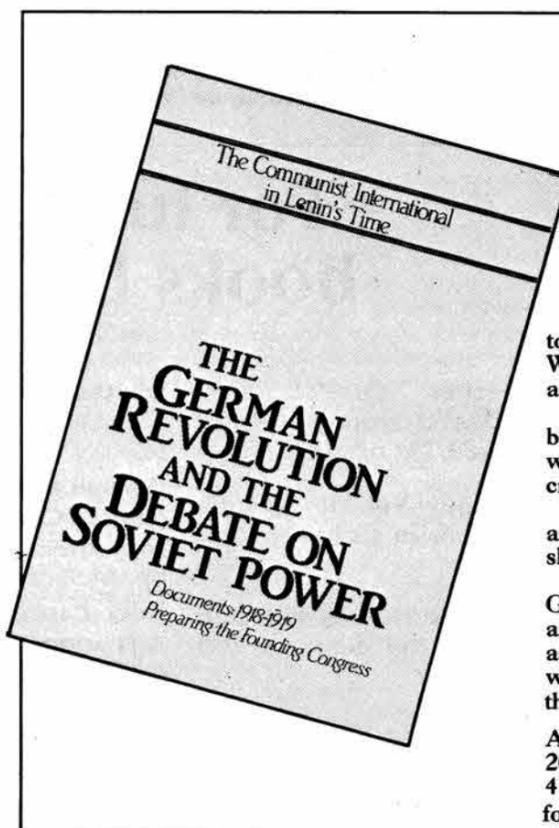
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The documents in this book, most of which have never before been published in English, record the debates in the workers' movement on Germany's future during the first crucial months of this revolution.

Should the workers' and soldiers' councils take power and establish a revolutionary government in Germany? A sharp struggle on this question shook the new republic.

Recorded in this book are the contending positions of German Communist leaders such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and Social Democratic leaders such as Karl Kautsky and Friedrich Ebert, as well as debates within the German Communist Party and comments on the German events by Bolshevik leaders in Russia. (560 pages)

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12. There were 39 parties invited. The list appears on pages 450-451 of *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*.

13. The Entente was the name given to the imperialist alliance of Britain, France, and Russia at the start of World War I. They were joined by the United States, Italy, and Japan. The imperialist powers on the opposing side — Germany and Austria — were known, along with their ally Turkey, as the Central Powers.

Capitalists fail to block Sandinista land reform

"Notes from Nicaragua" is a column prepared by Cindy Jaquith and Harvey McArthur of the *Militant's* bureau in Managua.

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A group of peasants attending the April 29 session of Nicaragua's National Assembly burst into laughter when deputies of the Conservative Democratic Party (PCD) said they were de-

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

fending the rights of peasants as they introduced a bill to freeze Nicaragua's land reform for 10 years.

The PCD delegates argued that agricultural production was more efficient when poor peasants worked for rich landlords. They claimed that the peasants did not know how to produce on the land they were given.

The peasants, however, had come to the assembly to demand that more land be distributed to landless farmers. They carried a large sign saying "On this May Day, we demand land so we can produce, survive, and feed our children."

The PCD proposal was backed by deputies from the two other capitalist parties, the Independent Liberal Party and the People's Social Christian Party.

Deputy Ariel Bravo Lorío of the Communist Party of Nicaragua initially called the bill "reactionary." Later he spoke in favor of sending the bill to commission for study since it contained "important educational material." He later changed his mind again and voted against the bill.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, and Marxist-Leninist Party all opposed the bill. Several deputies pointed out that two of the bill's sponsors had been charged with cattle rustling and with expelling peasants from their land. The PCD propos-

al was defeated overwhelmingly.

Two ex-officers in the Ministry of the Interior (MINT), which takes charge of police functions and security in Nicaragua, were convicted of treason, espionage, and giving military secrets to a foreign power on April 20. Before an audience of 200 MINT officers, ex-sub-lieutenants Reynaldo Aguado Montealegre and Eduardo Trejos Silva — who had also been members of the FSLN — were stripped of their ranks, FSLN buttons, and shirts, and given prison uniforms instead.

Both men had confessed to spying for the CIA; Aguado since 1985 and Trejos since 1983. The wife of Trejos, Rosalinda Soza Villanueva, also admitted to being involved with the CIA and was tried and convicted as well. All three went before a MINT military tribunal with civilian attorneys of their choosing.

Aguado and Trejos said they spied under the direction of officials of the U.S. embassy in Managua. Among their assignments was gathering information on: MINT plans for combating mercenaries of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the FSLN's relationship to the M-19 guerrilla group in Colombia, personnel in the MINT State Security division, and documents in the MINT offices.

In an April 17 speech in Puerto Cabezas, in the Miskito Indian region of Nicaragua, FSLN leader Tomás Borge called for advancing the struggle of *costeña* women, as women of the country's Atlantic Coast are called. Borge is Nicaragua's minister of the interior and president of the national commission organizing the project for regional government autonomy on the Coast.

"In contrast to the rest of the women in the country," said Borge, "the *costeña* woman has suffered a triple oppression.

"Unfortunately the revolution still does not mean equality between man and woman. Our women have historically been



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Women on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. In April speech, Commander Tomás Borge called for advancing fight against their oppression.

oppressed as women; working women have been oppressed as women and as workers; and here on the Atlantic Coast, women have been oppressed as women, as workers, and as Miskito, Rama, Sumo [Indians], or Garifonas, that is to say, for ethnic reasons."

Borge singled out Miskito, Rama, Sumo, and Garifona women in the agricultural and fishing industries, who, he said, "play an important role; they participate together with the men in production."

In the fight for peace and autonomy on the Coast, women have stood out, said the Sandinista leader. "Now these women must continue fighting... to push forward the advancement of women in leadership posts in institutions, organizations, and projects."

"Lenin — We workers are defending our revolutionary power" read the banner at the

IMEP metal fabrication plant in Managua on April 22. It was the 116th anniversary of the birth of Russian revolutionist V.I. Lenin, and the union at IMEP hosted a rally of 300 people to celebrate the occasion.

Delegations came from a dozen nearby factories and two army units. National leaders of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), to which the IMEP union belongs; the Association of Rural Workers; and the Nicaraguan Association for Friendship with the Socialist Countries attended.

Guerman Shliapnikov, Soviet ambassador to Nicaragua, spoke, as did Lucío Jiménez, general secretary of the CST. Jiménez recounted Lenin's contributions in leading the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, defeating intervention by the U.S. and other imperialist powers, and consolidating the new revolutionary government.

N.J. socialist candidate hits call for more cops

BY CARLA HOAG

NEWARK, N.J. — Ruth Nebbia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark, concluded her campaign at a rally here May 10 with a denunciation of Mayor Kenneth Gibson's call for more cops.

"All Mayor Gibson and the other capitalist mayoral candidates here see when they look at Newark is street crime, and their answer is more cops," she said. "They don't see declining health care, lack of child-care facilities, soaring rents, and a school system that lacks such basic

supplies as books, paper, and pencils.

"More cops will just mean more killings like the racist killing of Michael Harris, a Black youth, by an Irvington, New Jersey, cop on the streets of Newark. More Black cops won't change this. In South Africa, the white rulers use Black cops, as well as white ones, to shoot down young anti-apartheid fighters.

"The job of the cops in this society is to protect the rich and attack working people. In Austin, Minnesota, cops protect the Hormel Co. and its scabs by attacking the struggle of the Hormel workers for safety

and dignity on the job."

She contrasted the role of the cops under a capitalist government in Newark to the role of Nicaragua's police. "Under a workers' and farmers' government, the police force comes from the working people and is on our side. It protects the rights of workers and farmers."

Thirty-five people attended the rally at the SWP campaign headquarters.

Other speakers included John Dillon, a member of the Communications Workers of America. He is also chairperson of the New Jersey P-9 support committee, which is organizing solidarity with the Hormel strikers.

He congratulated the *Militant* for providing weekly coverage of the strike "with no lies and no distortions." He encouraged a vote for Nebbia and Socialist Workers

Party congressional candidate Chris Brandon as "workers, with a working-class outlook and working-class values."

Andrew Smith, a leader of the Black Student Union at Seton Hall University, who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, described the struggle against racist attacks on Black students by racist groups and the university administration.

Chris Brandon, the SWP candidate who is running against incumbent Democrat Peter Rodino in New Jersey's 10th C.D., was the final speaker. Brandon is a 29-year-old worker at General Dynamics and a member of the United Auto Workers. He denounced the immigration law being pushed by Rodino and others, which proposes harsher measures to stop Latin American workers from exercising their human right to come to the United States.

Honduran soldiers carry out provocation on border

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Shots fired from Honduran territory killed a Nicaraguan soldier April 29 at the Sandinista army border post in Palo Grande Viejo, in Chinandega Province. According to the Nicaraguan government, the assailants are assumed to be members of the Honduran army.

Earlier, on April 27, three Honduran soldiers launched a grenade and machine-gun fire at the Sandinista border post in Santo Tomás del Nance.

The attacks by Honduran troops come in the context of efforts by the U.S. government to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua.

José León Talavera of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Honduran Foreign Relations Ministry denouncing the murder of the Sandinista soldier and other Honduran attacks. Talavera said such attacks "are pushed by the [U.S.] government with the goal of provoking incidents that could serve its aims of directly attacking my country.

"The government of Nicaragua," con-

tinued Talavera, "urges the government of Honduras to take all necessary measures to prevent incidents like the ones described... from damaging the climate of détente that the government of Nicaragua is determined to maintain on the common border.

"My government hopes that Honduran authorities, acting with the good sense and moderation required by the circumstances, will avoid the repetition of actions so regrettable as those that took place."

Thus far, no response from the Honduran government has been reported here.

Meanwhile, on May Day, Honduran trade unionists, peasants, and students demonstrated against the U.S. war aims in the capital of Tegucigalpa. According to the ACAN-EFE news service, demonstrators chanted "No to war, yes to peace" and "Yankee garbage, out of Honduras!" a reference to the thousands of U.S. troops on maneuvers in that country.

One speaker addressing the rally said, "The people of Honduras do not want a war with Nicaragua. We want peace and for the U.S. soldiers and Nicaraguan *contras* to get out of our country."

Nat'l women's conference set for June

The National Organization for Women will hold its national conference in Denver June 13-15.

The three-day conference will be filled with workshops, issue hearings, and plenary sessions in which NOW members will discuss and decide future activities in the fight for women's rights.

One major topic of discussion will be the continuing fight to defend and extend abortion rights. In a provocative move, the National Right to Life Committee has scheduled its annual convention in Denver the same weekend. The organization of right-wing antiabortion fanatics scheduled its convention after the NOW conference was booked. NOW is calling on members and supporters to make a special effort to attend the convention as a show of force for women's rights and the right to safe, legal abortion in particular.

For more information on the conference write to: 1986 National NOW Conference, P.O. Box 7813, Washington, D.C. 20044, or contact your local NOW chapter.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

NOW conference will discuss fight for abortion rights.

Young Socialists discuss student upsurge

BY THERESA DELGADILLO

NEW YORK — The national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance met here April 26 and 27. The YSA is a nationwide organization of revolutionary youth with chapters in 40 cities.

By far the biggest discussion among the YSA national committee members and chapter organizers was the YSA's participation in the upsurge of political activity on the campuses and how to win these young fighters to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Thousands of students are participating in anti-apartheid and antiwar demonstrations, holding teach-ins, building shantytowns, and staging sit-ins. Some 50,000 students participated in the March 9 and 16 abortion rights actions.

Student upsurge

"There is a broad layer of young people who are thinking politically, getting involved in many different issues, from opposition to apartheid to support for a woman's right to choose," Mark Curtis, national chairperson of the YSA, said in a report on winning new members to the YSA.

Since January 1, he said, more than 40 young fighters have joined the YSA.

Three students in Houston joined the YSA in the past few months as a result of the chapter's regular activity on the campuses. The YSA has shown slideshows on Nicaragua, helped build support for the striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, participated in abortion rights activities, and distributed the *Young Socialist, Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Militant*, and socialist books on the campuses.

In Boston, a high school student joined the YSA as a result of the YSA's participation in protests against the school board's attempts to close down four schools that have been desegregated. The Boston YSA chapter has also been campaigning for candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the campuses. Four college students have asked to join the YSA.

The Washington, D.C., YSA chapter has been part of the protests at Georgetown University. The YSA has been invited to give classes at the "Freedom College" set up by the students there.

Both the Newark and New York chapters of the YSA have each recently re-

cruited several people.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, the YSA helped to build a three-day anti-apartheid conference at West Virginia University. As part of this activity, a representative of the African National Congress, which is leading the democratic struggle against the apartheid regime, spoke to a high school class of 100 students. Some of the high school students decided to put first things first, cut the rest of their classes, and come over to the university to hear the ANC leader again. Three of them then came to the next meeting of the YSA there.

It was clear that the upsurge of political activity involves not only college students, but more and more high school students as well. A citywide coalition of high school students in New York organized an anti-apartheid action of 100 students April 25 and is building the June 14 anti-apartheid action in New York. In Cincinnati, Miami, and Berkeley, high school students are participating in the political activities on the college campuses and being attracted to the YSA.

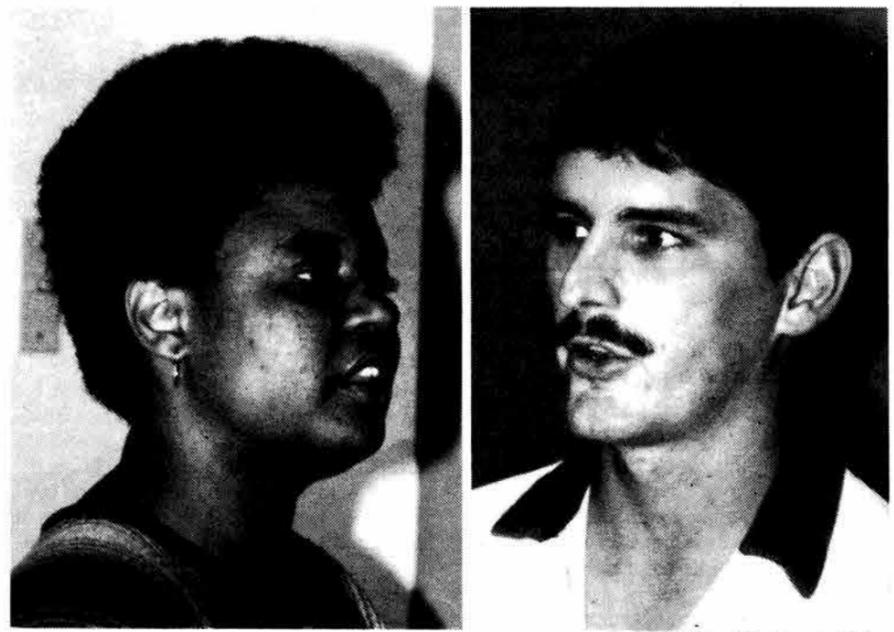
In his report, Mark Curtis noted that 70 high school students walked out of school in Salt Lake City to protest the bombing of Libya. They staged a sit-in on the lawn, and 40 students were subsequently expelled from school.

Antiwar action needed

The meeting of the national committee took place just a week after the U.S. bombing of Libya, so this was a big topic of discussion at the plenum. Jackie Floyd, national secretary of the YSA, gave a report on behalf of the national executive committee outlining the political priorities for the YSA in the next few months. She explained that this bombing was aimed not only at Libya, but also at Nicaragua and all revolutionary fighters around the world.

YSA leaders reported that in every city where the YSA is active, we took part in protests against the bombing of Libya. Many of these actions linked the U.S. attack on Libya and the U.S. war against Nicaragua.

YSA leaders reported that the attack on Libya has increased the awareness among Central America solidarity activists that the U.S. is pushing ahead toward war and wants the right to attack any country that



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Young Socialist Alliance National Chairperson Mark Curtis (right) gave report to YSA leadership meeting on upsurge of political activity among students and opportunities to build YSA. National Secretary Jackie Floyd reported on priorities of YSA in coming months, including need to campaign for national action protesting U.S. war against Nicaragua.

does not bow to Washington's dictates.

The success of the April 19 antiwar demonstration of 25,000 in San Francisco shows that antiwar sentiment can be mobilized and that big opportunities exist to organize broad actions of this type. One of the major decisions of the meeting was to continue to raise with other antiwar fighters and organizations the need for the most powerful response possible to the U.S. war against Nicaragua — a national antiwar demonstration.

Building support for Local P-9

The YSA leaders discussed the importance of the battle taking place in Austin, Minnesota, between Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and the Hormel meatpacking company.

The YSA has been very active in helping to build support for the strike. Many YSAers are union members and have helped build solidarity with Local P-9 in the labor movement. YSA members have helped win support for the strike from women's rights fighters, Black organizations, farmers, and others.

In many places, the YSA has helped organize student meetings for Local P-9. In Dallas, for example, the YSA is part of a broad citywide support committee for Local P-9, and there are two campuses where student P-9 support committees have been formed.

Abortion rights

The fight to defend and extend abortion rights was also a topic of the meeting. The YSA will join with others working to build on the success of the national abortion rights demonstrations in March, planning more demonstrations, participating in clinic defenses, and helping to draw allies such as the labor movement into the fight.

The national committee decided to step up the YSA's activity on the campuses. "The YSA is part of the blockades, the marches, the sit-ins," explained YSA leader Mark Curtis. Going through these battles is an important part of the life of an organization of young workers and students," he said.

The committee decided that YSA chapters across the country will go on an all-out effort on the campuses to sell the *Young Socialist*, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party have already proven to be an important way to explain socialist ideas to radicalizing young people, and the YSA will be helping to get speaking engagements for SWP candidates in the high schools and on college campuses.

The YSA is cosponsoring regional socialist educational conferences with the Socialist Workers Party. Several YSA leaders spoke about classes that chapters have organized, and other chapters reported on plans to begin class series.

The national committee stressed the importance of the YSA's efforts to reach its spring fund drive goal of \$20,000. This will be a big part of enabling the YSA to respond to the new political opportunities.

This meeting registered progress for the Young Socialist Alliance. The national committee members agreed that the YSA is off to a good start in winning new members to an organization of young workers, students, and other youth who are part of today's battles.

Theresa Delgadillo is a member of the national committee of the YSA. She is also a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 in New York City.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM': P-9 shows way forward

For nine months meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, have been fighting the giant George A. Hormel & Co., the company's goons, union-busting lawyers, and scabs who are backed by the cops, courts, National Guard, and the state government.

Local P-9 has won broad support from other unionists throughout the country, and from working farmers, students, and others.

This strike has become a cause for working people, who are tired of takebacks.

But not everyone in the labor movement backs this fight. The top officialdoms of almost every international union and the national AFL-CIO have joined together to oppose the strikers' leadership. Their attack on P-9 only serves the interests of Hormel and the enemies of labor. Why then is it that the top officialdom is attempting to crush this strike?

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* answers this question in a major article which goes into the history of the U.S. labor movement, the roots of "concession contracts" and the development of Local P-9's fight.

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'Militant' sales team in Iowa

Continued from back page

Another worker who rejected Oscar Mayer's offer was quoted in the local newspaper. "I've modified my vote," he said, "from 'no' to 'hell no.'"

In Marshalltown, Iowa, we sold at the Swift Independent meatpacking plant, which employs some 300 members of UFCW Local 50. Workers there bought 13 *Militants* and one subscription. Workers at this plant are also talking about takebacks. One of them who bought the *Militant* told us, "The companies work one plant against another. We've got to get the unions together."

In Des Moines, we visited the Firestone plant organized by United Rubber Workers Local 310. The work force there has been cut in half by layoffs, but 43 union members stopped their cars to buy *Militants*.

Campuses we have visited in Iowa are a hotbed of protest against the U.S. government's attacks on workers and farmers at

home and abroad. At Grinnell College in Des Moines, Meggan, a student who heads up the campus Central America solidarity work, stopped at our literature table and told us, "I've been to Nicaragua, and I also support the Cuban revolution." She wanted to know where the YSA stood on these questions and later asked us how to join and build a YSA chapter.

After two visits to Grinnell, we sold 54 *Militants*, seven subscriptions, and about \$100 in other socialist literature and T-shirts.

We also went to the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls, where we were invited to speak to one of the classes about the YSA. While on campus we sold 40 *Militants* and 18 subscriptions.

So far in the state of Iowa we have sold 881 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and 68 subscriptions. More than half our sales have been to union members and most of the rest to college students.

N.Y. rally backs flight attendants' strike

BY TOM LEONARD

NEW YORK — Some 500 trade unionists participated in a car caravan and rally at JFK airport May 8 in support of striking TWA flight attendants. Members of the Independent Flight Attendants Association (IFFA) have been on strike for eight weeks. They are still waiting for an answer to their last contract offer to the company on April 24, in which they agreed to 28 percent cuts in wages and benefits.

Today's caravan began at TWA's service hangar number 17. It included about 100 cars, motorcycles, and buses and many flying green ribbons and signs supporting the strike. As the caravan drove past both the international and domestic TWA flight terminals, strike supporters honked horns and shouted at passengers not to fly TWA's unsafe airplanes. As they arrived at the rally across from TWA's main terminal, a loudspeaker blared out the message, "Don't fly TWA — better find a safer way."

The caravan included two busloads of IFFA members. One of the buses carried a large banner demanding that TWA "Stop corporate terrorism!"

Included in the caravan was a limousine carrying Jesse Jackson, IFFA Vice-president Karen Lantz, and other union officials who had helped organize the rally.

Most of the rally participants were members of IFFA. But there was a sizable contingent of rank-and-file members from International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3. There were also uniformed flight attendants from Pan Am, Eastern, and American Airlines, including members of Teamsters Local 115.

Representatives from other unions were mainly union officials, some of whom addressed the rally. They were from the Communications Workers of America, which has donated \$10,000 to the strike; Transport Workers Union Local 100, which organizes New York City transit workers; United Auto Workers District 65; and Teamsters milk drivers from Local 545.

A representative of TWU Local 504, which led in organizing the rally, told participants his union had contributed \$1,000 to IFFA, and there was more money to come. He said it didn't matter that IFFA was an independent union and that "from now on it is going to get more support from all of organized labor." He said plans were under way to organize a coalition of all air-

line unions that "could prevent things like this from ever happening again."

IFFA Vice-president Lantz was introduced to cheers and chants of "IFFA, IFFA, IFFA." In her remarks she pointed out that a negotiated settlement was still possible since TWA had not yet answered the union's latest offer.

Lantz ridiculed TWA President Carl Icahn's sexist attitude, saying that Icahn thinks "these girls will give me anything I want." There were loud cheers when she added, "But we are going to stay out until he gives us everything we want."

Lantz reported that IFFA strikers had recently won the right to unemployment benefits in several states and that nearly 75 percent of the members were now collecting unemployment checks. The states include Missouri, where TWA has its home base in Kansas City, and Massachusetts, where strikers got checks retroactive to the beginning of the strike. She added that some unemployment checks were bigger than the wages paid to many of the TWA scabs.

Lantz got a big hand from the crowd when she concluded her talk with the pledge, "We're not going to give in."

Jesse Jackson told the rally that flight attendants are in the same battle as striking Minnesota meatpackers of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. He urged the strikers not to bow down and said, "Workers united can never be defeated." This slogan was picked up and chanted by the crowd for several minutes.

The spirited flight attendants also began to chant, "P-9, P-9, P-9" when that local's executive board member, Pete Winkels, was introduced as a rally speaker. Winkels said that if anyone had told him 10 years ago that an Austin meatpacker and flight attendants would some day be on the same platform, he would have told them they were crazy. "Now," he said, "we are all in this together."

He told the rally about another important strike that needed solidarity — the Colt workers in Hartford, Connecticut. Winkels wound up with the message, "Hang tough. Fight. Be proud."

During the rally, IFFA members introduced a "Union-buster Icahn" T-shirt and circulated leaflets on how trade unionists and others could help the strike. Contributions and messages of support should be sent to IFFA Fightback Fund, 630 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.



TWA flight attendants rally in Chicago. Hundreds of others rallied to support strikers at New York City's Kennedy airport.

TWA flight attendants meet to assess strike

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

NEW YORK — Over 300 striking TWA flight attendants met here May 5 to take stock of their fight after being out eight weeks.

"We're in a war" with the giant carrier, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) President Vicki Frankovich told union members, "and anyone who crosses the picket line is a turncoat, a defector."

Of the 6,000 IFFA members, 85 percent support the strike, she reported.

Some IFFA members who have crossed the picket lines have been organized by the company to call strikers as "friends." They are urging them to become scabs, relating to the strikers the TWA claim that only a limited number will be hired back as strikebreakers.

"You are not my friend," Frankovich suggested as the proper response to such a call. The union also responded by sending a letter to scabbing attendants, telling them that "only 200 positions are left in the union — come back now."

TWA has already implemented some of the takebacks it demanded from IFFA. Retirement packages have been slashed unilaterally, and scabs are working the 80

hours or more per week that TWA has been demanding.

Despite the workload the scabs are handling, TWA's service is still disrupted. Hot meals are not being served, safety rules are not being followed, and other corners are being cut. The airline's scheduled flights have not been brought back to 100 percent operation, and scabs have been prohibited from taking vacations or sick leave.

Under normal circumstances, Frankovich said, a labor reserve of 20 percent exists to cover sick or vacationing workers. This is totally gone during the strike, further undercutting safety conditions in the air.

Frankovich listed the following as "back-to-work issues," that is, conditions that must be met by TWA after economic questions are decided:

- No recriminations against strikers who were disciplined by the company or arrested leading up to or during the strike.
- Domiciles (home bases) to be maintained as before the strike, on a seniority basis.
- All strikers must be allowed back. (TWA is threatening to disallow strikers to displace scabs.)
- All strikers must return together immediately following the strike.

Oakland socialist kicks off congressional campaign

BY CRAIG HONTS

OAKLAND — "The real terrorists are not in Libya, they're in Washington, D.C., directing wars against the people of Libya and Nicaragua," declared Miesa Patterson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from California's 8th Congressional District.

The Socialist Workers campaign held a kickoff rally here on April 6 to denounce the wars of aggression being carried out by the U.S. government and to launch Patterson's campaign.

Patterson is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 284 and works as an assembler at Atlas Pacific in Oakland. She is contesting the seat currently held by Democratic Congressman Ronald Dellums, a leading member of the liberal Congressional Black Caucus.

Another central theme of the Socialist Workers campaign is the need to struggle against the system of apartheid in South Africa.

The April 3 police riot against the anti-apartheid protesters at the University of

California at Berkeley was strongly condemned by Patterson, who pointed out how "these protesters are fighting for justice. They do not deserve to be arrested and brutalized, but should be honored for their commitment."

"My campaign," Patterson told the rally, "stands 100 percent on the side of the workers and peasants of the world fighting for self-determination."

"My campaign stands 100 percent on the side of the workers and farmers in this country fighting against union-busting, farm foreclosures, racist attacks against affirmative action, and the U.S. war drive, which will send our children to fight and die for the owners of the banks and corporations."

"The Socialist Workers campaign stands for independent political action. The ballot box does not decide our fate. We do that when we fight for our own interests — like the strikers at Hormel, like the students fighting against apartheid at the University of California, and like the 125,000 demonstrators who marched in the streets of Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles on March 9th and 16th to defend abortion rights."

"We need more demonstrations like the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice in San Francisco on April 19th. We must demand: not one penny to the *contras*, no U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East, and break all ties to apartheid."

"We must support the struggles of workers and farmers worldwide."

N.J. farm workers win first contract

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

New Jersey farm workers have won their first union contract. A preliminary settlement between growers Isaac and Saul Levin and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Commission (Comité Organizador de Trabajadores Agrícolas, COTA) was announced May 5. The agreement is the first union contract ever won by farm workers on the East Coast.

COTA has about 1,500 members in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania area. While it is not affiliated on the national level, COTA is a member of the AFL-CIO's Cumberland Central Labor Council and the New Jersey Industrial Union Council.

The mostly Puerto Rican migrant farm workers at the Levins' Cumberland farm voted in the union last September. The growers, however, refused to bargain with COTA. The union went to court and on Sept. 30, 1985, Superior Court Judge Edward Miller ordered the growers to negotiate. The growers broke off negotiations last February, claiming they were going to close the farm.

In April the union returned to court with videotapes proving that the growers were operating the farm with nonunion labor. The union asked the judge to enforce his previous court ruling ordering the growers to negotiate. Facing contempt of court charges, the growers gave in.

In the preliminary settlement, the growers have agreed to rehire the union members, raise wages above the legal minimum, open the books to the union, and ensure union members their jobs through the 1986 season.

Jeff Fogel of the American Civil Liberties Union, which worked with the union on the legal actions, explained that this settlement marked the first time a New Jersey grower "has agreed to pay over minimum wage. We've been having trouble getting them to pay the minimum."

Hailing the agreement, Angel Domínguez, the organizing director of COTA, told the press that "it shows other workers in the area that it can be done. It's a long process, and they have to be very patient, but it can be done."

Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of important developments in the labor movement. Our correspondents work in the mines, mills, and shops where events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.

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Class Series on the Communist Manifesto. Sat., May 17, May 24, May 31, and June 6 at 3 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

U.S. Nuclear Plants — Why They Are All Dangerous, Why They Should All Be Shut Down. Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, former staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St (near 38th Ave.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

May Day in Managua: Report Back from May Day Participants in Nicaragua. With slideshow presentation. Sat., May 24, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. (near 38th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Jose

Workers and Peasants in Power: A Report from Revolutionary Nicaragua. Speaker: Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Jose, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Crisis on the Farm and How to Stop Foreclosures. Speakers: Julius Anderson, Federation of Southern Cooperatives; Nathaniel Richey, Worth County Young Black Farmers Association; Martha Miller, attorney who led court fight against farm foreclosures; Elizabeth Kilanowski, member United Auto Workers

Local 10 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 17, 7 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Attack on Human Needs in Louisiana. Speakers: Viola Francois of the Welfare Rights Organization and Dwayne Pellebon, Southern University of New Orleans. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

Conference on Nicaragua. Three classes. "From Somoza to the Sandinistas: a History." Speaker: Ron Repps, member of United Teachers of New Orleans. Sat., May 24, noon. "Democratic Rights in Nicaragua." Speaker: Mike Ferry, member Committee Against Military Intervention in Nicaragua and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., May 24, 2 p.m. "Blacks, Indians, and Women in Nicaragua." Speakers: Mariba Karimoca, professor at Southern University, participated in Third World Brigade in Nicaragua; Irina McAlister, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., May 25, noon. 3207 Dublin St. Donation requested. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

A Socialist Educational Conference. "Prospects for Socialism in the United States." A forum by Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2.

Two classes on Farrell Dobbs' books on the Teamster organizing drives of the 1930s. Sat., May 17, 2:30 p.m. and Sun., May 18, 10:30 a.m. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng. Donation: \$2 per class.

Forum and classes held at 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Socialist Educational Conference.

"U.S. and World Politics Today." A forum by Malik Miah, editor of the *Militant*. Fri., May 16, 8 p.m.

"The Fight for Women's Liberation Today." Two classes by Margaret Jayko, managing editor of the *Militant*. Sat., May 17, 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.

"Imperialism and War." Two classes by Andrea González, former socialist candidate for mayor of New York. Sat., May 17, 10 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Forum and classes held at 79 Leonard St. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$5 for conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

No to Nuclear Power: Soviet Accident Spurs Call to Shut U.S. Nukes. Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., May 18, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

A Socialist Educational Weekend.

"U.S. and World Politics Today." A forum by Mark Severs, member Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2.

Two classes on the strategy for the labor movement. Class 1. "Lessons of the 1920s and '30s." Sun., May 18, 11:30 a.m. Class 2. "The Strategy for Labor Today." Sun., May 18, 2:30 p.m. Speaker: James Harris, member SWP National Committee. Donation: \$1.50 per class.

Forum and classes held at 2521 Market Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers '86 Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

High School Students Speak Out. Speakers: Joree Jackson, representative of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Eyewitness Report from Nicaragua. Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania and member of United Mine Workers Local 1197. Just returned from fact-finding tour of Nicaragua. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Pa. abortion rights

Continued from Page 7

ternational Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the National Abortion Rights Action League.

At the rally, a Planned Parenthood speaker mentioned a recent amendment proposed in the State Senate by Democrat Joseph Rocks of Philadelphia. The amendment is designed to harass abortion clinics by making licensing difficult. This is part of a barrage of antiabortion legislation proposed in each session of the Pennsylvania legislature.

Ann Schenk of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters made the point that if women do not control their reproductive lives, they do not control their lives at all.

Alma Fox, a board member of Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh NAACP and a national board member of NOW, spoke about the civil rights battle in Birmingham, Alabama, 25 years ago, commenting that "people like you and me can make a difference if we are willing to fight."

The final speaker was Eleanor Smeal, national president of NOW. Like the other speakers, she emphasized electing prochoice candidates in the upcoming Pennsylvania Democratic primary elections. However, she also explained the need for continuing massive actions and demonstrations, including in Harrisburg, where, she said, tens of thousands should be mobilized in future actions to defend safe, legal abortion and other women's rights.

Supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates Clare Fraenzl, who is running for governor, and Mike Carper, running for U.S. Senate, handed out campaign statements and sold 50 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.



Unionists, farmers, antiwar and anti-apartheid activists, abortion rights fighters, students . . .

Attend a socialist educational conference

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party are sponsoring weekend conferences that will feature presentations by party and YSA leaders on the international and U.S. political situation and the road forward for working-class fighters. Classes will take up topics such as imperialism and its role in Central America, the fight against women's oppression, trade unions today and

the fight for a class-struggle policy, and the unfolding democratic revolution in South Africa.

For more information on the conference in your area, see directory listing at bottom of this page.

May 17

Boston
Cleveland*
New York City *

St. Louis*
Minneapolis-St. Paul

May 31

San Francisco
Pittsburgh

June 7

Houston

*For these cities, check calendar listings above ad for more details.

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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, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 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, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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) 753-4044. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. 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, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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.

Don't they know it's all for them? — A protest rally in Rome greeted the opening of Italy's first McDonald's. And designer Valentino, whose headquarters abuts the



Harry Ring

new emporium, filed suit to shut it down. Among other things, he said there was "an unbearable smell of fried food fouling the air."

Simply not rational — "We have plane crashes and chemical spills, and people tend to say, 'That's life,' and go on. But when there is a nuclear accident, the threat seems different and more insidious. We hear concerns about milk and babies and pregnant women." — Samuel Florman, engineer and author.

Lord, turn it off — We haven't heard a report on the results, but May 4 was a day of fasting and prayer in six Utah counties most directly threatened by a steady rise of the water level in Salt Lake resulting from abnormally wet weather. "It's important to do everything we can," an official said.

Whatever turns you on — Those

pictures of Reagan and President Suharto smiling together are a big political boon for the Indonesian dictator, a White House aide observed. "It's sexy, political chic," he said.

Apartheid — the rational system — According to the South African regime, more than a thousand people officially changed color last year. By the stroke of a government pen, 702 people classified as Coloured became white, 19 whites became Coloured, three Chinese became white, etc. No Blacks became white and no whites became Black.

They are consistent — The U.S. government ushered the mur-

derous dictator Marcos into Hawaii. But Erin Baker, a top New Zealand athlete, won't be able to participate in a competition there. The State Department has repeatedly denied her a visa since her 1981 arrest for participating in an anti-apartheid demonstration.

Get the pernt, pal? — "The Federal Bureau of Investigation has begun its investigation of Michael K. Deaver by seeking to question the five Democratic senators who asked the Justice Department to investigate his lobbying activities." — News item.

Intelligence operation — Muskingum County Sheriff Bernard Gibson was an enthusiastic partic-

ipant in an Ohio law enforcement seminar on terrorism. Libyan "terrorists," he deduces, "would come to the rural areas because it's harder to put a tail on them. Because it's less populated, you can't follow someone." And, he adds, "You don't want to be sitting around with your finger in your nose when the situation comes."

Art for the masses — A mail order firm in Sydney, Australia, bought a print by Picasso and plans to cut it up into 500 one-inch squares, to be sold at \$135 apiece, "to give ordinary people a chance to own a piece of work by the century's greatest artist." A spokesman added, "If this thing takes off, we may buy other masters as well and give them the chop."

'Salvador': movie indicts U.S.-backed regime

Salvador. Directed by Oliver Stone. A Hendale Film Corp. release. With James Wood, Jim Belushi, and Elpidia Carrillo.

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

Action, adventure, and a powerful indictment of the reactionary U.S. role in the Salvadoran civil war adds up

FILM REVIEW

to a good movie.

Filmed in Mexico, *Salvador* is as fast-moving as its central character, Richard Boyle. Boyle (James Wood) is a reporter who's down on his luck. He heads for El Salvador to make some money and to try to link up with a Salvadoran woman he met on previous assignment there.

Boyle is accompanied on his adventure by Dr. Rock (Jim Belushi), an aging hippie and jobless DJ who goes along for the ride.

A lot of good rock music and a high-energy performance by Wood set the tempo for events that move so fast you can hardly catch your breath. Pressed for cash and, despite his cynicism, devoted to the reporting profession, Boyle plunges through a series of harrowing on-the-scene reporting gigs.

He's a hustler who plays all the angles, but a well-meaning hustler who is shocked and angered by what he sees in El Salvador.

Neither he, nor the filmmakers, grasp the politics of the Salvadoran civil war too clearly, but what they see they report truthfully and what they report is a condemnation of the right-wing regime in El Salvador and its Washington sponsors.

Boyle and Dr. Rock get involved in the lives of people victimized by the ferocious attempts of the regime to crush the popular rebellion.

The film is given added punch by dramatizations of actual events — events that made headlines in this country. These include the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero and the rape and murder of the U.S. missionary Catholic nuns and lay workers the same year. There's a chilling portrayal of the rabid right-wing killer who ordered the murder of Archbishop Romero, Roberto D'Aubuisson, "Major Max" in the film.

By dealing with such actual events, as well as graphically conveying the scope of government repression, *Sal-*

vidor hammers home the crimes being committed against the people of that country by a dictatorship whose blood-letting continues only because of the guns, dollars, and political support it gets from the U.S. government.

Unable to crush the popular movement, the regime has a special mistrust and hatred of young people, and the film gives you an idea of what they do to them.

In an old but seemingly indestructible jalopy, Boyle and Dr. Rock drive down to El Salvador. Their first encounter with the war comes when they cross the border into El Salvador and hit a military roadblock. The soldiers are holding a group of young peasants. One, who doesn't have an ID, is being grilled: "Who are your friends? Communists?"

The shocked U.S. visitors see the officer blow the young man's brains out.

We see survivors of the Sumpul River massacre, an actual event in which hundreds of peasants were slaughtered by the army while trying to flee across the border into Honduras.

There's a child, with scars over half his body, missing an arm. A newsclip of Reagan campaigning for reelection in 1980 is cut in: "Military aid to El Salvador is necessary to protect Central America, Latin America, and eventually North America itself from infiltration by terrorists." Then another scarred child.

Boyle's personal adventures are hair-raising. Operating on the basis of gut reactions, he doesn't care what he says or who he says it to. That, and a drive "to get the story," leads to some savage beatings and close calls with death.

But, I think, most powerful is the depiction of the murder of Romero.

We see Major Max and his fascist-like underlings preparing for the assassination of the archbishop, who Max characterizes as "the biggest pink shit of all."

Romero is gunned down during an overflow mass that is actually a protest against the regime. The grisly scene of the killing is given added impact by use of part of the denunciation of the government terror delivered by Romero before he was shot down.

When a dictatorship violates human rights, the archbishop declares, the people "respond with the legitimate right of insurrectional violence." He makes a powerful appeal to the soldiers to stop the repression.

And after a graphic depiction of the murder of the U.S. church workers, we hear a patently crooked U.S. military adviser saying they had been coming from Nicaragua, so



Assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. Film depicts his murder at the hands of rabid rightist Roberto D'Aubuisson.

they're "communist-oriented, maybe even packing guns." An equally crooked U.S. reporter speculates that maybe they ran a military roadblock.

Ambassador Kelly, modeled after the actual U.S. ambassador at the time, is shocked by the murders of the church workers. He's portrayed as well-meaning but naive. But he's also shown as someone who, when push comes to shove, does what he's supposed to. When the rebel forces capture an important town and government troops are on the defensive, he's the one who wires for more aid to keep the dictatorship going.

Salvador offers no real comprehension of what the revolutionary struggle there is about, what motivates the Salvadoran peasants and workers to steadfastly resist the dictatorship. But the film's strength is the way it hammers home what the regime there is and how the blood that it spills is on Washington's hands.

Boyle finally manages to get himself and his friend María out of the clutches of the death squads and back to the States. For a minute you think you're in for a typical happy ending, but the film ends with a punch that's not usual for Hollywood.

Behind the controversy around 'The Color Purple'

Continued from Page 8

subordinate their fight for equality and against sexual oppression. It would mean accepting the view that their role is to help push their men forward against racism.

This backward idea was a very common one among Black rights activists before the rise of the women's rights movement in the late 1960s. Although Black women played a big role in the civil rights fights in the 1960s, they weren't considered equals.

Most Black women were like the young Celie, doing what they had to do — and told what to do by their menfolk. They had to stand behind their man.

In the early 1970s, however, Black women began to press their own needs as Black women. They began to say no to the sexism prevalent in the Black movement. And they began to demand an end to sexist violence and brutalization, as did other supporters of women's equality.

Black women began demanding a leadership role in the fight to end racism and national oppression. They pointed to the role women were playing in national

liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and said, "Why not here?"

They began playing a vanguard role in battles for school desegregation, affirmative action, and other fights for equality.

This changed perception by women of their role in the Black liberation movement is progressive and indicates an advance for the entire working-class movement. It bodes well for future struggles by working people.

As part of this change, a number of Black feminists — or "womanists" as Walker calls herself — began to write about the reality of Black women. They began to publish the truth — not to victimize Black men — but to educate men and women, Black and white, to recognize Black women's contributions to the struggle for equality and their demand to end their second-class status. They wanted all Blacks to see that sexism hurts the fight for full equality.

While every time a Black woman tells the truth about women's oppression she is still denounced by some as antimale, "anti-

Black family," or worse, progress has been made since the 1976 antiwoman attacks against Shange's *For Colored Girls*.

Two examples show this. First is the unprecedented positive response to *The Color Purple*. Most people who read the book or saw the film identified with Celie and her fight to survive. Whatever criticism working people may have of the movie, it is in the framework of *solidarity* with this oppressed Black woman.

Second, is the charter adopted by the first congress of the National Black Independent Political Party in 1981. This programmatic document is the product of more than 20 years of discussion, debate, and action among a layer of the most advanced political activists in the Black movement on what way forward to end racial oppression. It explains that the source of racism is rooted in the capitalist system, and that Black freedom requires a mass struggle to end capitalist rule.

The document also incorporates a progressive position on the role of Black women in the struggle for Black self-deter-

mination and women's contributions in the struggle for Black equality. It explains that as long as the relations between Black men and women are oppressive and even violent, unity in struggle is impossible. Unity can be achieved only on the basis of equality and dignity for Black women and its active championship as a political goal of the entire Black movement.

"We must continue to search for new concepts in the Black male/female relationship," the document says, "and understand that the continual domination of Black women by men (and society as a whole) will perpetuate the political backwardness of humankind."

Alice Walker and other Black women writers' exposing the truth about Black women's oppression is a step forward. In fact, the whole debate generated around *The Color Purple* reflects a broader change developing in the working-class movement: Black women beginning to play a vanguard role in the fight for women's rights, Black liberation, and the needs and interests of all working people.

Support striking meatpackers

Working people across the country should respond to the appeal by the striking Minnesota meatpackers for an emergency campaign to protest the top union officials' decision to put their local into trusteeship. (See page 1 story.)

This action, which was unanimously decided by the United Food and Commercial Workers' (UFCW) International Executive Committee, means the elected local leadership is replaced by a trustee appointed by the top officialdom. This is a blow to the local's nine-month strike and an aid to Hormel's union-busting.

With the trusteeship, the top officialdom, backed by the capitalist courts, are attempting to legally strip the strikers of their right to have their elected leaders negotiate with the company. The strikers are being denied their right to decide on a contract. The trusteeship represents a major change in the strike.

Despite this betrayal by the officialdom, local President Jim Guyette, speaking for the strikers, pledged "to fight, legally and by every other means, to achieve a fair and decent contract."

The stepped-up support and solidarity of all working people, students, and others can make a difference in the outcome of this ongoing battle.

Hundreds of local unions around the country are supporting the strikers. In the days following the trusteeship,

members and officials of these union locals have pledged their continued support.

Working farmers in Iowa, Missouri, and Minnesota are continuing to give their support to the strike.

The National Organization for Women's national board voted to back the strike.

Dozens of Black leaders in New York City have called for support to the strike. (See story on page 4.) They join Black leaders in dozens of cities in supporting this important labor battle.

Spanish-speaking workers from the canneries of Watsonville, California, to the fields of the Midwest and the factories in Puerto Rico are solidarizing with the strikers.

Other locals of the UFCW are supporting the strikers. Members of UFCW Local P-6 at Farmstead Foods in Albert Lea, Minnesota, are petitioning to withhold their dues until the officials support the strikers. UFCW Local P-40 in Cudahy, Wisconsin, has already voted to withhold its dues in protest of the officialdom's betrayal.

In a recent letter, the local explained that in the face of the officialdom's move to strip the members of their rights, the strikers "are united now more than ever."

All working people should also be "united now more than ever" in protesting the trusteeship and mobilizing support for the strikers' fight to win a decent contract.

Imperialists' summit

The May 4-6 meeting in Tokyo of the heads of government of seven imperialist countries (the United States, Canada, Japan, Britain, France, West Germany, and Italy) was a summit of warmakers.

Behind a propaganda smokescreen of resolutions and speeches denouncing terrorism, the participants discussed how to intensify military, economic, and diplomatic pressure on Libya and other countries that refuse to bow to the dictates of the imperialist powers.

There was no criticism of Washington's terrorist attempt to assassinate Libyan head Muammar el-Qaddafi and his family in the April 15 bombing raid, or the slaughter of dozens of Libyan children and other civilians. On the contrary, Libya — the victim of this unprovoked attack — was the prime target of the summit.

A statement issued by the seven heads of state denounced Libya as a state "which is clearly involved in sponsoring and supporting international terrorism." As is customary in war propaganda against Libya, the assertion was not accompanied by a shred of proof.

The statement called for measures, including the expulsion of diplomats and an embargo on arms sales, against Libya and other unnamed "terrorist" governments. In recent weeks Washington's European allies have expelled many Libyan diplomats and other Libyans.

Such actions are clearly not only against Libya. As Washington is doing within the United States, the West European rulers are using the "antiterrorism" pretext to further restrict democratic rights in their own countries.

The summit represented a victory for the Reagan administration, which had sought more support from its imperialist partners for acts of war against Libya. On May 7, President Reagan stressed that the summit statement did not preclude more military attacks on Libya.

In the aftermath of the summit, unnamed Washington sources leaked to CBS News that the U.S. government was drafting plans for another attack on Libya. The navy has reportedly been ordered to send ships carrying cruise missiles to the Mediterranean.

The government of Syria is also being targeted. After the April 15 attack on Libya, the Syrian government reportedly placed its military forces on a higher alert, fearing that the U.S. or Israeli governments would strike at Syria. The Syrians' concern was heightened when President Reagan said he might use the pretext of terrorism to attack Syria and Iran.

Now, in the wake of the Tokyo meeting, Israeli officials are cynically pointing to Syria's defensive moves as a possible threat to Israel.

A U.S. official told the *New York Times* that the Israeli government is seeking "to build their own case for some antiterrorist retaliatory action against Syria, using the same criteria we used in striking Libya."

As in the case of Libya, the imperialist governments and media are churning out war propaganda about alleged Syrian terrorism.

Washington and the Israeli government threaten Syria because its government opposes U.S. and Israeli occupation and domination of Lebanon and because the Syrian government insists on the return of territory that was seized from Syria by the Israeli rulers in the 1967 war.

Reagan has also sought to directly link the war against Libya to U.S. backing of the *contras* waging war against Nicaragua. He charged that Qaddafi "has sent \$400 million and an arsenal of weapons and advisers into Nicaragua."

The common imperialist front in Tokyo against Libya and other unnamed "terrorist" countries was accompanied by a common front against the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which are being crushed under a mountain of debt to imperialist bankers and corporations. The summit reaffirmed support to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which have the assignment of imposing brutal austerity programs on these countries as the price of new loans.

The need to maintain and, if possible, deepen such brutal exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is the real reason for threats and acts of war against Libya, Syria, Nicaragua, Angola, and other countries. The war moves by Washington and its allies are no more a response to terrorism than the U.S. occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in the 1898 Spanish-American war was a response to the sinking of the *Maine*, or the U.S. bombing and invasion of Vietnam was a response to the alleged Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964. Like terrorism, these incidents were merely pretexts for imperialist wars.

The Libyan government had it right when it explained, in the aftermath of the Tokyo summit, that "terrorism has been used as a pretext for invasion and aggression against the people because of their rejection of imperialist hegemony."

Victory for democratic rights

In a victory for democratic rights, the Supreme Court issued a ruling April 30 that will make it more difficult for prosecutors to exclude Blacks from juries.

Up until now, in most states, lawyers were allowed what is called "peremptory challenges" to jurors. This allowed them to exclude potential jurors without giving any reason.

The Supreme Court admitted that the peremptory challenges had been widely used to exclude Blacks from juries in which Black defendants were on trial. This "purposeful racial discrimination," the Court ruled, violates the defendants' constitutional right to a trial by a jury of one's peers.

The case before the Supreme Court was brought by James Batson, a Black man convicted by an all-white jury of burglary. The prosecutor in the case used his peremptory challenges to exclude all of the potential

Black jurors.

As a result of the court's decision, Blacks and other victims of racism may object if a prosecutor tries to remove a member of the defendant's race from the jury. The prosecutor will then have to prove that the objection to the juror is not racially motivated.

Left unresolved is the question of whether the ruling will be retroactive. If so, appeals are expected from hundreds of Black prisoners now doing time because they were convicted by all-white juries, according to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

The large numbers expected to appeal if the decision is made retroactive are one measure of a racist legal system that discriminates against Blacks at every step: from arrest, to prosecution, to sentencing. This ruling strikes a blow at racist injustice and is a victory for all working people.

Lenin on Russian revolution and women's liberation

The October 1917 Russian revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party, brought significant advances for women. The following are excerpts from the writings of V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party, in which he discusses two of the preconditions for women's liberation: the drawing of women into the work force and the socialization of household tasks. The excerpts are taken from *The Emancipation of Women* by V.I. Lenin, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Send \$1.65 plus \$.75 for postage and handling.

Large-scale machine industry, which concentrates masses of workers who often come from various parts of the country, absolutely refuses to tolerate survivals of patriarchy and personal dependence, and is marked by a truly "contemptuous attitude to the past." In particular, speaking of the transformation brought about by the factory in the conditions of life of the population, it must be stated that the drawing of women and juveniles into production is, at bottom, progressive. It is indisputable that the capitalist factory places these categories of the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

working population in particularly hard conditions, and that for them it is particularly necessary to regulate and shorten the working day, to guarantee hygienic conditions of labor, etc.; but endeavours completely to ban the work of women and juveniles in industry, or to maintain the patriarchal manner of life that ruled out such work, would be reactionary and utopian. By destroying the patriarchal isolation of these categories of the population who formerly never emerged from the narrow circle of domestic, family relationships, by drawing them into direct participation in social production, large-scale machine industry stimulates their development and increases their independence, in other words, creates conditions of life that are incomparably superior to the patriarchal immobility of pre-capitalist relations.

* * *

We must all admit that vestiges of the bourgeois-intellectual phrasemongering approach to questions of the revolution are in evidence at every step, everywhere, even in our own ranks. Our press, for example, does little to fight these rotten survivals of the rotten bourgeois-democratic past; it does little to foster the simple, modest, ordinary but virile shoots of genuine communism.

Take the position of women. In this field, not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we [the Bolshevik Party] did in our very first year in power. We actually razed to the ground the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality, restricting divorce and surrounding it with disgusting formalities, denying recognition to children born out of wedlock, enforcing a search for their fathers, etc., laws numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilized countries. We have a thousand times the right to be proud of what we have done in this field. But the more thoroughly we clear the ground of the lumber of the old, bourgeois laws and institutions, the more we realize that we have only cleared the ground to build on, but are not yet building.

Notwithstanding all the laws emancipating women, she continues to be a *domestic slave*, because *petty housework* crushes, strangles, stultifies, and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real *emancipation of women*, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its *wholesale transformation* into a large-scale socialist economy begins.

Do we in practice pay sufficient attention to this question, which in theory every Communist considers indisputable? Of course not. Do we take proper care of the *shoots* of communism which already exist in this sphere? Again the answer is *no*. Public catering establishments, nurseries, kindergartens — here we have examples of these shoots, here we have the simple, everyday means, involving nothing pompous, grandiloquent or ceremonial, which can *really emancipate women*, really lessen and abolish their inequality with men as regards their role in social production and public life. These means are not new, they (like all the material prerequisites for socialism) were created by large-scale capitalism. But under capitalism they remained, first, a rarity, and secondly — which is particularly important — either *profit-making* enterprises, with all the worst features of speculation, profiteering, cheating and fraud, or "acrobatics of bourgeois charity", which the best workers rightly hated and despised.

Puerto Ricans and U.S. bombing of Libyan people

Fernando Ribas-Dominicci died in the U.S. government's brutal bombing of the Libyan people April 14. Ribas-Dominicci, 33, was from Utuado, Puerto Rico.



¡BASTA YA!
Andrea González

He was also a captain in the U.S. armed forces.

Ribas-Dominicci died carrying out part of the U.S. government's terrorist attack on the Libyan people.

His death serves to expose one part of the price Puerto Rican people pay for the colonial domination of our homeland by the U.S. government — the sacrifice of our

sons to perpetuate the U.S. ruling class' domination of the peoples of the world. It is a price we share with working people of the United States.

The U.S. government justified the attack on Libya by claiming it was fighting terrorism. Washington has always justified its attacks on Puerto Rican independence fighters by claiming that they are terrorists.

On Aug. 30, 1985, for example, under the guise of fighting terrorism, the U.S. government sent more than 200 FBI agents armed to the teeth into Puerto Rico. This small invading army raided more than 30 homes, arresting 11 independence activists and closing the pro-independence magazine *Pensamiento Crítico*. At the same time, the FBI arrested two other activists in Mexico and Texas. The government claims that these activists are terrorists. Therefore nine have been denied bail. They have been in jail in the United States for almost nine months.

Seven years earlier the local Puerto Rican police, in collusion with the FBI, executed two Puerto Rican independence fighters at Cerro Maravilla. The police and FBI

claimed these activists were terrorists.

Puerto Ricans are a colonial people. We are oppressed, exploited, and dominated by the U.S. government. We are second-class citizens on our own island. When we come to the United States, we face discrimination in all spheres of life. When we fight this oppression and exploitation we too are branded terrorists.

Yet the U.S. rulers want to send Puerto Ricans to kill our brothers and sisters in the colonial and semi-colonial world, who are fighting for what we must fight for — an end to foreign domination, oppression, and exploitation.

The death of Ribas-Dominicci should remind all Puerto Ricans of the price we pay and have paid since U.S. citizenship was forced on us in 1917 — the lives of our sons, brothers, husbands, and others in U.S. wars around the world.

It should remind us that this is the price the U.S. government wants Puerto Ricans to pay in Washington's war against our brothers and sisters in Central America. We must say "basta ya!"

Jailed Puerto Rican patriots win round in court

BY SELVA NEBBIA

In an important victory for democratic rights, the Federal Court of Appeals in Manhattan ruled that the Bail Reform Act of 1984 was unconstitutional. This act allows the court to deny a defendant bail simply on the government's claim that the defendant is "dangerous" or "likely to flee."

The May 2 decision is the result of a motion by defense attorneys for nine Puerto Rican independence activists who were denied bail under this act. The activists have been in jail since August 1985.

The nine activists, along with four others, were arrested in a massive FBI attack on the independence movement August 30. During this attack, 200 FBI agents raided more than 30 homes in Puerto Rico, arresting 11 activists. At the same time, the FBI arrested two other activists in Cuernavaca, Mexico, and Dallas.

All 13 are accused of taking part in the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in Hartford, Connecticut. The FBI claims the activists are members of the Macheteros (literally, machete wielders), a proindependence organization.

Since their arrest, only four have been released on bail, which was set as high as a million dollars. The four activists released on bail are Jorge Farinacci, Norman Ramírez Talavera, Carlos Ayes Suárez, and Ángel Díaz Ruiz.

Nine others remain incarcerated at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City. They are Ivonne Meléndez Carrión, Luz María Berríos Berríos, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer, Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio, Isaac Camacho Negrón, Elías Castro Ramos, Hilton Fernández Diamante, and Orlando González Claudio.

Recently, this reporter, along with *Militant* reporter Andrea González, visited the nine activists in the Metropolitan Correctional Center and interviewed seven of them.

Referring to the recent court decision ruling the Bail Reform Act unconstitutional, Ivonne Meléndez said, "I think this is a great political and legal victory because it is the first time this law is being fought."

The law, she explained, has been used "especially to incarcerate political prison-

ers, violating the most elementary rights of the accused to be granted bail until they are proven guilty or innocent."

Juan Enrique Palmer added that "this case has served to expose and in this way strike a blow against this fascist law. I feel satisfied that now other people are not going to have to go through what they have done to us with the phony excuse that we are dangerous."

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, agreeing with the others, said, "I consider it a victory not because we will be released on bail but because it is going to help the North American people."

The court has temporarily suspended its decision so as to allow the U.S. government to appeal before the Supreme Court. While the appeal is pending, the law remains in effect. And the nine activists remain in jail.

For more information, or to send contributions to help defray the costs of the defense effort, write to: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, P.O. Box A-840, New York, N.Y. 10163, or call (212) 286-0924. — from *Perspectiva Mundial*



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Ivonne Meléndez Carrión

LETTERS

SUNY students protest Libya bombing

SUNY (State University of New York) at Stony Brook has seen its first major political action since last spring when students sat in at the administration building over the issue of getting the Stony Brook Foundation to divest its holdings from South Africa. (It was successful.)

It all began on Friday, April 18, when student organizations hung posters condemning the U.S. terrorist action in Libya. Hours after the posters had been hung, some students came and started to rip the posters down. One courageous student came and placed himself in front of the thugs tearing the posters down. More students came and surrounded him, and then a debate-turned-shouting-match began that dealt with everything from the U.S. bombing of Libya to violence against gays and lesbians. Public Safety officers had to intervene when the debate neared physical violence.

On the following Tuesday, a demonstration of more than 100 students and staff took place against U.S. action against Libya. There were many counterdemonstrators who shouted racist remarks at Arab and Black students involved in the march. At one point, these counterdemonstrators joined the march and shouted, "Kill Qaddafi!" In a scene reminiscent of Friday's confrontation, students attempting to engage in rational debate about U.S. imperialism were taunted and then shouted down. But a megaphone was available, and students came up to denounce U.S. actions in the

Third World. The spirited crowd of more than 100 refused to back down from the verbal and physical intimidation by those students who attempted to break up a peaceful demonstration.

What kept up the spirit was that we were acting in solidarity with all the brothers and sisters who are fighting back against U.S. imperialism worldwide. If need be, we will be back once again to demonstrate that U.S. terrorism will not be tolerated anywhere.

Jordan Rockowitz
Stony Brook, New York

Chernobyl

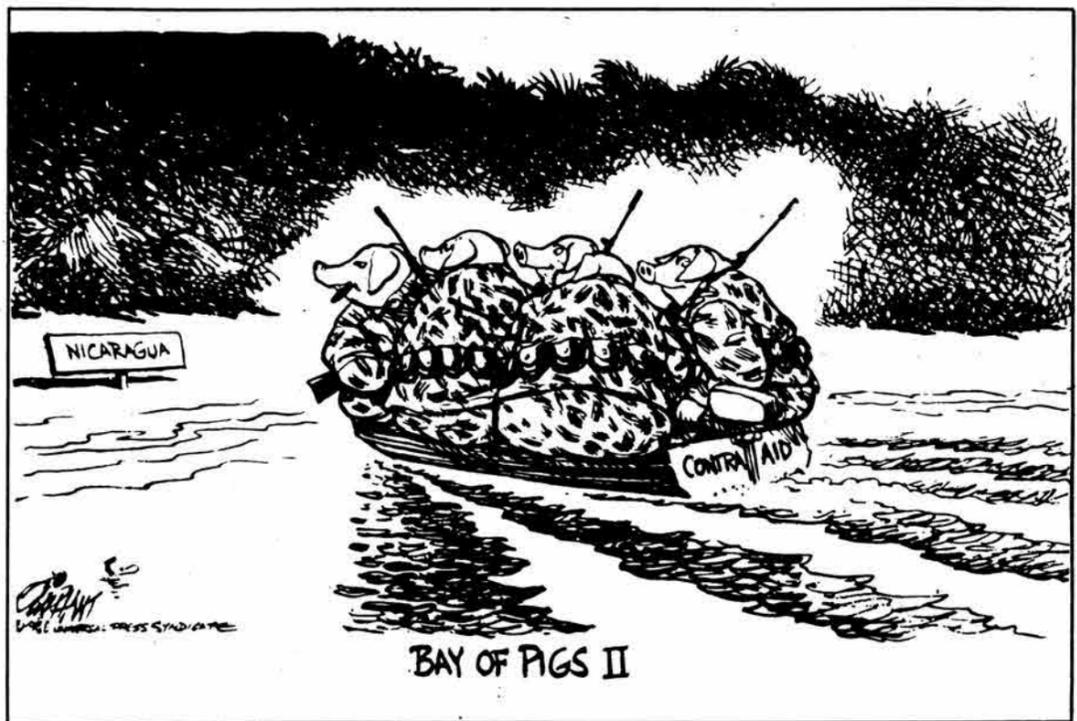
The editorial on the Soviet nuclear accident at Chernobyl correctly stressed the hypocritical posturing and lies of the U.S. and European imperialist governments about their own "safe" nukes and the cover-up of Three Mile Island.

However, even in the midst of the media's anti-Soviet hysteria, it's important to understand why the privileged bureaucrats in the Soviet Union build nukes for electrical power generation.

Like our own trade union bureaucrats, they try to imitate the "modern" capitalists and utilize capitalist solutions to "economize." Unfortunately, they also repeat the pernicious lie that nuclear power is "benign" and "pollution free."

Unlike the revolutionary government of Cuba, the Soviet bureaucracy cannot honestly claim, "We have never lied to the people."

Jim Miles
Chicago, Illinois



Missed several issues

I have missed several issues of your paper. I have been transferred to another prison within the Illinois department of correction. Upon arriving here I sent a notice of my change of address.

I truly do not ever want to stop reading the *Militant*. During the many years I have spent in prison, the *Militant* has made me better informed about the state of world affairs than any other publication. I don't say this as a shallow attempt to heap insincere flattery on you. I say it because it is the truth as I see it.

I think about the one-sided and distorted perceptions that other papers give of the struggle in the Third World countries, and I know

that there is more to the issues than the propaganda agents of imperialism will ever tell me. So I depend on you as a source of objectivity.

During the recent act of terrorism perpetrated against Libya, I only got the misleading facts that were shown on network news programs. It pained me that I did not have the benefit of your reactions to the incident. So please continue to send me your paper.

I am not able to pay the cost of subscription, and I hope that you will understand that it is due to the poverty of my present situation. Keep up the good work, and know that I support you in your struggle!

A prisoner
Menard, Illinois

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

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

10,000 rally to support farmers

Action backs ongoing protest in Chillicothe, Missouri

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

CHILLICOTHE, Missouri — More than 10,000 farmers, unionists, and young people participated in a May 7 rally to support the ongoing farm protest here.

Since March 17, several hundred farmers with tractors and combines have been involved in a round-the-clock blockade of the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) office. The FmHA is a federal lending agency that is supposed to loan money to particularly hard-pressed farmers.

The farmers are demanding the removal of the FmHA supervisor since he has granted only nine loans in the last year. The farmers are also demanding emergency credit so they can plant this spring, fair prices for their products, and a moratorium on farm foreclosures.

A feature of the rally was the appearance of musician John Cougar Mellencamp. Mellencamp helped organize last year's Farm Aid concert to raise money for farmers. He had volunteered to perform in Chillicothe to help farmers break the media blackout of this important protest.

Chillicothe city officials had asked Mellencamp not to appear at the site of the protest but to perform at a local arena. Mellencamp refused their request, explaining that "this is not a concert, it's a protest."

A flatbed truck backed up by a huge yellow combine was the stage for the rally. Behind the stage was a banner that read, "Farmers protest '86, March 17-?, Chillicothe welcomes John Cougar Mellencamp."

The rally was opened by Roger Allison, head of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center and central leader of the protest. "We're here today because of the crisis in rural America. Farmers," Allison said to cheers, "are standing up and saying 'enough is enough, and we're not going to take it anymore.'"

Allison then introduced Charlie Knott, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 31, who presented the farmers with a check for \$500 on behalf of his local. Charlie Lukens and John Barry, members of the executive board of UAW Local 93, gave a check for \$1,000. This check represented the first payment of the local's pledge of \$2,000. Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, president of the Kansas City chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, gave \$500 on behalf of that organization. Mellencamp donated \$5,000.

Bobbi Polzine, a founder of Minnesota Groundswell, told the rally, "They call America the land of the free. But how free are we when they take a farmer's machinery and leave nothing in his hands?"

"We need a moratorium to keep farmers on the land, and we're offered stress counseling," Polzine continued. "We're in a social and economic war. And we're going to end it," she said.

Big 'Militant' sales at Iowa plants, campuses

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

OTTUMWA, Iowa, May 10 — For the past 10 days our Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance national sales team has been in Iowa introducing new readers to the *Militant*, its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the YSA's newspaper the *Young Socialist*.

Today we attended the Ottumwa rally to support the fighting meatpackers of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431 who were fired for honoring the picket lines of UFCW Local P-9 strikers from Austin, Minnesota. (See front-page story.)

Many of the workers, farmers, and stu-



Militant/Jeff Powers

John Cougar Mellencamp singing at May 7 farm protest in Chillicothe

"Three things," she continued, "ended the Vietnam war. People, protest, and publicity. Today, we've got the people, we've got the protest, and thank God, we've got the publicity."

Polzine introduced Mellencamp. He told the cheering crowd that he had come "to let you be the voice of all those across the country, in thousands of Chillicothes, who are going through exactly what you are." Mellencamp then sang a number of his hits

relating to the farm crisis.

The crowd welcomed representatives from United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9. P-9 is on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. The strikers were joined by members of UFCW Local 431 from Ottumwa, Iowa, and Local 22 from Fremont, Nebraska, who were fired by Hormel for honoring P-9's picket lines.

Other speakers included Kathy Zwick,

a striking TWA flight attendant; Wayne Cryts, a Missouri farmer and Democratic Party candidate for Congress; and Charlie Peniston, a leader of the Chillicothe protest. Actor David Soul, a supporter of the Hormel strikers, also spoke.

The mood was jubilant throughout the day. Thousands of people had poured into Chillicothe. Thousands of dollars had been raised. And the media blackout had finally been broken.

LaRouche fascist assaults Phil Donahue

BY PAT GROGAN

A member of the fascist organization headed by Lyndon LaRouche physically assaulted NBC television talk show host Phil Donahue at LaGuardia Airport in New York May 11.

The attack by a member of LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC) took place as Donahue and his wife, actress Marlo Thomas, were walking through the airport. They were en route to Boston, where Thomas was scheduled to receive an award for her work against nuclear weapons from the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament.

One of the LaRouche outfit's most aggressive campaigns has been in support of nuclear power and the development of nuclear weapons by the United States government. The LaRouche followers set up the Fusion Energy Foundation to promote nuclear power and have raised hundreds of thousands of tax-free dollars from businessmen in the nuclear industry. They support the U.S. development of nuclear weapons to stand up to what they call a "Soviet threat."

The LaRouche supporter, William Ferguson, was sitting at a literature table when

Donahue and Thomas passed by. According to witnesses, Ferguson began shouting obscenities and yelling, "Donahue and his wife ought to be murdered."

When Donahue walked toward the table to respond, Ferguson attacked him, kneeling him in the groin and punching him in the jaw. Donahue defended himself, and police pulled the two men apart.

The LaRouche supporter who attacked Donahue also yelled out that Donahue had slandered the LaRouche campaign on his daily TV show on NBC.

The LaRouche outfit has been on a red-baiting campaign against NBC, claiming the network is a pawn in a Soviet conspiracy to unleash a terrorist war in the United States. A recent issue of the NDPC newspaper, *New Solidarity*, referred to the "traitors at NBC" and termed the network "the National Bolshevik Company."

The capitalist media is depicting the attack on Donahue as a "melee," putting it in the same league as the clashes that sometimes take place between celebrities and photographers or fans. But it was not.

This violent attack was a considered political act by a fascist outfit with a long his-

tory of thuggery.

In the mid-1970s, the LaRouche outfit — then called the National Caucus of Labor Committees — launched "Operation Mop-up," with the proclaimed goal of physically destroying the Communist Party. The attacks quickly extended to other organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and other left groups, and to Black and Puerto Rican activists, unionists, and liberals. The LaRouche group also denounced and tried to disrupt strikes.

From that time, they have forged ties with the cops, offering to spy on progressive groups. They have collaborated with the Ku Klux Klan. The LaRouche group maintains armed units at its Virginia headquarters, supposedly to protect its leader from alleged assassination plots.

The LaRouche group uses racism and anti-Semitism in an attempt to turn working people against each other.

Under the guise of fighting drugs, they have waged a racist campaign against Blacks and Latinos. Their newspaper screams about the "International Zionist conspiracy" of drug dealers.

They denounce as "baby killers" women who have abortions and call for mandatory testing for AIDS and quarantining all those who test positive. They urge the bombing of Libyan oil fields and oppose the struggle against apartheid.

"This outfit is a deadly enemy of all working people and of democratic rights," said Diane Roling, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois, in a statement condemning the attack on Donahue. The NDPC has received a lot of attention in Illinois because two LaRouche followers recently won the Illinois Democratic Party primary elections for lieutenant governor and secretary of state.

Roling urged trade unions, Black and Latino organizations, farm protest groups, women's rights fighters, and all supporters of democratic rights to protest the NDPC attack on Phil Donahue.

Continued on Page 18