

S. Africa: movement resists repression

BY FRED FELDMAN

Jay Naidoo, secretary general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, is being hunted by South African security forces. But in an interview that appeared in the *New York Times* June 25, Naidoo explained that he and other leaders of the 600,000-member labor federation continue to struggle from hiding. At least 60 union leaders have reportedly been arrested.

The first weeks of the state of emergency have shown, Naidoo said, that it is "impossible to kill off the union movement in South Africa."

This is true not only of the trade union movement, but of the anti-apartheid struggle as a whole.

The imposition of a nationwide state of emergency June 12 has been followed by the arrest of thousands, stepped-up killings, moves to suppress the activities of many anti-apartheid organizations, the passage of new repressive legislation, and tight news censorship.

One sign of the continued strength of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest union federation, came two days after the biggest nationwide strike in the country's history June 16. On June 18 workers at scores of retail stores in Johannesburg and fruit pickers in Cape Province staged walkouts and sitdowns to protest the jailings of union leaders.

The action forced Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premier Group food conglomerate, to denounce the arrests of unionists. Far from busting the union, he complained, the arrests had forced employers into "dealing with the mob, as [the workers'] leaders are in custody."

"The stoppages have become coordinated by fugitive labor leaders, flitting from pay telephone to pay telephone to call out their members," reported the *Times*. Under the state of emergency, it is illegal to advocate strikes.

Naidoo said those federation leaders who had escaped arrest would come out of hiding July 1 to hold a public meeting challenging the government to permit the unions to function. He said that union members in workplaces across the country

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Canadian meatpackers' strike ends with victory for union

BY MARY-ELLEN MARUS AND JIM UPTON

RED DEER, Alberta, Canada — Amidst cheers and chants of "We're Number One," members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1118 P-2 voted June 19 to accept a new two-year contract with Fletcher's Fine Foods. The vote ended a militant 18-day strike that was a resounding victory for the union.

The contract they won is similar to those of other meatpackers across Canada, which was one of the goals of the strikers. It includes a new starting pay rate of \$9.38 an hour compared to the previous \$7.50 (\$1 = US\$0.72).

Fletcher's also agreed to restore benefits it took away from workers in the last contract and to grant further pay increases every six months. The company agreed to drop legal suits against the union for profits lost during the strike.

House vote escalates U.S. war on Nicaragua

A national mobilization by antiwar forces opposed to the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua is urgently needed.

The decision by the House of Representatives on June 25 to approve \$100 million in funding for the counterrevolutionary terrorists — the *contras* — represents a major escalation of Washington's five-year-old war, which has already cost 15,000 Nicaraguans their lives.

This war is a gross violation of Nicaragua's national sovereignty.

Under the provisions of the bill passed by the House, the *contras* will receive \$40 million worth of weapons by September,

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\$20 million in October, and another \$40 million next February.

A funding proposal that would have given the *contras* \$30 million in so-called "non-lethal" aid right away and another \$70 million in military hardware in the fall was pushed as an alternative to Reagan's plan by a group of House Democrats.

Reagan said afterwards that the vote represents "a giant bipartisan effort," and "we hope the coalition will hold together."

As the date of the vote approached, Reagan unleashed a torrent of slanders about Nicaragua designed to bring wavering congressmen into line.

On June 6 he said that if the proposal was denied, "it could well result in the creation of another Libya on our doorstep."

He told a national television audience on June 11 that it was time for "an up-and-down vote on whether the United States is going to stop Soviet expansionism on the American mainland."



Militant/Fred Murphy

Massive protests such as this one on April 20, 1985, are needed to oppose drive by Reagan administration and Congress to step up U.S.-organized mercenary war against Nicaragua.

This was coupled with charges that Soviet pilots were flying reconnaissance planes for the Nicaraguan government.

Reagan demanded to be allowed to address a full session of the House of Representatives the day before the vote. No president in history has spoken to the House without also addressing the Senate. When this request was denied, he made a special

noontime address from the White House about the impending vote.

Though most networks refused to carry the broadcast live, major excerpts of the speech were shown on a variety of news programs in the 24 hours before the vote was taken.

In that speech, Reagan made the wild as-

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Solidarity City backs 'fighting P-9'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

AUSTIN, Minn. — "Fighting Local P-9ers." The blue and gold flag with those words was hoisted over the top of Solidarity City on Monday, June 23. Members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, retirees, and families, friends, and supporters coming in from around the country broke into applause.

For those present that evening, hoisting

the flag was a clear statement that the struggle against the Hormel meatpacking company — the most important labor battle in this country in decades — continues.

On Aug. 17, 1985, 1,500 members of UFCW Local P-9 were forced out on strike by Hormel. Now, 10 months later, about 975 workers are still out. Along with P-9 members who have gone back to work, the company has hired other scabs to get production going. Union members estimate 650 people are currently working in the plant.

The determined fight by the members of P-9 against the union-busting drive of Hormel has become a national example of how the union movement can begin to resist attacks by the employers and government when the membership takes hold of the union and uses it to fight for workers' interests. The unionists from California, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, New York, and Utah who arrived here the first few days of the June 23-28 week of activities testified over and over again to the power and significance of the P-9 example.

Solidarity City was built as a week of public activities with two purposes. One was to protest attacks on Local P-9 by the company, government, and the top UFCW officialdom and show the significant support that exists nationally for these workers. Second was to provide a national forum for unionists, farmers, Blacks, Native Americans, women's rights activists, anti-apartheid fighters, and students to discuss what to do about "the economic devastation that has hit farmers and workers across the nation."

The idea was to have as many people as possible bring tents and camp out.

Solidarity City takes place just as a crucial new turning point was reached in the struggle against Hormel.

From the beginning of the strike the meatpackers have faced cop violence, court rulings that invariably favor Hormel — which is widely perceived as owning this city of 23,000 — the calling out of the National Guard by the governor, and slanderous, procompany reporting by the big-business-owned media.

The top officialdom of the UFCW has engaged in vicious public attacks on P-9 from the beginning. The aim of UFCW President William Wynn; Lewie Anderson, director of the UFCW's Packerhouse Division; and the rest of the International officers has been to crush this rebellious local and to try to prevent its independent, militant spirit from spreading to other locals.

On May 7 the UFCW International officials imposed a trusteeship on Local P-9. Joseph Hansen, director of UFCW District 13, was appointed trustee and the local leadership was suspended.

Then, on June 2, Federal District Judge Edward Devitt ruled in favor of the trusteeship and against the local's challenge to it. With the blessing of the court, Hansen quickly made a series of moves that have earned him the title "dictator" from those who support P-9's fight for a decent contract and a strong union.

Hansen unilaterally called off the strike. He took over P-9's offices, fired two of the local's secretaries without notice, and got the cooperation of the bank, post office, garbage collectors, and other businesses to stop servicing P-9. Hansen refused to come

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Consistent sales effort at N.J. plant gets results

BY CARLA HOAG
AND STEVE CRAINE

NEWARK — For over three years now, the Newark Socialist Workers Party has fielded a team of salespeople at Wallace and

we have become a Thursday morning institution. We sell from four to six copies of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, each week. A couple of workers

total goes up.

Those who don't buy the paper are for the most part friendly, saying "good morning" while scanning each week's headlines. This is important. We have found that as issues and world events make headlines in the commercial press, we become a resource for those workers who are thinking about and discussing those questions.

One example is a middle-aged white man who was inspired by the recent upsurge in the Philippines. He had never bought a paper before, never done more than smile and say hello. But he felt comfortable stopping and having a long discussion with one of our salespeople. He knew we would share his opinion that it's a great day for working people

everywhere when another U.S.-backed dictator bites the dust. He bought a paper for the first time early in the spring and has done so again since.

Thus our consistency helps increase the pool of people who read the paper. Our regular readers include a young Black woman who buys the *Militant* every week. We have had discussions with her about South Africa and Haiti. She has taken information to her union local about upcoming tours by Central American and South African unionists. She has also attended events sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in both Newark and New York City.

A Puerto Rican worker buys *Perspectiva Mundial* every time there is a headline or an article on Puerto Rico. He is a strong sup-

porter of independence for Puerto Rico and has expressed appreciation for being able to read a newspaper in Spanish.

Several Black workers buy the *Militant* whenever they have a little extra money, which is usually about every other week. Whether they buy the paper or not we give them information about the Newark Militant Labor Forum or other political activities.

Other workers at Wallace and Tiernan are primarily attracted to the union coverage, especially to stories about the International Union of Electronic Workers.

The work force knows we are there, is used to seeing us, even chides us when we miss a week. They know they can stop and discuss politics with us anytime they want.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Tiernan, a plant organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers in Belleville, New Jersey, just outside Newark.

The sales-team personnel has changed over the years, but there has been consistency with the sale.

We are at the plant gate nearly every Thursday morning; indeed,

buy the press every week and about 20 or so others buy it from time to time. These semiregular readers account for the bulk of our sales. But when a particularly important issue comes along, such as the recent anti-apartheid demonstration in New York City, new people buy the paper and our sales

Protests mount against antiwar office break-ins

BY JON HILLSON

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Protests here are mounting in response to the most destructive of a series of break-ins at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, which participates in the Central America refugee sanctuary movement and houses numbers of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and related peace and solidarity projects.

The church and the victimized organiza-

tions are sponsoring a speak-out against the attacks, which took place the weekend of June 7-8. The 7:00 p.m. rally will be at the church June 26 and will be preceded by a 5:30 p.m. march from Cambridge City Hall to the Cambridge police station demanding action be taken against the perpetrators of the break-ins. This action is sponsored by the Central America Solidarity Association (CASA).

The violent entry into the church building, church office, and six tenant offices is the seventh such break-in since the church announced in November 1984 it would provide sanctuary for a Salvadoran trade unionist. He had fled death squads in El Salvador that had already killed members of his family.

Among those groups broken into were CASA and the New England Central America Network (NECAN) — both affiliates of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and the Nicaragua National Network. Also hit were the Nuevo Instituto de Centroamerica, a Nicaragua-based Spanish-language school and solidarity project; CAMINO, a Central America research organization; and the Cambridge Tenants Association. The church daycare center and the church's administrative offices were damaged.

Heavy tools were used to bash in the solid-core doors of six offices. Shattered wood and smashed door frames littered the hall when police and reporters surveyed the wreckage the morning of June 9. Office valuables were left virtually untouched, while file drawers in the activist organizations' headquarters were open, having been rifled.

"This is not 'petty crime,'" CASA information coordinator Alan West told the *Militant*.

West said this church break-in and previ-

ous ones have come at "crucial moments" — after the 1984 announcement that the church was a sanctuary; the weekend of last year's April 20 Washington antiwar protests; at the time of a *contra* aid vote earlier this year; and a *contra* aid vote expected to come up soon in Congress.

Behind such violence, he said, "is either the U.S. government or right-wing groups with tacit support of the U.S. government."

Church administrator Peggy Smith told the *Militant* that the church remains "firmly committed to all the ministries it carries out" — sanctuary support, the particular use of the building for activists, "the outreach, and all we do."

The attack, she said, while aimed at the Central America aspect of the church's activity, "threatens the whole community and is a threat to community life" because of the repeated violations of the church itself.

The June 26 community speak-out will, according to Garrett Brown, associate director of Nuevo Instituto de Centroamerica, "protest the break-ins, demand release of government files maintained on the church and its tenants, demand prompt police action to find, arrest, and prosecute the criminals who carry these acts out, and celebrate and support the projects supported by the church."

On June 10 representatives of the victimized organizations met with Cambridge city and police officials and were joined by aides from the offices of Massachusetts' two U.S. senators, Edward Kennedy and John Kerry. The Boston *Globe* and Boston *Herald* reported city officials would urge the Middlesex County district attorney to initiate an investigation of the break-ins as civil rights violations.

The district attorney's office has agreed to do so.

Pressing the legal battle and broadening out support for the rights of the victims to function free of harassment is now a goal of the groups.

A main aim of the attacks, though, has already failed.

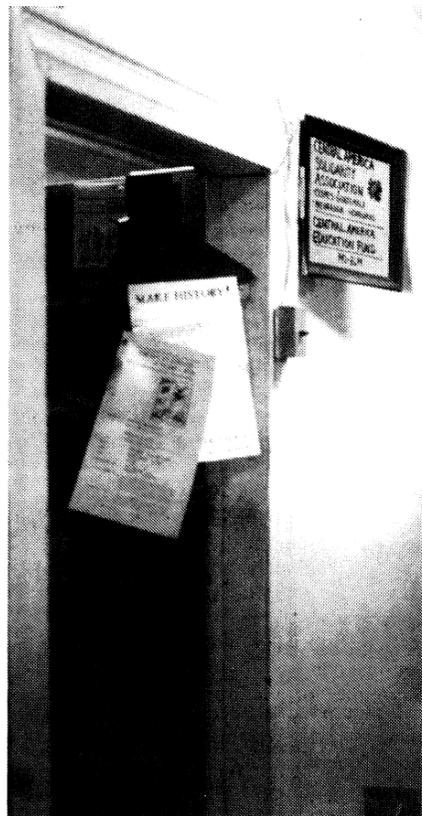
As CASA's Alan West was quoted in the Boston *Globe*, if intimidation were the aim of the break-ins, "I've been to El Salvador with guns pointed at me, so I can't be intimidated by something like this."

"We won't be stopped by these attacks," NICA Director Beverly Treumann told the *Militant*. "It's the government and those who act on its behalf that engage in illegal activity, under the cover of darkness. We've got nothing to hide. The majority of the people of this city, state, and country oppose U.S. foreign policy in Central America, and we intend to reach this majority with our message."

U.S. nuke tests contaminate workers, site

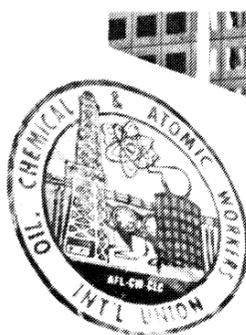
Three workers received radiation contamination following a nuclear weapons testing accident in Nevada earlier this year. The U.S. Department of Energy did not identify the workers in its June 11 report, but did say they had received whole body gamma radiation dosages of 375, 590, and 625 millirems respectively. Gamma rays, like X rays, are highly penetrating and can cause leukemia and have genetic effects.

The last reported nuclear weapons testing accident in Nevada occurred on April 10, but wasn't made public for over a month. On May 16 the *New York Times* reported the accident "damaged \$20 million in equipment and left high levels of radiation in the labyrinth of tunnels where the test was conducted."



Militant/Jon Hillson
Door of office housing Central America solidarity groups was smashed down in break-in of church.

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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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Peruvian troops massacre prisoners

BY TOM LEONARD

Several hundred political and civil prisoners were massacred by Peruvian troops during a June 18-19 attack against three prisons. Many of the victims were members of the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla group. But other, nonpolitical, prisoners were also reported killed.

Unconfirmed reports said 400 prisoners were slaughtered by the military. The government has so far reported the deaths of 126 prisoners.

The bloody attacks took place at three locations. One was the Santa Barbara women's prison near the port city of Callao, where at least two women prisoners were killed and four injured. The majority were slain at the El Frontón island prison near Callao, and at Lurigancho prison near Lima.

Government troops used armed helicopters, rockets, and antitank missiles, claiming they were facing prisoners armed with automatic rifles, explosives, and sub-machine guns. After the massacre, however, other reports said prisoners had only a variety of homemade weapons, including lances, crossbows, and knives.

Before the army assault, prisoners issued 22 demands directed at the Peruvian government. According to the *Washington Post* they objected to the transfer of some Sendero prisoners to a new high-security prison. They requested treatment under the Geneva Convention for prisoners of war and asked the government to live up to previous commitments it had made on prison reforms. Also included was a request for expanded visiting privileges.

The army was called in after a government-appointed peace commission broke off negotiations with the prisoners.

After the massacre, government officials blamed the political prisoners for the bloodshed. They alleged the prisoners organized an uprising to embarrass Peruvian President Alan García on the eve of a meeting of the Socialist International that began on June 20 in Lima. García made the same charge to the opening session of that gathering. He said the prison rebellion was an attempt to "blackmail our democracy in front of peoples of the world with criminal acts."

García denied the massacre was the act of a dictatorship or tyranny.

The Socialist International is made up of Social Democratic parties from around the world. Two Social Democratic heads of government reportedly canceled plans to attend the Lima gathering shortly after the massacre, citing security reasons. They were Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden. But there have been no reports of denunciation or criticism by any Social Democratic officials of the Peruvian government's action.

Among those supporting the government was the Peruvian Catholic church hierarchy. It issued a statement defending the

massacre.

Publicly attacking the government was attorney Marta Huatay, a member of a lawyers' association, who accused the military of carrying out "a plan of genocide drawn up some weeks ago."

According to the June 23 *New York Times*, Senator Javier Diez Canseco of the United Left coalition charged that 60 members of the Shining Path were executed by the military after surrendering at Lurigancho prison.

Other Peruvians are questioning why the government so quickly sent troops against the prisoners. One former prison chief, for example, wanted to know why the government did not wait out the prisoners' demands by taking measures such as cutting off water and electricity supplies.

Relatives of slain prisoners joined in denouncing the massacre, as did Lima students who have demonstrated against the government's murderous actions.

This growing public outcry led the García government to acknowledge that the military may have used excessive force. But a government communiqué on the massacre defended the armed forces, which it said had "loyally complied with their obligation of service to the nation and obedience to the constitutional Government."



Relatives of murdered prisoners outside El Frontón prison

U.S. gov't bars Indians' visit to Libya

BY JIM ALTENBERG

MINNEAPOLIS — A delegation of Indian activists representing the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) was prevented from going to Libya by the U.S. and Swiss governments, IITC leader Vernon Bellecourt told a meeting June 17. The IITC, a worldwide organization of indigenous peoples, had sponsored two previous trips to Libya in August 1985 and February 1986. They had hoped to return to learn the truth about the brutal U.S. bombing of that country in April.

When the IITC delegation arrived in Geneva, Switzerland, no one met them with plane tickets as had been planned. Libyans have been subject to harassment and deportation in Switzerland and across Western Europe in the wake of the U.S. attack. Bellecourt said that the person they were to have met had been forced out of the country.

He added that two days prior to their arrival, Swiss authorities deported Bob Brown to France when they found a picture of Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi in his luggage. Brown was on his way to the U.S. after traveling to Libya with the All-African People's Revolutionary Party.

Despite the fact that the IITC delegation carried official United Nations travel credentials, and that Switzerland claims to be neutral in international affairs, members of

the group were searched and harassed at Swiss customs. They were followed by agents and soldiers carrying automatic weapons. They returned to the U.S. and began planning another trip to Libya.

Such trips are important, Bellecourt explained, because there is virtually no one who is challenging the official U.S. portrayal of Libya as an international outlaw and terrorist. "Libya has been tried by a lynch mob, the Reagan administration. We as the people have nothing, not even circumstantial evidence, of Libya's involvement in the attacks in Berlin and Vienna. But we do know who flew around the world, using high-tech bombing, killing people, including a 15-month-old baby. We know who the terrorists are," Bellecourt said. "America seems to have an exclusive right to use the term 'terrorist' while condemning the legitimate struggle of others."

Bellecourt described the long struggle of the Libyan people for independence and sovereignty. By the early 1930s Italy had forcibly taken over and ruled Libya as its colony. The Libyans waged a determined war of resistance, led by Omar el-Mukhtar.

In the wake of Italy's defeat in World War II, an independent government was set up in Libya. But this government was subject to tremendous pressure from the victorious imperialist powers, and in 1951 the

former monarch, King Idris, was restored to his throne with the backing of the U.S., British, French, and Italian governments. These countries came to dominate the Libyan economy, and Libya became one of the world's poorest countries.

Muammar el-Qaddafi and other officers overthrew the king in 1969, and the new government began to take some measures to deal with the enormous social problems Libya faced.

Bellecourt said that the Libyan government has had close relations with Indian activists for quite some time. Libyans have learned about the Indian struggle in the United States. Last February, the IITC delegation did an educational program on Libyan television.

"Like Nicaragua, Libya has earned the support of the people due to their fight for self-determination," Bellecourt said. "We must unite and respond to imperialist attacks. We must defend Libya as well as Nicaragua."

Bellecourt also said that all who have recently been to Libya could be indicted at any time for violating the U.S. government's ban on travel there.

A committee has already been set up to organize a legal defense campaign. Opposing the travel ban, Bellecourt stressed, was an important part of opposing the ongoing U.S. campaign against Libya.

White House wants to force use of Nat'l Guard in Central America

BY NORTON SANDLER

White House and Pentagon officials are pushing legislation that would make it impossible for governors to keep National Guard units from their states out of military maneuvers in Central America.

The controversy over the use of the Guard units surfaced in April when governors from Arizona, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, and Washington said that they were opposed to troops from their states being used in Honduras.

Since 1983 the Pentagon has staged constant military exercises in that country involving tens of thousands of soldiers. GIs have built roads and air strips and practiced mock invasions of Nicaragua during the exercises. Recently, U.S. helicopter pilots flew Honduran troops to the border area that U.S.-backed *contras* use to stage raids into Nicaragua.

Governors who expressed opposition to use of the Guard troops were responding to the deep-seated opposition of the majority of U.S. working people to another Viet-

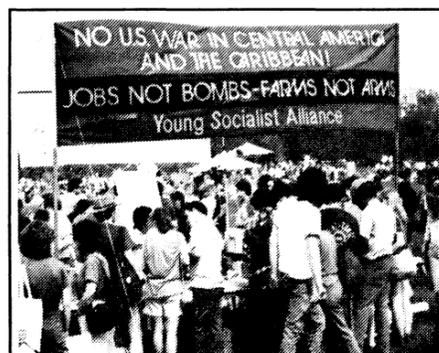
nam-type war in Central America.

Under provisions of the U.S. Constitution, National Guard units are under the command of state governors except when there are declared wars or so-called national emergencies. Use of a state guard unit on foreign soil is prohibited in "peacetime" without the approval of the governor.

White House and Pentagon officials responded angrily to the governors' announcements. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger claimed that the participation of the Guard units in the exercises was vital to keeping them combat ready.

The White House is now backing the "legislative remedy" introduced by Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas that would prevent governors from being able to keep guard units out of the exercises.

Lt. Gen. Emmett Walker, commander of the National Guard Bureau, is attempting to find a way to withhold funding for units in states where governors are opposed to the troops being used in Central America.



Unionists, students, farmers and other activists will be gathering for a weeklong conference and

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• aiding the Hormel strikers • defending abortion rights • supporting farmers fighting foreclosures • opposing the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua

There will also be plenty of time to relax. Evening entertainment will feature films, concerts, dances, and other social events.

Come join us for an exciting week of political discussions and activity!

If you are interested in attending, contact the SWP nearest you (see directory on page 12).

Solidarity City aids 'fighting P-9ers'

Continued from Page 4

to the monthly P-9 membership meeting that took place after he was appointed. He announced that if the members wanted a meeting, they'd have to get 600 names on a petition.

Hansen sent out warnings to a number of key P-9 activists saying that they may be expelled from the union for a variety of activities.

P-9 members who engage in picketing or publicly advocate a continuation of the national consumer boycott of Hormel that P-9 initiated can be legally fired by the company and face possible imprisonment.

Suspended P-9 President Jim Guyette told reporters at a press conference the opening day of Solidarity City, "Hormel products are a disgrace to my family's table and every workingman's dinner table in America." Yet, Guyette can't say that a boycott should take place "because Devitt has ruled that I'll have a new address at Leavenworth if I said that."

Sweetheart contract in the making

Trustee Hansen is now engaged in secret negotiations with Hormel management, trying to come up with a sweetheart contract to be imposed on the meatpackers.

While Hansen has taken over several of P-9's offices in the Austin Labor Center, he and his underlings prefer to function out of their own storefront on Main Street. The Labor Center is still a beehive of P-9 support activity, including a soup kitchen and a booth to sell T-shirts and buttons.

Ken Kimbro, one of Hansen's two "deputy trustees," gave me the top officials' line on the contract fight — Hansen is responsibly trying to negotiate a contract and get everyone back to work. In response to the question of whether the membership of P-9 will get to vote on whatever deal Hansen makes with Hormel, Kimbro indicated that it was up to Hansen to decide.

Recertification: fight to save union

In response to the UFCW officialdom's attempt to drive these fighting unionists out of the labor movement, the membership of P-9 decided on a bold move. Instead of giving up, they decided to file petitions with the National Labor Relations Board to ask for a union recertification election. The petition asks that a union called "Original Local P-9" be recertified as the bargaining agent in place of the local now run by the trustee.

A leaflet to convince people to sign the petition was titled: "Have a Choice in Your Future." It explained that "under a trusteeship, you have very few rights, as the trustee acts as a dictator, and has the legal power over all decisions made within the local.

"We are now under a dictatorship for 18 months," it said, referring to the length of the trusteeship. "We have no say in the operations of this local. Are you going to give up your rights and future for the next one and a half years?"

The leaflet concluded: "As members of a democratic union, we feel that every member of the Austin Plant regardless of personal choice on whether or not to return back to work, should have the right to democratically decide what kind of a contract they will be working under."

This move to certify Original Local P-9 is being watched closely by supporters of this fight around the country, especially UFCW locals who organize the 3,500 other workers employed by Hormel and its affiliates.

This new stage of the struggle was the subject of an extensive discussion at Solidarity City. On Tuesday afternoon, a couple of hours were set aside for everyone to talk to the members of the suspended executive board, as well as to fired workers from UFCW Local 431 in Ottumwa, Iowa. They are among the 507 workers at Hormel's Ottumwa plant who were illegally fired in January for honoring P-9 roving picket lines that were thrown up there.

Larry McClurg and Bill Cook from Ottumwa indicated their support for P-9's fight for recertification. They described the many ways the UFCW International officials are trying to sow divisions between

Ottumwa and Austin workers. The ability of the 800 Hormel workers in Local 431 to throw the weight of their union into the fight against Hormel has been blocked by the fact that they are part of a 7,000-member UFCW amalgamated, or district, local as it is called.

International breaks Hormel chain

Jim Guyette explained that efforts to change union affiliation through National Labor Relations Board elections are usually employer-inspired and employer-aided. What P-9 is doing is exactly the opposite, he explained. The International officials are working with the company to take away the right to honor a picket line and are trying to force P-9 members back to work unconditionally. By having previously negotiated different contract-expiration dates for the locals in the Hormel chain, the union bureaucrats have assured that each local is on its own if it tries to fight Hormel.

Carl Pontious, who used to be a member of P-9's executive board, explained that P-9 members are leading the struggle to form a strong chain of Hormel locals that can fight together against the bosses. Pontious said that he has resigned from the UFCW and is now a member of Original Local P-9.

In the next several months, contracts are up in the other Hormel plants.

Much of the discussion focused on concrete experiences these workers have had with the top union bureaucrats. They are coming to see the officialdom as a conservative, privileged layer in the union, whose livelihood depends on collaboration with the company and collecting dues from a passive membership.

In a Solidarity City protest Tuesday at Hansen's Main Street office, participants carried signs reading: "You can't put union democracy in trusteeship," "Trail of lies: Bill Wynn, Lewie Anderson, Joe Hansen," and a variety of uses of the initials UFCW,



Militant/Mike Baumann

Jim Guyette

"Union For Company Welfare" and "United Front for Cutting Wages."

'You people are having impact'

Ottumwa meatpacker McClurg is one of several workers from Austin and Ottumwa who have been traveling around the country winning support for the fight against Hormel. P-9's struggle is "precedent-setting," said McClurg. He explained that he's talked to all kinds of workers — mine, garment, airline, textile, steel, and others — and the fighters of P-9 "are having an impact in this country."

A lot of Hormel workers are "sick and tired of being sick and tired." The propaganda by the company and International officials, McClurg said, says that P-9 is isolated and being whipped. But don't believe it, urged McClurg.

Ray Rogers, P-9's consultant before he was fired by Hansen, told me that more than 3,000 union locals have made financial contributions to P-9. They've come in from every state and many unions. Many state and local AFL-CIO labor councils are also backing the struggle against Hormel. And support has started to come in from



Militant/Tom Jaax

April rally in support of P-9. Solidarity City offers important new backing to fight.

other countries, including Britain, Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South Africa.

Guyette said that whenever P-9 members and supporters have the chance to talk to union members, they get a good reception. The International officials, however, have more resources and more access to union members. That's why Solidarity City is important, he explained. It's a chance to get out the truth about a struggle that any working people could find themselves in. "We're trying to pass on an experience," said Guyette. There are still lots of places P-9 members haven't been — "those are the places we have to get to," he added.

One P-9 member told the meeting about a UFCW local he visited in Louisiana. UFCW headquarters had told the local not to let a P-9 member come and speak.

The local rejected the dictate from Washington and decided to back P-9. This was one of many stories about UFCW locals who have been victims of the bureaucratic and destructive actions of the UFCW tops and who see P-9's struggle to use the union to conduct an effective fight against the company as an inspiration and an example.

Paul Rasmussen was a founder of the United Packinghouse Workers in the 1930s — one of the predecessors of the UFCW. He pointed to two aspects of this meeting with the suspended executive board that were striking to participants from out of town.

One was the free and democratic give-and-take. Everyone had their say — officers and members alike — everyone was free to agree or disagree, and the P-9 members decide all questions of any importance.

There was also something everyone in the room agreed on, Rasmussen continued — the need to fight. In the face of a labor movement that is in retreat across the board, P-9 is standing up and fighting back.

P-9's refusal to back down has raised the stakes for the UFCW International officials, Guyette pointed out. The trusteeship was the bureaucrats' "last bullet." There are a lot of angry workers and a lot of unions; a lot of union members want some democracy and a say in their own affairs.

Dignity

If you ask P-9 members or supporters what they're fighting for, the first word that almost always pops out of their mouths is "dignity." There are many varieties of T-shirts, sweatshirts, jackets, and buttons that sport the simple slogan "P-9 Proud."

When P-9's contract expired in 1985, Hormel decided to demand a vast array of givebacks, including gutting the seniority and grievance systems, the right to punish injured workers, a two-tier wage system to pay new hires less, eliminating maternity leave, cutting health benefits, and contractually limiting workers' democratic and political rights, as well as wage cuts.

At a press conference at Solidarity City, Ray Rogers, Guyette, and supporters lambasted the big-business-owned media for painting a picture of P-9's struggle as a violent action by a bunch of greedy, high-paid workers who went on strike to make \$10.69 an hour — \$.69 more than the average wage in other plants in the Hormel chain.

These lies have an impact. During Solidarity City, P-9 members

and supporters stood in front of the Austin Post Office to protest the decision not to deliver P-9's mail at Hansen's request. Protesters carried signs reading: "Postal management, stay out of union business," "Mail tampering is criminal," and the post office "discriminates against real unions."

While this protest was in progress, some young women who work in the motel across the street talked angrily and loudly against the Hormel workers. They complained that their wages were low and benefits and working conditions worse than those of workers at Hormel. To them, P-9 members seemed like people who had plenty and wanted more.

P-9 supporters told me this is not such an uncommon response. Barbara Colette helped start the United Support Group to organize solidarity with P-9. She's one of many supporters who have been thrown in jail for carrying out legal activities to back the strike.

She told me that a lot of people think the meatpackers at Hormel are overpaid. But that's only because "they haven't thought through the next steps yet," she explained. If Hormel can get away with crushing the union at its plant, "everyone's pay will be cut."

The first supporters from out of town to pitch their tents in Solidarity City were given an enthusiastic welcome. They included Joe Geiser and Hazel Luster from Utah. Geiser is a laid-off coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America. His union's fighting reputation is quite popular around here. Luster is a nursing student.

Howard McAvoy is a member of International Longshoremen's Association Local 333 in New York. He works on a tugboat. He learned about Solidarity City through a group of P-9 supporters in Albany, New York.

Jim Blitz is from United Auto Workers Local 1404 in Indiana. He joined the union in the late '60s after he returned from Vietnam.

Betty Tsang is the vice-president of an American Postal Workers Union local in Miami. A P-9 member recently spent several weeks talking to unionists in Miami.

The National Organization for Women and Women Against Military Madness from the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis set up a tent on day 1.

Links to other struggles

One of the most striking things about spending time with P-9 members and their families is how much the strike has changed the way they look at themselves, the labor movement, other sectors of society, and the world.

The biggest change seems to be that the process of fighting for their own rights has made many see that everyone else who is fighting oppression and exploitation is on the same side as P-9.

Perhaps the single most dramatic expression of this is the giant mural painted on one outside wall of the Austin Labor Center. The main scene in it is a woman with a bloody ax labeled "P-9" ready to chop off the head of a giant serpent. The slogan painted across the top is "If blood be the price of your cursed wealth, good God, we have paid in full!" The mural was dedicated to South African freedom fighter Nelson Mandela.

One P-9 member who worked at Hormel for decades and was a soldier during Wash-

Continued on Page 13

Auto Workers hold national convention

Union's president calls for more cooperation among union officials, bosses, gov't

BY JOHN GAIGE
AND JEFF POWERS

ANAHEIM, Calif. — The 50th anniversary convention of the United Auto Workers (UAW) took place here June 1-6. It was attended by 2,171 delegates. UAW membership now stands at 1.1 million — a substantial decline from 1.5 million in 1979.

The convention took place in the context of plant closings, layoffs, and the reopening of nonunion plants, which have marked the auto, auto parts, and agricultural implements industry in recent years.

UAW President Owen Bieber claimed in his opening address that the UAW had "put an end to a period of concessions forced upon us by the depression of 1981 and 1982."

He said the 1984 agreements achieved at GM and Ford were unprecedented because of their job security provisions. Bieber also claimed that Chrysler workers got full economic parity with Ford and GM workers in 1985.

The fact is that all three contracts included big concessions by UAW members in the form of reduced wages and benefits. The 1985 Chrysler contract, signed after a 12-day strike, brought only a 5 percent wage increase over three years.

Bieber called for more cooperation between union officials, bosses, and the government to solve the problems of unemployment and low-paying jobs.

"The industrial policy we so desperately need," he said, "has five crucial goals: to increase productivity and international competitiveness and to facilitate economic growth, full employment, and higher real income."

The key to this is "strengthening America's competitiveness," according to Bieber.

A resolution with this perspective passed unanimously.

Bieber pledged that the UAW would organize the two plants "outside the fold" — Nissan's Tennessee plant and Honda's Ohio plant.

The essential theme of the convention was the top UAW officials' campaign against imported cars.

Bieber urged a campaign to elect Democrats who favor anti-import legislation. Reagan was pointed to as the main source of the problems facing auto workers.

During the convention, there was a small picket line protesting apartheid in South Africa at Shell's regional headquarters. It was sponsored by UAW Region 6 Community Action Program Council and the Civil Rights Department.

District 65 in New York submitted a resolution on apartheid. But it was never brought to the convention floor. The resolution called for Washington to break all ties with the South African regime and urged support for the June 14 anti-apartheid demonstration in New York City.

The convention overwhelmingly adopted a resolution to reaffirm the UAW system of electing International officers by convention delegates. Resolutions had been submitted from 20 locals calling instead for election of International officers by direct vote of every UAW member.

Under a report on dues, some delegates opposed the practice of taking dues out of bonus money or lump-sum payments. Previously, dues in the UAW equaled two hours' straight-time pay a month.

The present dues system was reaffirmed. A debate occurred on the question of UAW agreements like the one signed at the GM Saturn plant planned for Spring Hill, Tennessee. The contract has already been signed there even though no workers have even been hired yet.

UAW opponents of the Saturn agreement say the concessions include wages set at 80 percent of the industry average, two years of lower wages for new hires, and fewer job classifications.

Opposition to the new Saturn agreement was led by the No Concessions Caucus, a group of delegates led by Pete Kelly, president of Local 160 in Warren, Michigan.

Bieber spoke at the close of the Saturn debate to defend the Saturn contract. He said it was necessary and justified to sign

the Saturn agreement in advance of any workers being hired. He claimed that being on the inside meant having a wedge to fight for a better contract just like at the NUMMI (New United Motors Corporation) plant in Fremont, California.

A proposed amendment to the constitution by Kelly's caucus on the question of the Saturn agreement was defeated.

A fight took place on the floor of the convention over the election of the director of Region 5. Jerry Tucker, that region's former assistant director, had challenged Ken Worley, the incumbent who had held that post for 19 years. Tucker's supporters had a caucus called "New Directions."

New Directions offered no alternative program to the course of the top leadership of the UAW. Bieber made the retention of Ken Worley a top priority at the convention. The convention upheld the election of Worley.

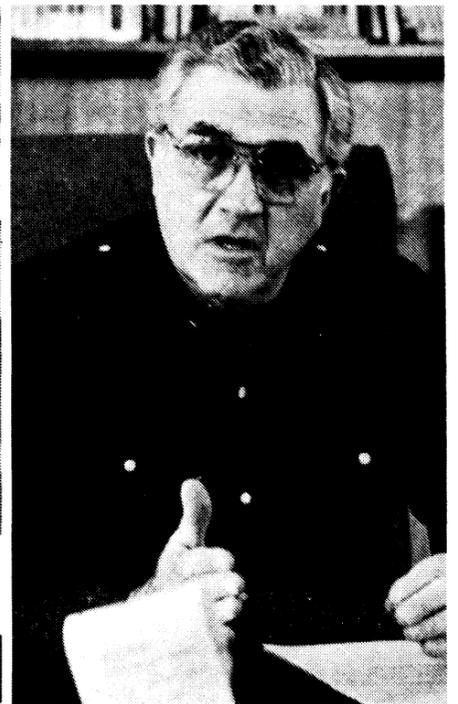
A resolution passed urging the organization of more service workers into the UAW. In his keynote address Bieber referred to 20,000 state employees joining the UAW in Michigan as a "stunning success."

The convention took no steps to actively support the 28 strikes that UAW members are involved in. They were rarely mentioned.

Many locals have supported the struggle of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 against the Hormel meatpacking company. The P-9 struggle was ignored by



UAW member at 1985 Labor Day parade. Right, union President Owen Bieber.



the top officials at the convention, and there was virtually no discussion on the convention floor. Many delegates, however, warmly greeted the P-9 members who attended the convention. (See accompanying article.)

Cy Carpenter, president of the National

Farmers Union, and Shiro Umemura, representing the 600,000-member Japanese auto workers' union, brought greetings to the convention.

Jeff Powers is a member of the UAW in Kansas City.

UAW members welcome P-9 fighters

BY JEFF POWERS

ANAHEIM, Calif. — Unionists from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 were warmly received at the United Auto Workers (UAW) convention that opened here June 1. For six days a delegation of Austin, Minnesota, unionists led by Skinny Weis and Al Wesely leafleted and discussed with thousands of UAW delegates Local P-9's fight for a decent contract. The local has been waging a 10-month struggle with the Hormel meatpacking company.

Over \$500 worth of buttons and T-shirts were sold from the table they shared with the "Keep Van Nuys Open" committee, which is fighting a shutdown of a GM plant.

They spoke to as many caucuses and meetings as could be reached and received support at all of them.

One of the first groups at the convention to offer support was the retirees. That committee gave P-9 space on their literature table, and a collection at the retirees' meeting netted \$124 for the Minnesota meatpackers.

The "No More Concessions" caucus invited P-9 to speak to its meeting of 200 people.

When Skinny Weis came to the podium, the entire room gave him a standing ovation. In brief remarks, he thanked the UAW delegates for all the help they had previously given to P-9 and urged that they continue to give support. "We are at a critical stage in our strike," he said.

Jerry Tucker, from UAW Region 5, invited P-9 to several meetings of his caucus, called "New Directions." At a breakfast attended by over 100 people, Tucker introduced Skinny Weis. "There is someone here who has come a long way to get support for his fight. Certainly he deserves the support of everyone here at this convention," Tucker said. Before Tucker could finish the introduction everyone at the breakfast stood and began a several minute ovation.

Larry Bastain, a recording secretary from UAW Local 325 at the Ford plant in St. Louis, came to the UAW convention with more than 40 T-shirts he had specially printed to raise money for P-9. Before the convention was over Bastain had sold virtually his entire consignment.

But it was at the P-9 literature table that the most effective work for the Hormel strikers was done. A continual stream of

delegates came by to talk to the P-9ers about their strike.

Many delegates explained that their locals had already made contributions to P-9 and several delegates said that they were planning on attending the Solidarity City events in Austin June 22-28.

Other delegates came by just to get an update on the strike. Several delegates explained that media coverage in their area of the country was so poor they were not

even aware the strike was still continuing.

As the convention wore on, more and more delegates could be seen wearing "Boycott Hormel" T-shirts and "Cram Your Spam" buttons. As one of the retirees, a P-9 supporter, explained, "We all have to get behind this strike. It is good that the Hormel people came here. We've got to tell [UAW President] Bieber that the UAW has to do more to help them win their strike."

Canada meatpackers win strike

Continued from front page

up in 1969 to act as an agent for the province's 5,000 hog farmers. Meatpacking plants in Alberta must buy hogs from the APPMB, whose mandate is to obtain the best possible price for hog producers.

Fletcher's and the Gainers plant in Edmonton are the only meatpacking plants in Alberta. Gainers is involved in a bitter strike with UFCW Local 280-P.

Faced with strikes at both plants, farmers had the choice of trying to take their hogs across the picket lines or shipping them out of the province at a higher cost to themselves.

At Fletcher's, about 10 union members are also hog farmers and they fully supported the strike. Other hog farmers — generally the bigger and better-off ones who use hired hands — scabbed or sent their hired hands to scab.

About a week after the Fletcher's strike began, an annual Pork Producers Congress was held in Red Deer, attended by 800 hog farmers. After persistent efforts, the union was allowed to set up a booth at the congress and distribute material about the strike.

Johnson explained that the strikers "had the busiest booth by far. We talked ourselves hoarse to farmers who wanted information on the strike. Even those who came in ranting, raving, and cursing us the first time, mostly came back later and talked to us in a different frame of mind. And we were able to make our point with them. Our impression is that they started to put pressure on the company to settle."

In winning their strike, Local 1118 P-2 reversed a series of union defeats going back to 1983. That year the company demanded reopening the contract, which still had a year to run. In return for a promise of

more jobs, the local's leadership at that time agreed to a cut of \$3 an hour in starting pay for new hires. Most of these union officials then proceeded to take jobs with management.

Fletcher's followed up this successful attack by moving to decertify the union. Even though this failed, the union entered negotiations for a new contract in 1984 weak and divided. The company was able to slash starting pay from \$8.09 to \$7.50 an hour. It wiped out all benefits to workers with less than five years in the plant. It took away half the benefits of workers with less than 10 years seniority. These deep takebacks saved the company about \$7 million a year.

During this period the plant work force grew from 120 to 420, most of whom were 30 years old or younger. New workers stepped forward to get involved in the union, including women, who are about 15 percent of the membership of Local 1118 P-2. A newer, younger, and more militant leadership was elected.

When Fletcher's tried to take a hard line in this year's bargaining, it met a stronger and more united membership that succeeded in defeating the company on the picket line.

At the meeting to vote on the new Fletcher's contract, it was clear the union intends to remain strong. At the conclusion of the meeting President Johnson told Local 1118 P-2 members, "We won the battle here. Now we have to do everything we can to help the workers up at Gainers."

Mary-Ellen Marus and Jim Upton reported on the Fletcher's strike for Socialist Voice, a Canadian biweekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Peasants defend Nicaraguan co-op

BY HARVEY McARTHUR AND RUTH NEBBIA

LA DALIA, Nicaragua — "We're not soldiers, but we fight to defend our land," said Isaiás Espinoza Velásquez, one of the survivors of a murderous attack by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary terrorists (*contras*) on the Daniel Téllez cooperative here May 31.

For four hours, 35 peasant militiamen fought 200 heavily armed *contras* until Sandinista army reinforcements arrived. Fifteen of the defenders and a child were killed.

This was the first time *contras* have attacked the Téllez cooperative, which is located deep in the mountains of northern Nicaragua, about 40 miles northeast of the city of Matagalpa. It was organized two years ago with 280 men, women, and children. They received 2,500 acres of land through Nicaragua's agrarian reform and raise cattle and cocoa to sell in the city and grains and vegetables for their own consumption.

Isabel Valenzuela, 48 years old and the cooperative's director of production and defense, said that they were doing well before the attack. They had sold 600 calves in April and were repaying their loans and planning improvements for the cooperative.

The settlement had 40 homes built with the help of Swiss volunteers and donations from Swiss workers. The homes are small, wood-frame buildings with concrete floors and tin roofs. They each have three rooms and a large roofed porch that serves as kitchen and general work area. There was also a school and a small health center staffed by a nurse.

Self-defense cooperative

This is a self-defense cooperative, where the peasants themselves organize military defense from *contra* attacks.

The buildings cluster together on a small hill nestled in the rolling mountains here. To the west, the buildings are dominated by a mountain crest that looms several hundred feet above the settlement. At its top stands a dugout observation post, part of the permanent vigilance and self-defense. Other observation posts overlook the settlement from smaller hills to the north and east. Three dugouts with log-and-dirt roofs near the houses provide shelter for the women and children in case of attack.

"We are just armed peasants," Valenzuela said. "There are no soldiers here. We're not trying to attack anyone. We fight only when the enemy attacks us." The 35 peasant militiamen were armed only with AK-47 rifles.

May 30 was Mother's Day in Nicaragua.

"We had special festivities throughout the area that day," said Daniel Prado, a local organizer of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) who works with the Téllez cooperative. "The *contras* took advantage of this to sneak their task force in close without being detected. We estimate that 200 participated in the attack."

The *contras* moved in at 4:00 a.m. the next morning, Valenzuela told us. Their surprise attack first overran the observation post on the heights west of the cooperative. Four of the five peasants on guard duty there were killed.

Once they controlled the heights, the *contras* began to pound the settlement with mortars, RPG-7 rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and M-79 grenade launchers. Hundreds of craters dot the ground near the school and the defense posts — survivors estimate that as many as 600 shells fell on the settlement.

As the first explosions began, women and children dashed from the homes to seek shelter in the dugouts or fled to the nearby stream to hide from the *contras*. Xiomara Flores Ortiz, an eight-year-old girl, was killed as she ran from her home toward a shelter.

The *contras* continued pounding the settlement with mortars and grenades and then attacked from the south to try to overrun the buildings. Peasant militiamen fought tenaciously to stop them but were overwhelmed. Nine were killed or seriously wounded in fighting before the *contra* force could reach the buildings. Bits of flesh and hair were still lying in a trench near the school four days after the attack.

"Pilar Ortiz was wounded but still alive when the enemy overran the school," Isaiás Espinoza told us. "They tortured him, mutilated his face, and then slit his throat." Ortiz was a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and leader of the cooperative.

The *contras* systematically set fire to the school and to 14 homes; all that remains now are the concrete foundations and twisted sheets of tin. One eight-year-old girl told us that "they burnt our clothes and my home. We were very scared."

The mercenaries also overran the dugouts where women and children were hiding. "They fired an M-79 grenade at one of the dugouts," Valenzuela told us. "It exploded against the roof, injuring many of those inside." His wife and six-year-old son were among the wounded.

"One of the women ran out of the dugout," he continued. "She screamed, 'Don't shoot! Don't shoot! There are no soldiers here. We are only women and children.'"

"The *contras* yelled back: 'You are women of dogs and deserve to die,'" Valenzuela said. "They entered the dugout and



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Children of Téllez farm co-op outside shelter after *contra* attack. U.S.-backed mercenaries fired grenade at dugout with women and children inside. An 8-year-old girl and 15 peasant militiamen were killed in attack; 22, mostly women and children, were wounded.

told the women to leave the cooperative that day or they would be back and kill them all. 'The FDN rules here,' they yelled as they pointed their guns at the children." FDN are the initials of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, the largest of the U.S.-organized mercenary groups.

The fighting lasted nearly four hours. Only when army reinforcements approached at 8:30 that morning did the *contras* withdraw. "This is what saved us," Valenzuela said. "We were running low on ammunition and the enemy had overrun the settlement. They would have burned everything and massacred all of us if the soldiers had not arrived."

Peasants demand more arms

In addition to the 15 militiamen and little girl, 22 peasants, mostly women and children, were wounded. Thirty-eight children lost their fathers in the attack.

"We hurt the *contras* too, even though we only had rifles," Valenzuela said. "From the signs we found later, we caused at least eight, maybe more, casualties among the *contras*."

"We had no support weapons," Valenzuela and other survivors emphasized. "The *contras* were well armed and all we had was our rifles. If we had had a mortar or grenade launcher, or even just one machine gun for each observation post, the enemy never would have overrun the settlement."

There is a growing discussion in Nicaragua on the need for more weapons, especially since the mercenaries focus their attacks on isolated farms or cooperatives rather than facing the Sandinista army directly. UNAG leader Alcides Rodríguez said that there are 1,000 men waiting for arms in cooperatives in this zone alone. None have heavy weapons, though UNAG has asked the Nicaraguan government to see if the cooperatives can be better armed. "And there are many women peasants who want arms too," Rodríguez added.

One older woman, who lost her husband and two of her sons in the attack, told us that her 15-year-old daughter wants to join the army now. "If I were strong enough, I'd take up arms too," the mother said. "My 11-year-old boy also wants to go."

The peasants we spoke to were determined to stay and rebuild the cooperative, though Valenzuela said that some were terrified and wanted to leave.

"Under the Somoza dictatorship," Isaiás Espinoza explained, "we didn't have anything: no land, no medical care, no housing, no education. With the revolution, we peasants now own the land."

"Since 1984, we have been building up this cooperative," he continued. "It is our future. And now the enemy comes to destroy it. We fought so our children will have a future — so they will not be trampled underfoot as we were before."

UNAG is working to bring more families into the cooperative as soon as they can rebuild the homes. Meanwhile, Rodríguez told us, other cooperatives are sending brigades to do the work of the peasants who were killed. Swiss volunteers have returned to help with the reconstruction. The Red Cross has provided emergency aid and UNAG is appealing to other relief agencies and international farm groups for assistance.

Francisco Zeledon, a regional leader of UNAG, told us that such large-scale attacks were unusual now. "We have about 80 cooperatives in this zone," he said. "During 1983-85, 40 of them were attacked, some two or three times. But we consolidated the defense in this zone during 1985, and the *contras* have not attacked so much since. They now mainly plant mines in the roads or ambush or kidnap isolated peasants."

Zeledon, Valenzuela, and others told us that they thought the May 31 attack was a special effort by the mercenaries to demonstrate their abilities before the U.S. Congress resumes debate on the \$100 million funding for the *contra* war. "This suffering, these tears, are a product of the \$100 million," Espinoza told us. "Reagan is the one to blame. For him, it is a crime that the FSLN is helping us build houses for our families. For Reagan and the *contras* it is a crime that the peasants are able to develop themselves."

Twenty-year-old Silvio Davila Picado, whose father and three brothers died defending the cooperative, agreed. "It is Reagan and imperialism that are responsible," Davila is mobilized in the Nicaraguan army now. He came home after the attack to find only his mother, his sister, and a young brother alive. He is seeking early demobilization from the army so he can remain in the cooperative with his family. "And I hope they let me bring an M-60 [machine gun] when I'm demobilized, so our defense will be stronger," he told us.

As North American reporters visiting the cooperative right after the attack, we found a warm and friendly reception. Valenzuela, Davila, Espinoza, and others, though obviously exhausted, were eager to spend hours talking to us about what had happened — and to send a message to the U.S. people.

"We have heard of the solidarity protests in the United States," Espinoza said. "We know that the people are not in agreement with Reagan. We ask you to continue with the protests. We want peace here and in all of Central America."

'IP': Castro speaks to farm co-ops

The upcoming July 14 *Intercontinental Press* features a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro to a national meeting of agricultural production cooperatives in Cuba.

Today, some 80 percent of Cuban farmland is cultivated by state farms, employing wage workers. Of the remaining 20 percent that is still under the production of private farmers, most (61 percent) belongs to production cooperatives. Castro's speech covers many of the gains and problems of these cooperatives.

A key focus of the speech concerns the decision of this conference to end the free farmers' markets that were set up in 1980 to provide an outlet for the surplus production of individual producers and cooperatives. Unlike the state distribution system, prices in these markets were not regulated.

The setting up of these markets turned out to be an error, Castro noted. He said that "the free peasant market became a major obstacle to the development of the

cooperative movement, and ... it led to the development of middlemen ... who have grown rich and have made profits."

If allowed to continue, Castro said, such trends would have eventually "dulled the revolutionary feelings of our people." So abolishing those markets "is a considerable step forward."

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

The U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) are stepping up terror attacks against civilians in the Nicaraguan countryside.

During the first five months of 1986 the Sandinista army dealt significant blows to Washington's

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

mercenaries, killing or wounding more than 2,500 in 850 clashes. As their military effectiveness declines, the Sandinista daily *Barricada* explained June 4, the *contras* "constantly increase terrorist actions against the civilian population and economic objectives."

Thus far in 1986, the mercenaries have kidnapped an estimated 750 peasants. They have assassinated some 300 people, mostly peasants who refused to join their terrorist bands.

Three recent ambushes are typical examples of mercenary attacks: On May 12, construction workers building a road near the Siquía River in central Nicaragua were ambushed. Two workers died, three were wounded, and three disappeared.

On May 24, a Spanish doctor, Ambrosio Mugorrón, and nine peasants were killed by *contras* as they drove to villages in San José de Bocay in northern Nicaragua to vaccinate children against polio.

On June 4 an organizer for the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers and two other people



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Nicaragua puts solidarity with struggle against racist South Africa in forefront of its internationalist foreign policy. Here Sam Nujoma (right), leader of Namibian freedom fighters resisting South African occupation of his country, addresses peasants in Nicaragua. Seated far right at table, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

were ambushed and killed near the Costa Rican border as they went to take peasants to a public discussion on Nicaragua's new constitution.

The Nicaraguan government is a firm supporter of the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa. Two days after the May 20 South African bombing attacks against Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, for example, the Nicaraguan government released a statement condemning South Africa and "calling on the international community to adopt the necessary measures against the Pretoria re-

gime to bring peace and security to southern Africa."

The South African attacks "form part of the policy of state terrorism practiced by the racist Pretoria regime, encouraged by the policy of constructive engagement of the current U.S. government." The Nicaraguan statement continued. "They show once again the urgent need to take concrete measures to eradicate the racist South African regime."

Legalized abortion is a major demand being raised by many women in the current discussion of

Nicaragua's draft constitution.

Abortion is still illegal in Nicaragua, based on a law established by the old Somoza dictatorship. Public discussion on whether to change the law has intensified with the opening of hearings on the constitution. The following are two samples of the debate that have appeared in the daily press recently.

The May 20, 21, and 28 issues of *El Nuevo Diario* carried a lengthy proabortion statement released by the Women's Legal Office of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE). It cited the suffering of women forced to bear children against their will or to seek illegal and unsafe abortions.

"The right to abortion is no more than a consequence of the inalienable right of the woman as a human being to control her own body," the legal office said. "No true democracy will exist as long as this right has not been achieved."

The right-wing daily *La Prensa* replied on May 30 with a sharp attack on abortion written by veterinarian José María Cerna Obregón.

"Abortion existed, exists, and will always exist, along with wars, hatred, egotism, hypocrisy, and all the ugly things that human beings produce," Obregón began. A woman who has an abortion "becomes the executioner of her own child," he asserted.

La Prensa's veterinarian claimed that "modern biology teaches" that a fertilized egg "is an individual entity 'independent' of the mother's body. What we are today biologically as adults is not fundamentally different from what we were as a fertilized egg."

As his final argument, Obregón

informed "the Ladies of AMNLAE" that "metaphysics tells us that this biological individual (the fertilized egg) is a human person because it possesses its own 'Vital Force' which we usually call a soul. This soul of the fetus is the image of the Creator of Life: God. Hence, God, and only God, has the ultimate power over the things and beings He created."

On May 23, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) launched its new publishing house, Editorial Vanguardia, at a public ceremony in Managua. *Barricada* wrote that Editorial Vanguardia will "make known and multiply the advance in revolutionary political thinking and the experiences brought forward from the people."

Sixteen titles are planned for publication in 1986, including several books previously in print. The titles include selections of documents from the National Directorate of the FSLN, writings of FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca, several accounts of the 1979 insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship, a study of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua, and a history of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Editorial Vanguardia plans to publish three books by July 19, the seventh anniversary of the revolution. They are: *Sandino Against the Monroe Doctrine* by Víctor Tirado, *A People in Arms* by Carlos Núñez, and *With Our Heart at the Trigger* by Arqueles Morales Mendoza.

Fifty Years of Sandinista Struggle by Humberto Ortega and *We Are Millions* by Doris Tijerino are among the books scheduled to appear later this year.

Conditions in Grenada 2½ yrs after U.S. invasion

The following article, "Grenada: 30 Months After the U.S. Invasion," is reprinted from the June 1 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the English-language newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.

It is based on an interview with George Louison, the deputy leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement in Grenada.

Prior to the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government and the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in a coup led by Bernard Coard in October 1983, Louison was minister of agriculture and a leader of the then-ruling New Jewel Movement. Louison is one of the few supporters of Bishop within the Grenadian leadership to have survived the coup and the subsequent U.S. invasion of Grenada.

BY MIREYA CASTEÑEDA

The economic and social situation in Grenada two and a half years after the invasion and illegal occupation by the U.S. armed forces is frankly asphyxiating for the population, according to George Louison, deputy leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, when interviewed in Havana.

The Washington-instigated New National Party government headed by Herbert Blaize has proved to be a total failure. It has no economic programs for the development of the country and is committed to a policy of destroying the whole social system.

Louison explained that the NNP is constantly taking measures that undermine the people's standard of living, such as the new taxes on consumer goods. People now have to pay a 20 percent tax on all products, which has led to a 20 to 30 percent increase in the cost of living in the first four months of the year.

The NNP economic policy is based on the private sector and deregularization in

order to obtain U.S. investments, but they haven't obtained any investments which benefit the country.

In the social field the Blaize government has eliminated all the health and education programs established by the Revolution. For the first time, drugs, prostitution, and other social evils have now become commonplace.

Louison charged that in recent months the NNP has stepped up state terrorism with an ever larger share of the budget going for the new army or, as it is called, the Special Services Unit, being built with the help of the United States. It is a perfectly trained army with modern equipment and mass destruction weapons.

Louison described as very dangerous last February's enactment of the South African-type Movement Restriction Act, which allows the Minister of National Security to ban the departure of any citizen from the country in the interests of defense, public security, or public order.

The law will be used against any person whose objectives and tendencies include the overthrow of the parliamentary system of government.

While the freedom of movement of citizens is restricted, there is a growing U.S. presence in the English-speaking Caribbean as Reagan tries to use the region as a pro-imperialist military bloc.

Louison recalled that the Ocean Venture '81 military maneuvers were a dry run for the invasion of Grenada two years later. Now, Ocean Venture '86 is designed as a threat to progressive movements in the area.

This South African-type legislation, he declared, "is directed against our Movement. We have stressed the need to restore Grenada's sovereignty and reinstate the programs of the Revolution, honoring our heroes and relations with all countries."

"We are currently reorganizing regional groups and carrying out a political education program. The Movement has a social

base in the country, created by the popular programs of the Revolution.

"Because of the propaganda needs of the United States, we can still operate openly, but not freely, since we are subjected to harassment and tension, as shown by the fact that many of our leaders have been jailed, homes and offices are regularly searched, and passports retained.

"Now they are trying to eliminate us and showing their true face."

The trial of Coard and his group

Louison recalled that for the last few weeks the trial of those responsible for the murder of Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the Revolution has been under way in St. George's. The manner in which the killing took place, those who were involved, and those who gave the orders have become public knowledge.

Fabian Gabriel, who was one of the 19 initial defendants, turned state evidence and said the firing squad was commanded by Calistos Bernard, who showed Bishop the execution order from the Central Committee.

Gabriel testified that Bernard took the bodies from the spot where they fell and supervised their incineration at Camp Fellow, in the southern part of the island.

Louison added that this and other evidence from many witnesses had clearly established the guilt of Bernard Coard and his group in the killing of Bishop and other revolutionary leaders.

The trial has proved to be very important politically by clarifying the facts and giving the people an exact picture of how the crime was committed. The people have always known that Bishop was a great leader whom they loved.

The airport

Louison said that, in spite of the propaganda against Cuba unleashed by the United States, the people of Grenada view Cubans as those who worked hardest to



G.M. Cookson

George Louison

contribute to the development of the country.

"We still receive requests for Cuban medical services and to study in Cuba. Last year more than 40 young people who had studied in Cuba returned to Grenada; they are greatly respected by the people, who know they have great professional training."

These feelings were evident when Blaize said Reagan would come to Grenada to open Point Salines airport and it would be named after him. There were silent but far-reaching popular protests and the regime had to retreat.

He recalled that at the time there were a number of international journalists in Grenada and they asked Blaize for a tour of the military installations at the airport built by the Cubans. He showed them the kitchen and said that this was the clearest sign that it was a military airport. Once again they looked ridiculous, as they refuted their own propaganda.

NOW discusses nat'l perspectives

BY PAT GROGAN

DENVER — How to defend abortion rights and stand up to the escalating right-wing campaign of violence against abortion clinics was the big question on the minds of the 1,500 participants at the 20th anniversary conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held here June 13-15.

As reported in last week's *Militant*, the high point of the weekend was the 4,000-strong "March for Women's Lives" modeled on the massive March 9 and March 16 abortion rights actions called by NOW in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles.

Although no nationally coordinated abortion rights actions were called, the desire by NOW members to continue such actions was reflected in the "Campaign to Save Women's Lives" resolution adopted by the Reproductive Rights Workshop and passed by the conference. It included a call to "encourage all NOW units to continue organizing public speakouts, conferences, and demonstrations to make visible the majority support for abortion rights."

Delegates from a number of chapters reported on planned activities in coalition with other abortion rights, women's, campus, labor, and Black and Latino organizations.

The abortion rights resolution also called for continuing "the fight against harassment, intimidation, and violence against women's health centers" by continued participation in escort services at abortion clinics and by initiating legal action to stop the right-wing attacks on abortion clinics.

National NOW President Eleanor Smeal announced the filing of a federal class action suit June 9 aimed at stopping the "organized plan of unlawful activities aimed at closing women's health-care centers nationwide" organized by Joseph Scheidler and other antiabortion fanatics.

The resolution also called on NOW to work to defeat antiabortion referenda in the November elections.

"Women of Color" conference

Participants at the "Women of Color" caucus discussed plans that are already under way for a series of forums on reproductive rights culminating in a May 1-3, 1987, "National Conference on Women of Color and Reproductive Rights" in Washington, D.C. These are to be cosponsored by NOW and the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR). The forums will be held June 28 in Washington, D.C., October 10-11 in Chicago, and February 11 in Jackson, Mississippi.

Despite an emphasis on "global feminism" and "peace" as themes of the conference, there was virtually no mention

Good response by NOW members to socialist publications, YSA

There was an excellent response to socialist ideas at the NOW national conference. Participants at the conference and the Denver "March for Women's Lives" bought 159 single copies and 35 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 77 single copies and two subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*.

A literature table sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance featured a full selection of books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press. Conference participants bought \$230 worth of literature. This included five copies of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed and five copies of *The Struggle is My Life* by Nelson Mandela. *Part of My Soul Went With Him* by Winnie Mandela, *Sandino's Daughters* by Margaret Randall, *Woman's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed, and *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* by Frederick Engels were the most popular books. The most popular pamphlets were *Abortion and the Catholic Church*, *Abortion is a Woman's Right*, and *Women in the Nicaraguan Revolution*.

Twenty conference participants signed a mailing list to get more information on the Young Socialist Alliance, and dozens attended a YSA open house that featured a slideshow and eyewitness report from Nicaragua.

of Nicaragua as part of the official program and no mention in the conference resolutions.

The plenary session did reaffirm NOW's strong position — passed at its national conference last July — opposing the U.S. war in Central America and the *contra* war in Nicaragua in response to a delegate who pointed out that this was the most important responsibility NOW had in international solidarity.

Many NOW chapters and members have participated in antiwar actions and held programs in solidarity with the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people. There was an excellent response to leaders of California NOW who are planning a NOW tour to Nicaragua next year. Many people signed up to participate in the tour or help to build it.

The conference reaffirmed NOW's positions in support of the anti-apartheid struggle and in support of the TWA flight attendants, the striking telephone workers of the Communications Workers of America, and the fight of the Hormel meatpackers of Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. (See article on this page.)

Representatives of the Hopi and Navajo peoples at Big Mountain, Arizona, addressed the plenary. The conference voted to support their struggle against forced relocation.

Gay and lesbian rights

The plenary also passed resolutions supporting child care, pay equity, and gay and lesbian rights. A resolution on AIDS called on the organization to oppose any attempt to use fear of the disease to attack the civil rights of gays and lesbians and oppose attempts to divide the fight for women's rights by giving in to gay-baiting. In particular, the conference voted to work to defeat the antigay initiative on the ballot in Washington state and the AIDS Internment Initiative, which the ultraright organization headed by Lyndon LaRouche is working to get on the ballot in California.

Only a small percentage of resolutions generated by the workshops made it to the floor in the time allotted for resolutions.

Among the resolutions that were not discussed by the conference plenary but are NOW policy since they were previously adopted by the NOW National Board is a campaign for the Civil Rights Restoration Act. The campaign targets the National Catholic Conference of Bishops for their attempts to block the Civil Rights Restoration Act by saddling it with an antiabortion amendment. A resolution in support of a major campaign to pass the state Equal Rights Amendment that will appear on the November ballot in Vermont is policy as well.

Pornography issue not settled

Left unresolved was one of the most hotly debated questions leading up to and at the conference: whether or not NOW should support the so-called "civil rights ordinances" to ban pornography. These ordinances would place the power of censorship in the hands of the government and would certainly be used to restrict the rights of those fighting for social change. The ordinances constitute a danger to civil liberties.

A clear rejection of this course by NOW would have been especially important in light of the report of the Justice Department commission headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, which attempts to demagogically play on the genuine revulsion of women's rights supporters and working people to the hateful antiwoman propaganda that is pornography in order to justify government censorship and make inroads on democratic rights.

No independent break

Much of the media coverage presented this conference as a major break with the Democratic and Republican parties and as a move toward an "independent women's liberation movement."

This is false. NOW remains squarely within the bourgeois electoralist framework.

What was discussed were some tactical, organizational moves proposed by NOW President Eleanor Smeal to gain more clout within this framework. This reflected the disillusionment of a section of the NOW leadership with the incapacity of the Dem-

ocratic Party to deliver on women's rights. No decisions were reached by the conference.

This perspective was clearly explained by Smeal and took a number of forms.

In outlining NOW's emphasis on referenda in the upcoming elections, she explained, "We've shown we have the mechanism to turn out 155,000 in a demonstration. Now we have to develop a 'get out the vote' mechanism independent of the Democratic or Republican parties," which, she said, can't be trusted to back women's rights.

NOW has learned from experience, Smeal said, that both Democratic and Republican candidates back off on their promises once elected. The solution she proposed was for NOW's Political Action Committee to put more money into supporting NOW members or other proven feminists as candidates of the two capitalist parties. Furthermore, NOW should not be in the pocket of any one party, but increase its clout by "working both sides of the aisle."

Finally, the idea of a feminist party was floated — a move Smeal said would "drive them [the Democrats and Republicans] crazy."

Asked her opinion of the Rainbow Coalition led by Jesse Jackson, Smeal remarked that it represented a genuine political phenomenon, and although NOW sees the Rainbow as an ally that is also looking for a way forward, it is not strong enough on women's issues.

This perspective has nothing to do with building a genuinely independent women's liberation movement. Such a movement would have to base itself squarely on an uncompromising fight for the rights of the big majority of women. This necessarily means that it would have to be overwhelmingly working class — and heavily Black and Latina — in composition, leadership, and program. Such a perspective would

Support for Hormel fighters deepens at NOW conference

BY MARY ROCHE

DENVER — Interest in and support for the struggle of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union was a prominent feature of the 20th Anniversary National Conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) here.

Two members of Local P-9, Connie Dammen and Nyla Hansen, attended the plenaries, workshops, and caucuses. Many NOW women talked to them about the issues involved in P-9's struggle.

A high point of the conference occurred at an evening concert by singer-activist Ronnie Gilbert. Gilbert, along with Pete Seeger and other members of the Weavers folksinging group, were blacklisted during the 1950s for their support to labor struggles.

After her first number, Gilbert stepped forward and pointed to a button she was wearing that read, "P-9 Proud."

"I wear this 'P-9 Proud' button because these people are showing the way — they are showing the way the labor movement should be, not the people who are lining their pockets off of the labor movement. The Hormel strikers are showing the country what unions are all about." Gilbert dedicated her next song to the members of Local P-9.

Conference participants stopped by a P-9 table staffed by supporters and purchased buttons, T-shirts, and other materials. Hundreds signed petitions of support.

Participants also picked up leaflets and information about Solidarity City activities June 22-28 in Austin, Minnesota.

The NOW National Board had passed a resolution supporting P-9 at its meeting May 3. It stated in part, "NOW recognizes the importance of solidarity with the union movement and our common struggle for social and economic justice." The resolution was printed in the *National NOW Times*.

The participants at the plenary June 15 voted to give time to the P-9 sisters to address the conference. Their remarks followed a presentation by members of the Hopi and Navajo peoples, who are fighting



Militant/Peter Verner

Defense of abortion rights was at heart of discussions at National Organization for Women conference. NOW President Eleanor Smeal addresses Denver abortion rights march.

mean a clash with the employers and the political parties that serve them.

It would mean looking to the mobilization of masses of women as part of a broader fight of the working class and the oppressed world over — not to developing a little more muscle in bourgeois electoral circles.

A broad discussion is taking place among women's rights supporters on how to resist the ever-increasing blows against women's rights. And there is a desire to *act* to defend women's rights and to link up with other fighters in the labor movement and among working farmers, with Black organizations, and with international struggles.

forced relocation from Big Mountain, Arizona.

Connie Dammen told the plenary, "Much like the Indians and the farmers, we will continue our struggle. What began as a fight for a fair, just, and equitable contract has become a struggle for survival... we will continue to fight until justice is ours." Her remarks were applauded.

A workshop was organized to get out the issues in the struggle and explain where the fight stands today. The video "We're Not Gonna Take It" was shown. Peter Winkles, P-9 business agent, joined Connie Dammen and Nyla Hansen at the program to answer questions.

Patricia Ireland and Shelley Baines, NOW National Board members, introduced the P-9 members. Ireland said the labor and feminist movements have much in common. "We face the same enemy," she said. "P-9's slogan, 'They say give back, we say fight back,'" she continued, "has touched a responsive chord."

The P-9 members participated in the march and rally for women's lives, which was organized as part of the NOW conference.

They also participated in a picket line with NOW in support of striking janitors of Service Employees International Union Local 105. These largely Hispanic and women workers are fighting the employers' attempt to break the union and hire nonunion workers.

Following a spirited march in support of the striking janitors, the pickets marched to a nearby AT&T building to support striking members of the Communications Workers of America.

Connie Dammen addressed the pickets, explaining that although the UFCW International has declared the P-9 strike over, it doesn't mean the struggle is over.

An indication of how other unionists are looking to the example of P-9 could be seen in the remarks to the conference plenary by representatives of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, who referred to the P-9 fight as an inspiration to them in their fight against TWA.

U.S. Senate committee slanders Panama

Continued from back page
out to own no ranches.

Washington's real concerns in region

Both the Mexican and the Panamanian governments have frequently taken stands on foreign policy questions that are not to Washington's liking, making them targets for attack.

Mexico and Panama, along with Colombia and Venezuela, were the initiators of the Contadora process aimed at negotiating an arms limitation agreement for Central America. The Reagan administration has been trying hard to prevent their mediation efforts from getting in the way of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary war against Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

In Panama hostility to the U.S. government has been especially strong since a 1968 coup brought Gen. Omar Torrijos to power. His government opened friendly relations with Cuba and negotiated a set of treaties with the United States that promise the return of Panamanian sovereignty over the Panama Canal on Dec. 31, 1999.

These treaties, which came after big protests against U.S. control of the canal, are immensely popular in the country and won Torrijos an anti-imperialist reputation. General Noriega served under Torrijos as head of military intelligence and now presents himself as the defender of this tradition.

Since the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties in 1978, Washington has been concerned about guaranteeing its continued access to the canal after it relinquishes direct rule.

The U.S. government also wants to be able to hold on to the several strategic military bases near the canal, where some 10,000 U.S. troops are permanently stationed. The status of these bases after 2000 may still be negotiated between the U.S. and Panamanian governments.

Some figures in Washington were very unhappy with the canal treaties and may want to prevent their implementation. Helms and Reagan were among the most vociferous opponents of their ratification.

In late May the Helms subcommittee extended its fishing expedition by sending four committee representatives to Panama City on a "fact-finding mission." There they gathered information on Panama primarily from officers of the U.S. Army's Southern Command, which directs U.S. troops there and throughout Latin America.

Panamanians protested the committee's representatives by picketing outside their hotel. The Panama City newspaper *Crítica* denounced the visit, saying its real mission was to undermine the implementation of the Panama Canal treaties and to gather information on the progress of the Contadora talks.

At a press conference in Panama City, Helms staffer David Sullivan began laying the groundwork for extending the slanders against Panama. He claimed his investigation had discovered that "nothing is done in Panama without the approval of the top command, nothing happens without it knowing." And he added that the Panamanian and Mexican governments are "very similar, almost like twins."

Sullivan's boss, Senator Helms, said in his June 22 interview that it "may be entirely necessary down the road" to reassert U.S. rule over the canal. "That depends," he threatened, "on how the present situation involving Mr. Noriega is handled." Helms did not preclude possible U.S. military intervention but said that would be for the president to decide.

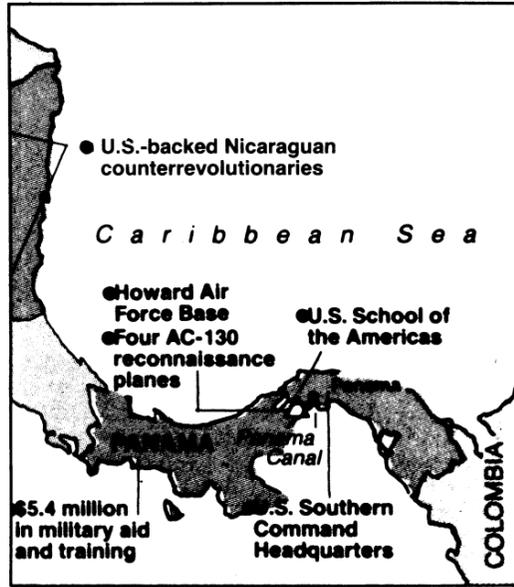
'Times' joins campaign

The *New York Times* took Helms' campaign to the public with a front-page article by Seymour Hersh in its June 12 issue. The article added charges that General Noriega laundered money coming from the drug trade and going to guerrilla groups such as M-19 in Colombia.

The alleged connection with M-19 was based on typically flimsy evidence. Unnamed "American intelligence officials," Hersh wrote, "told of viewing reconnaissance film, believed to have been taken by a high-flying U-2 [spy plane], depicting M-19 aircraft off-loading drugs at a Panamanian Air Defense Force airstrip. Arms were said to have been loaded into the craft for its return to Colombia."



Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega (left) has been targeted by U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms (right). Helms alleges Panamanian political leader traffics in drugs and supplies arms to Latin American guerrillas. Map shows U.S. bases in Panama.



Hersh stated that some in the CIA were reluctant to blow the whistle on General Noriega's alleged illegal activities because they viewed him as an "invaluable asset" for his willingness to provide information on Cuba and Nicaragua. Others, however, told him they suspected Noriega of passing some U.S. secrets on to the Cubans, as well.

The *Times* also claimed to have uncovered new evidence linking General Noriega to the assassination of a political opponent, Dr. Hugo Spadafora, last September. When then-president Nicolás Arditio Barletta called for an investigation of Spadafora's murder, Noriega forced him to resign, leaving Noriega unquestionably the most powerful man in Panamanian politics.

Some human rights groups in Panama, such as the Panama Human Rights Commission, have refused to get involved in calls for investigation of this murder. They argue that the investigation is being aided by Helms and the U.S. embassy and is therefore an affront to Panamanian sovereignty regardless of the facts of the murder.

The charge that Noriega ordered the killing is not new, however, though it had not previously received the kind of publicity in the United States that it is getting now.

Similarly, another accusation raised by Hersh in the *Times* 10 days later takes on new meaning in light of the recent slanders of Panama. On June 22 the paper revived the long-standing charge that the military, under Noriega's direction, had rigged the vote count in the May 1984 election that brought Barletta to the presidency.

Washington supports vote-stealing

At the time of that election, the Reagan administration was interested in making a transition in Panama to civilian rule. It was pressing a similar strategy in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, encouraging the military dictators there to acquire some democratic cover.

The last elected government in Panama had been deposed in 1968, and since then the military had ruled in its own name or through a string of appointed figurehead governments. Washington assumed that an elected government would provide more stability and be better equipped to head off any radical opposition to the maintenance of U.S. influence in the country and over the canal.

Washington even helped pick the candidate it felt could accomplish this and who would also be most agreeable to U.S. economic demands. The State Department, Defense Department, and White House approved and promoted the candidacy of Barletta, a former student of Secretary of State George Shultz and a vice-president of the World Bank. Many in Washington, according to the *Times*, felt that Barletta's opponent, former president Arnulfo Arias, would be too nationalist to go along with U.S. demands.

The State Department's position at the time was that there had been no irregularities in the voting or the count. But a report by an independent group that included a former U.S. ambassador to Panama and a former U.S. congressman

concluded that the election was stolen. And in July an official U.S. embassy staff report detailed many cases of fraud.

Nevertheless, Secretary of State Shultz attended Barletta's inauguration in October and declared that his election offered "Panamanians of all political persuasions a new opportunity for progress and national development."

At that time Barletta was Washington's man in Panama, and General Noriega was cooperating in the attempt to set up a civilian government (though without giving up his position as the kingmaker).

In the 11 months that Barletta was in office, however, a promised economic miracle never materialized. His attempts to impose the belt-tightening measures prescribed by Shultz and the World Bank were met with big protests and strikes in November and December 1984 and again in July 1985.

This failure, coupled with Barletta's apparent willingness to allow an investigation of the Spadafora assassination, led to General Noriega's decision to force him out of office in September 1985.

Washington signaled its displeasure with the demise of its experiment in democracy by canceling \$32 million in economic aid. Later the U.S. Congress diverted a \$12 million training grant slated for the Panamanian military and sent it to Guatemala instead.

Noriega, however, continued to cooperate with U.S. military authorities even after these punitive actions.

Panamanian and U.S. troops took part in joint maneuvers in January, and recently U.S. planes were allowed use of Panamanian airfields while repairs were being made on one of the U.S. bases in the canal zone.

Noriega and his new president, former vice-president Eric Arturo Delvalle, have also gone ahead with imposing the austerity measures Barletta attempted to implement. Despite a 10-day protest strike in March, led by the country's major union federation, the economic plan was put through the legislature.

But Helms, the *Times*, and other forces in Washington clearly want to put pressure on Noriega or even force his ouster in order to advance U.S. imperialist interests in Central America.

The *Times* editors explained in a June 24 editorial entitled "Alarm About Panama" some of their reasons for running Hersh's articles. "How can Washington promote democracy and narcotics control in Central America while it is compromised by ties to General Noriega?" they asked. "And how could it disengage from his regime without jeopardizing its own interests in Panama?" The "deeper lesson," according to the editorial, is that "entrusting vital foreign stakes to corrupt leaders may momentarily appear as clever realpolitik, but usually explodes in crisis."

Washington's needs in Panama were also well summarized by a "senior American diplomat" quoted in Hersh's June 12 article. "It's precisely because we have longterm strategic interests in Panama, with the canal, that it's important to have reliable people we can deal with," he said.

In addition to the canal itself, these longterm interests include a recently ex-

panded spying operation centered at Howard Air Force Base near Panama City. From there, the National Security Agency can monitor all of Central and South America. The base is also the departure point for spy missions against Nicaragua.

In relation to the Contadora negotiations, Washington is looking for more cooperation from all the governments of the region for its anti-Sandinista campaign. A former CIA official explained the reason for the campaign against Mexico by noting that CIA Director William Casey "felt the Mexicans were not team players on Central America."

Panamanians, both supporters and opponents of the present government, denounced these U.S. interventions into the national affairs of their country. The president of the governing Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) charged that the purpose of the first *Times* article was to disrupt the turning over of the canal.

Rolando Ordóñez, a leader of the National Council of Organized Workers (CONATO), which led the antiausterity protests in March, called the charges against Noriega "lies." "We are concerned about this at CONATO," he added, "because we already have many political problems in the country. This situation makes matters more difficult."

The Panamanian People's Party (PPP) called the charges "part of a new imperialist escalation aimed at . . . install[ing] a pro-U.S. regime that will docilely follow Reagan policies directed against Contadora to trample on the Sandinista revolution, destroy the Salvadoran people's struggle, harass Cuba, and have all the countries in the Central American region, including Mexico, come under the yoke of the State Department and the Pentagon."

British miners discuss meatpackers' strike

Continued from back page

During the strike he would often picket 18 hours a day. As he was returning home one day he saw a crowd gathering. "Vans with coppers came by escorting scabs," he said, "and some of the coppers pushed us into a garden."

"When we tried to move away, they arrested me and my three brothers [also coal miners] and charged us with 'besetting,'" an 1867 law set up with the complicity of the mine owners.

He was beaten by the cops in the van on the way to the police station and spent a total of 20 days in jail.

He explained that the Coal Board would send a representative to the strikers' court hearings who would take notes. After the strike ended, when he and his brothers reported back to work they were told by the mine manager that they were "sacked" — fired.

Today Mick is active in the struggle to win back jobs for fired miners.

Fired miners, he explained, will be setting up booths and speaking at a number of "miners' galas" in June and July. They also are going to be attending the annual union conferences of the boilermakers, printers, and communications workers.

Garment workers' convention

Delegates express growing concern over union losses

BY DONNA SHANAPHY
AND SAM MANUEL

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — Leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) presented a business-as-usual platform to the 1,000 delegates attending the union's 39th convention, held here May 30 through June 6.

ILGWU President Sol Chaikin, for example, gave an anti-imports speech that was virtually a carbon copy of the one he delivered at the union's 1983 convention. He also announced his retirement as president of the union.

Jay Mazur, ILGWU general secretary, was elected to replace Chaikin as president. Mazur is also manager of Local 23-25 in New York City, which has 23,000 members, making it the largest local in the union.

A highlight of the convention was the long discussion that took place under a proposal by union officials to raise union dues, to go into effect in 1987. Three resolutions were submitted to the convention calling for no dues increase.

A number of delegates spoke against the proposed increase, citing the hardships faced by members of the union. One delegate explained she had only worked five months in the last year. Others told of concessions in wages and benefits they had made in hopes of keeping an employer in business. Many delegates who opposed the dues increase said they supported the union, but took the opportunity under the dues discussion to explain the worsening conditions faced by members.

Following the discussion, the resolution increasing dues \$2 a month in 1987 was passed.

The resolutions committee then submitted a proposal to increase salaries for union officials. It proposed that these increases

also be frozen for one year. This resolution passed.

Membership declines

The convention took place in the face of a continuing onslaught by manufacturers against both organized and unorganized garment workers. These attacks have resulted in sharp losses in union membership.

Newly elected President Mazur told delegates, "It's a very bad time for us." He reported union membership had been cut in half since 1969 when the ILGWU had 450,000 members. Today's membership was put at 219,000 with almost a third, 75,400, in New York City.

The bulk of this membership loss occurred over the last decade while Sol Chaikin was union president, a post he held from 1975. Yet in his keynote address to the convention, Chaikin promised delegates more of the same class-collaborationist policies the union has long followed. His entire talk advocated joining up with garment bosses to lobby Congress for legislation to halt imports.

Several hours of convention time were taken up by a report from the Union Label Department. Ron Alman, director of the department, explained, "You should think of the union label as a little American flag sewn into each garment."

"Strikes may be won and lost but the union label is the heart of the union," he added.

The anti-imports and union-label campaigns — presented as one package — dominated the life of the convention. But little time was spent on what was happening to garment workers and the garment industry in the United States.

A special convention issue of *Justice*, the union's newspaper, did report on some

important changes that were occurring. It said that in California alone, apparel employment has risen by 20 percent over the last 10 years. It reported further that the garment industry, with some 104,000 workers, is the second-largest manufacturing employer in the state. But only 6,855 are members of the ILGWU.

Union organizing

An organizational report to delegates told of recently successful ILGWU garment organizing drives, one in Hartford, Connecticut, and the other in Toronto, Canada. But despite the growing number of unorganized garment workers in the United States, union officials see the anti-imports campaign as the solution, rather than greater emphasis on organizing the unorganized. They reported that because of the difficulty in organizing garment workers, the union would be looking to organize workers in other industries such as plastics.

There were several resolutions passed seeking new legislation to make homework illegal. Homework involves thousands of workers who manufacture garments in their homes at rates far below garment-shop wages.

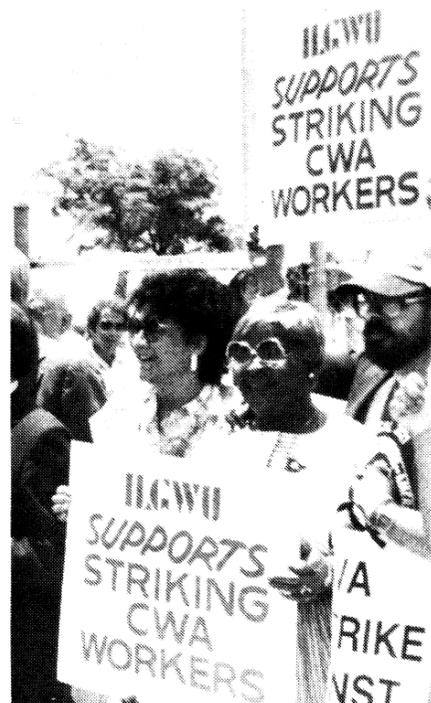
New York Local 23-25 educational director Kathy Andrade spoke from the convention floor on this issue. She said the union should explore ways to organize these workers.

The convention adopted a farm resolution calling for support to all legislation to help save the farms of working farmers. A delegate from Tennessee who was raised on a farm spoke under this resolution. She told delegates, "We should all remember where we came from."

Women's rights

A resolution reaffirming the ILGWU's support for the Equal Rights Amendment was motivated by legislative director Evelyn Dubrow. It met with enthusiastic approval. The majority of convention delegates were women, with a small percentage of Latinos, Blacks, and Asians. There were also delegates from Canada and Puerto Rico.

In her presentation, Dubrow reaffirmed the ILGWU's position defending a



Militant/Sam Manuel

Delegates to International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union convention take break to join picket line of Communications Workers on strike against AT&T.

woman's right to choose abortion. She noted the union's membership is predominantly women and said it was crucial for the ILGWU to maintain its commitment to defending women's rights in light of the escalating attacks they face. Several delegates, including some men, spoke favorably to the resolution.

Delegate Martin Burger from Local 266 in Toledo, Ohio, was one. He proudly told the convention of his local's participation in a May 10 Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, march for women's lives.

There was also a meeting at the convention for ILGWU members who belong to the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The meeting placed emphasis on getting more ILGWU members to join CLUW.

International affairs

Several resolutions on international affairs were passed. They ranged from the Middle East to Central America and South Africa. In general the resolutions reflected support for the foreign policy advanced by the U.S. government.

Continued on Page 12

South African unionist inspires ILGWU members

BY SAM MANUEL

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — Emma Mashinini received an enthusiastic response here from delegates attending the 39th convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Mashinini, herself a garment worker for 20 years, is the general secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa. She also spoke representing the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which has half a million members.

Mashinini denounced the "so-called reforms" offered by the apartheid government. She told the delegates, "We are unimpressed with the tidbits and handouts which have been given to us by the minority government in Pretoria."

She continued, "You should not be confused by the newspaper reports that there is change taking place in South Africa. Nothing has changed in South Africa." She pointed to the reform of the Mixed Marriages Act that allows interracial marriage. She explained that "while you may be able to marry across the color line, because of the Group Areas Act you cannot live together with your spouse and children. This shows how silly these reforms are."

She also pointed to codes of conduct for foreign companies such as the Sullivan principles, which supposedly mandate equal treatment and upgrading of Black workers in U.S.-owned plants. Mashinini stated, "These principles are outdated. And if anybody here should refer to them we will be disappointed. The Sullivan principles are only designed to delay the struggle for full divestment of foreign companies from the apartheid regime."

Mashinini told the delegates, "Our lives are not governed only by the conditions of the shop floor but extend to the community where we live, which is where apartheid is." She continued, "We are fighting for equal rights, equal education, freedom for political prisoners, for the right of exiles to return to their homeland, and for the unbanning of all political organizations."

She appealed to the delegates to demand



ILGWU Convention Daily

Emma Mashinini, secretary of Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in South Africa.

an end to U.S. investments in South Africa. "Foreign companies that invest in South Africa strengthen the racist government against our struggle," she told the gathering. "Some people say that divestment will hurt the Black people in my country. I say, why all of a sudden this great concern for us? Where has this concern been up to now? We insist in demanding that U.S. and other foreign companies divest now!"

Mashinini went on to explain the importance of trade unions in South Africa. She told the audience, "The trade union movement is a force to be reckoned with. At the end of last year we came together to form a new, nonracial trade union federation known as the Congress of South African Trade Unions." Underlining her point, Mashinini told the delegates, "Unions are the only means whereby workers or anyone who is an oppressed Black South African can make their feelings heard today."

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM': Remember Soweto!

The commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising was marked by the "greatest national strike in the history of South Africa," said Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress.

Millions of people made history defying the most sweeping repressive operation ever carried out by the white minority regime. At least 55 people were reported killed in the first days of the state of emergency, and estimates of those arrested by the armed forces and the police go into the thousands.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* has coverage on the general strike, describing its breadth and explaining the forces behind this blow to the apartheid regime.

In addition, the new issue contains on-the-spot reports of the historic, 100,000-strong march in New York against apartheid and for breaking all U.S. ties with Pretoria.

The June 14 march, the largest of its kind in the United States, brought together students and working people of all nationalities and from across the country.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed

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Black papers welcome new book by Mandela

BY RASHAAD ALI

The recent U.S. publication of *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela has been met with great enthusiasm in several Black newspapers.

The new Pathfinder Press book by the imprisoned leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement brings together his writings and speeches spanning more than 40 years of activity in the African National Congress, the organization leading the democratic struggle to bring down the apartheid system in South Africa.

To date, four New York City Black newspapers have written articles and/or taken excerpts from the book, as well as one weekly in New Jersey and one in North Carolina.

We reported in last week's *Militant* that the June 11 issue of the New York weekly, the *City Sun*, devoted eight pages to a feature taken from the new book. It was on the

trial of Nelson Mandela, which became known as the Rivonia Trial. The *City Sun* reprints his opening statement in the defense case.

The *Big Red News*, published in Brooklyn, ran a front-page photo of Nelson Mandela with a banner headline "The Struggle Is My Life." It also ran in full Mandela's response to South African President Pieter Botha's offer to free him if he "unconditionally rejected violence as a political weapon."

"In Nelson Mandela's Words," the headline reads in the June 13 issue of the *Daily Challenge*, also published in New York. The *Challenge* reprinted a page of excerpts from the new book.

"The peoples of resurgent Africa are perfectly capable of deciding upon their own future form of government. . . . They do not require any schooling from the USA, which — to judge from such events as the Little Rock outrage — should learn to put its own house in order before trying to

teach everyone else," said Mandela in 1958. This is one of the 15 excerpts the *Challenge* reprinted from the Pathfinder book.

The *Challenge* also wrote another article on the book two days later.

The back page of the New Jersey *Afro-American* on June 14 carried two-thirds of a page of selections from the new book.

Excerpts were taken from the chapters on the treason trials of 1956-60, armed struggle, Mandela's call after the Soweto uprising of 1976, his rejection of Botha's offer, and on the Freedom Charter.

The *Carolina Peacemaker* published in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the New York *Amsterdam News* both wrote news stories announcing the publication of *The Struggle Is My Life*.

Each of the six newspapers used one or more of the 24 pages of photographs in the book, including ones of Winnie Mandela, Nelson Mandela, and anti-apartheid protest activities in South Africa.



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"The struggle is my life," wrote Nelson Mandela in a letter from the underground in June 1961. "I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

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Ky. socialist asks opponents to debate

BY PHIL NORRIS

LOUISVILLE — Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Kentucky's 3rd District, has challenged her opponents from the two parties of the ruling rich to a debate.

Her letter challenging incumbent Democrat Romano Mazzoli, coauthor of the racist anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, and Republican Lee Holmes says, "I support a woman's right to choose abortion; I oppose the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua; I call for an immediate moratorium on all farm foreclosures. I have a program that puts forward solutions to the problems working people face. The voters have a right to know your views on these and all other issues."

DeBates launched her campaign in early May with a press conference and rally. Earlier this year, her supporters completed a successful petitioning campaign, collecting more than a thousand signatures. This is well over the 400 required, assuring that DeBates will be on this November's ballot as the Socialist Workers candidate.

The press conference launching her campaign was covered by local television stations, radio, and press. DeBates is a 26-year-old garment worker and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Louisville. She was raised on a family farm and has firsthand knowledge of the crisis facing working farmers. Earlier this year, she attended a solidarity rally in Austin, Minnesota, for the striking meatpackers of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9.

DeBates is active in the pro-abortion-rights movement in Louisville, having par-

ticipated in several abortion clinic defense efforts. She is also an active opponent of the U.S. war in Central America. She is the chairperson of the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance.

Many of DeBates' coworkers responded to the campaign, having seen her on television or read the article in the city newspaper. "Good luck" was the message from many coworkers, who were excited about talking politics with the candidate.

One coworker was excited about a worker running for office. "Mazzoli doesn't know what it's like to work day after day

and still be poor. We need someone who works, not these rich folks. I hope you win," she said. Many coworkers expressed the same attitude, and several wanted to get more information on the campaign.

The kick-off rally several days later was attended by area machinists, chemical workers, and two of DeBates' coworkers, one of whom later joined the Young Socialist Alliance. One farm family also drove several hours to attend the event. Almost \$250 was raised in contributions and pledges to help cover the campaign's expenses.

House vote escalates 'contra' war

Continued from front page

sertion that thousands of Nicaraguans were anxious to join the CIA-organized contra army and were only waiting for the outcome of the House vote to do so.

But the portion of the speech in which he referred to Augusto Sandino really takes the cake.

"The commandantes even betrayed the memory of the Nicaraguan rebel leader Sandino, whose legacy they falsely claim. For the real Sandino — because he was a genuine nationalist — was opposed to communism," Reagan said.

The "real Sandino" is the national hero of Nicaragua today because of the heroic struggle his army waged between 1927 and 1933 against the U.S. Marines, who were occupying the country. He was murdered in 1934 by the U.S.-handpicked dictator Anastasio Somoza, father of the tyrant overthrown by the Nicaraguan people in 1979.

The contra army is led by ex-members of Somoza's National Guard, who are despised by the Nicaraguan people.

A similar contra funding bill was defeated in the House earlier this year. Before bringing the measure back for another vote, Reagan tried to pretty up the image of the contra leadership, saying that "as a condition of our aid, I will insist on civilian control over all military forces; that no human rights abuses be tolerated."

A combination of red-baiting charges about Soviet expansionism coupled with assurances about civilian control over the mercenaries and promises about increased congressional scrutiny over the operation was good enough to pull a number of congressional votes Reagan's way.

The liberal editors of the *New York Times* jumped on board endorsing Reagan's bill for the first time.

Increased funding for the contras is necessary to reinforce imperialism's bleeding operation against the Nicaraguan people.

Washington's goal is to apply enough pressure to create and deepen divisions among Nicaragua's working people with the aim of undermining and weakening the people's support for the Sandinista government. The hope is that this will lead to an opening to overthrow the government.

Carlos Tunnermann, Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S., said after the vote, however, "The contras can win their battles in Washington, but they are being defeated by the people of Nicaragua."

Since the beginning of the year, Sandinista troops have been involved in hundreds of engagements with the contras, dealing them severe blows.

More and more, the contras rely on direct terrorist acts.

The Nicaraguan government reports that the contra land mines have killed 35 civilians in northern Nicaragua this spring. A total of 750 people have been kidnapped by Reagan's "freedom fighters" in the first six months of this year. Three hundred have been assassinated outright.

Schools, hospitals, and clinics are special targets for contra attacks.

One of the West German medical students kidnapped by the contras and only released after an international outcry explained to a Washington news conference June 24: "We went to Jacinto Baca to build houses to support the local farming cooperative, but the contras came to destroy."

Hatred of the Nicaraguan revolution on Wall Street, at the Pentagon, and in the White House stems from the fact that the workers and farmers in that country overturned capitalist rule in 1979 and are running the country in their own interests.

It is this powerful example the Nicaraguan people are setting for workers and farmers around the world that Washington considers a threat to its "national security."

Nicaraguan working people are simply fighting for the right of their government to coexist in the world with countries whose governments oppose its policies.

This basic right to exist as a sovereign country free of U.S. domination is what the U.S. rulers refuse to accept.

A Washington Post-ABC News poll released the day of the vote said 62 percent of people in the United States oppose the contra war.

Bringing the full weight of that majority into the streets in loud, visible public protest is the task that confronts all those who want to stem Washington's aggression.

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Boston nurses gain new contract

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Striking nurses at Carney Hospital here voted June 10 to end their walkout against the hospital. They approved a three-year contract they and their leaders consider a big advance toward the stated goals of what was the first work stoppage in the hospital's 123-year history.

With a six-month period of retroactive benefits, negotiating committee vice-president Nancy Flynn told the *Militant*, the Carney nurses will reach virtual wage parity with area nurses by November of next year. Salary increases amount to 17.5 percent over the next 16 months.

Opposition to carrying out non-nursing duties also fueled the strike by these 450 health-care professionals. This issue was addressed, Flynn said, by the creation of a labor-management committee on efficiency and productivity, which will earmark funds to relieve nurses of such duties in the future.

"More than the money, we wanted respect," Catherine McMann, a nurse for 19 years at the hospital, explained. "And this contract gave us exactly what we wanted."

The nurses, Flynn said, saw that the hospital was "out to break our union." The Carney unit of the Massachusetts Nurses

Association (MNA) had been previously forced to take major concessions.

As well, 1,500 Carney hospital workers are unorganized.

Thus, the hierarchy of the Sisters of Charity, the Catholic order that runs the hospital, and local administrators decided the time was right to go after the 12-year-old MNA union.

They were proven wrong.

"Nurses are supposed to give, give, and give more, give when we are too tired to give," Flynn said, explaining how management sought to use the traditional stereotype of the profession to wear down the nurses' militancy.

Marches and rallies attracted scores of area unions, Flynn said, and letters came in "from nurses coast to coast backing us." A free headquarters was provided by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Union ranks held firm, with only a handful going back to work, while scab-hiring efforts attracted even fewer willing to cross the picket lines.

Nurses now go back to work, said Flynn, with a new sense of "pride and confidence," a belief that "I'm worth what I'm doing."

He does get enthusiastic — The Pentagon agreed to cooperate in the filming of Clint Eastwood's new flick about a marine sergeant



Harry Ring

after he agreed to revise the script. The brass said the original had "excessive brutality" toward trainees and therefore allegedly "does not reflect the training environment dictated by Department

policy."

Sounds reasonable to us — The Senate subcommittee on investigation, which has long made a specialty of probing labor "racketeering," is under investigation for misuse of congressional funds. "Discrepancies" in travel funds and other expenses are being looked at. "Let's face it," said the committee's staff director. "It's embarrassing."

Sort of a clique — Probers are looking at a Boston-area police ring which regularly stole civil service exams. The alleged ringleader, an ex-captain, is currently doing time for a bank robbery. Also reported involved are an ex-lieutenant and an ex-

sergeant. The lieutenant is doing time for trying to murder the sergeant. (They were dealing dope together.) Both were assertedly involved with the cap'n in the bank heist.

Our representatives — At least a third of the members of the Senate — 30 minimum — are millionaires. The overwhelming majority are deemed "considerably affluent," while a handful enjoy "only modest wealth." None, we presume, are poor.

Senator silvertongue — Members of the Senate collected \$2.375 million in speaking honoraria last year. Top donors included trade associations and corporations, with such worthies as

the Tobacco Institute, Outdoor Advertising, and the American Pork Congress leading the field.

What it takes — Combat, American Cyanamide's top-selling roach killer, is being saluted as an example of capitalist know-how, which, in a way, it is. The stuff was originally developed as a cure for malaria, which it wasn't. But one night a researcher left a beaker in the lab overnight and the next morning, presto, workers found dead roaches.

Democratic — James Galanos has introduced his new line of furs, and there's something for everyone. Beginning with beaver coats for \$15,000 and going to Russian lynx, \$300,000.

Just old-fashioned free enterprise — Sheridan Park, a privately owned upstate New York hospital, offered doctors cash bonuses, free dinners, and rounds of golf for bringing in patients. Nitpicking state officials say this was unethical and spoke of action against the doctors who accepted the kickbacks.

Image and reality — Stylist Liz Claiborne is introducing a new fragrance for Avon. "I just wanted something that I think reflects what we're all about," she said. "It should be casual, exciting, and action-oriented." More soberly, Avon exec James Preston commented: "You've got to expand the market to keep the business going."

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Pornography and Violence Against Women. Class and discussion. Speaker: Sue Adley, member Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 28, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The AIDS Hysteria and the Attack on Gay Rights in the '80s. Speakers: representatives of Michigan Organization for Human Rights; National Organization for Women, Detroit chapter; and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to

Spanish. Sat., June 28, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Victims of FBI Frame-up: Why Puerto Rican Independence Fighters Are In Jail. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 11, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Farming in Revolutionary Nicaragua. Report from participants in recent National Union of Farmers and Ranchers conference in Nicaragua. Speakers: Ben Layman, Virginia dairy farmer; Kathie Fitzgerald, member United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party, active in Missouri farm protests. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Evolution vs. Creationism. In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Robert Connolly, member United Auto Workers Local 647. Sun., June 29, 7 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Stop Racist Attacks! Why They Are on the Rise in Cleveland and How We Can Stop Them. Speakers: Paul Hill, executive director of East End Neighborhood House; Pete Costen, member Eire Movement; Kate Button, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 715. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Socialist Workers Campaign Weekend. Rally: "From South Africa to Nicaragua to Austin, Minnesota — Stop the War at Home and Abroad." Speakers: Mike Carper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Godfrey Sithole, African National Congress of South Africa; Mark Weddleton, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th C.D.; representative of ISTMO, a group of Nicaraguans in the United States who support Sandinista revolution; Roy

Inglee, antiwar activist; Zoe Strauss, high school student supporter of SWP campaign. Sat., June 28, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

March and Rally for Indian Rights. Support Native American treaty rights and protest the Big Mountain relocation of Navajos. Repeal PL 93-531 that divides Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area. Assemble noon, Sun., July 6 at Washington Monument. March to Capitol Building. Ausp: Big Mountain Support Group-D.C. For more information call (202) 234-4938.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Launch New York Socialist Campaign. Chairperson: Mel Mason, 1984 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate. Speakers: Theresa Delgadillo, SWP candidate for governor of New York; Mike Shur, candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 28. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 925-1668.

Garment workers union convention

Continued from Page 10

The resolution on the Middle East, for example, attacked the Palestine Liberation Organization and accused Arab governments of being "the chief obstacle to peace in the Middle East." It also called for U.S. assurances of "safe and defensible borders for Israel."

A resolution on Haiti said, "It is the duty of the U.S. and its labor organizations to neutralize the growing influence of the Haitian Communist Party, which is ready to turn Haiti into a new Cuba."

It resolved to call on the U.S. government to "extend economic aid to Haiti while working with the current Junta to establish democracy."

A high point of the convention was the appearance of Emma Mashinini, secretary general of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in South Africa. (See story on page 10.) She received a standing ovation from the delegates.

Nine anti-apartheid resolutions were passed by the convention. They ranged from support to Black trade unions to calling for the union to divest from companies doing business in South Africa.

Many delegates took the floor in this discussion. Tony Rosario from Local 102 in New York City said, "I am sure we were all moved by the presentation by Sister Mashinini. When we get back home we must communicate this to our brothers and sis-

ters so that we can all be part of this struggle."

Liz Kelly, a Black delegate from Marion, Alabama, captured the feeling of many when she said, "I am proud of the stance being taken by the ILGWU. This is similar to the situation we faced in Marion. In 1965 we had apartheid. The Blacks had no right to vote, or any right. The ILGWU was in Marion with Martin Luther King, Jr. It's only right that we should fight apartheid."

One of the anti-apartheid resolutions called for support to a boycott of South African goods and refusal to handle them. It also called for support to the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

While the convention voted to support the boycott of South African goods, the resolutions committee proposal to support the ANC, UDF, and COSATU was referred to the General Executive Board of the union.

During the convention 30 ILGWU delegates marched for an hour on a picket line set up by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) who had just begun their strike against AT&T. This action followed the adoption of a resolution supporting the CWA strike.

Donna Shanaphy is a member of ILGWU Local 23-25 in New York City.

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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.

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Bingham trial exposes murder of Geo. Jackson

BY JOE DIDOS

SAN RAFAEL, Calif. — Declaring "the evidence proves conclusively that he is innocent," Steven Bingham's chief defense attorney shredded the charge that Bingham smuggled in a gun, two clips of ammunition, and a wig during a visit to George Jackson at San Quentin prison on Aug. 21, 1971. Jackson, a widely known Black prisoner who wrote *Soledad Brother*, was killed in a shootout that day that left two other prisoners and three guards dead. Bingham is charged with two counts of murder and one of conspiracy.

Summarizing the defense case to the jury June 17, the attorney, Gerald Schwartzbach, said George Jackson "wasn't just an inmate in San Quentin. Who he was and what he represented is a very important part of this case."

The official story has Jackson hiding the gun and ammunition under the wig. Upon discovery by a guard, he is supposed to have whipped out the pistol, loaded it, forced the guards to free other prisoners, and begun a desperate escape attempt. He was allegedly killed by a shot from a guard's rifle.

Bingham's defense has shown that Jackson was probably murdered in cold blood by prison authorities under cover of the escape attempt.

Medical evidence at Bingham's trial revealed that the fatal shot was not fired from a rifle, but was probably fired from a handgun at close range while Jackson lay on the ground.

Following Jackson's death, authorities undertook a massive effort to hide the truth. One illustration of this is what Bingham attorney Susan Rutberg described as "zero official interest" in Jackson confidant James Carr. Carr, the cops claim, while on parole in 1970-71 was involved not only in plotting Jackson's escape, but also in bomb-making and murder. Yet he was

never arrested.

Bingham's defense has shown it was very likely that Carr was a police informer. If so, the cops knew about Jackson's escape plans, and their failure to take any special measures to prevent the escape means they were looking for an excuse to kill Jackson.

Bingham, then 29, was an attorney who specialized in civil rights, tenant rights, and prisoner cases. He was described as a "radical lawyer" by one prison official, a type much hated by authorities in that era. He would have been a perfect scapegoat.

Immediately following the shootings, Bingham was tried and convicted in the media. Fearing for his life, he fled the country and only returned in 1984, declaring then that he felt he could finally receive a fair trial.

The prosecution's case is admittedly circumstantial and asks the jury to accept a number of unlikely propositions. Perhaps

the most unlikely one is that Jackson, who had spent 11 years in prison and was finally confined in San Quentin's maximum security area, would have believed he could successfully smuggle in a gun this way.

There was only a 20-minute period in the visit with Bingham during which Jackson could have put on the wig and stashed the gun. During this time he could have been seen by a guard or inmate at any moment. At least 18 prisoners and 2 guards passed the visiting room during that time.

In addition, there is good reason to doubt there even was a wig.

The wig the cops claim Jackson wore was not found during an intensive search the day after the shootout. It was only turned in on the 23rd, allegedly found jammed in the pipes of a cell toilet. But that toilet had already been thoroughly searched and flushed.

The guards have had trouble getting their story straight. One guard said he didn't re-

member seeing a wig, while another said it fell off Jackson's head. One guard said right after the shooting that Jackson had already stripped for the search before he pulled out the gun, but four years later changed his mind and said Jackson was fully dressed.

Similar difficulties surround the prosecution's case with respect to the briefcase and tape recorder Bingham is supposed to have used for the smuggling.

The inconsistencies in official testimony may be explained by a 1975 conference between 20 to 30 San Quentin guards and the Marin County district attorney's office, in which the guards' testimony was discussed prior to a trial of inmates accused in the 1971 shootout (the "San Quentin Six"). "But of course this was not intended to influence anyone's memory," Schwartzbach assured the jury ironically.

The Bingham case went to the jury June 20.

South Africa: groups fight crackdown

Continued from front page

were discussing ways of stepping up pressure on the employers and the apartheid regime to end the emergency and release jailed unionists.

July 1 is also the target date for reaching agreements in negotiations covering 1 million Black workers in the mining and metal industries. Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, is also being sought by the cops.

The United Democratic Front, the anti-apartheid coalition of 600 groups with some 2 million members, is also continuing to function.

In the Eastern Cape Province, where the cops have imposed a 9:00 p.m. curfew and barred possession of T-shirts or any other article bearing the name of any of the 47 anti-apartheid organizations, leaders of the front came out of hiding to hold a prohibited news conference June 13.

Henry Fazzie, Stone Sizani, and Mkhusele Jack called for a boycott on the payment of rents for land used for housing. Under South African law, Blacks living in "white" South Africa rent housing from the apartheid regime's local administrations.

They also affirmed that a boycott of white-owned shops in the Eastern Cape would continue.

In many parts of the country, reported the June 19 *Washington Post*, "street committee meetings have been held almost nightly since the emergency was imposed and UDF leaders have been in attendance."

The *Post* reported: "The street committees have become the base of a large pyramid of interlocking yet self-contained cells. Each committee provides a member to an area committee, which in turn feeds the front's regional executive. Information spreads rapidly, yet few members know the identities of anyone outside their own committee."

The *Wall Street Journal* reported June 20 from a township near Port Elizabeth that "street and area committees, created in the past year, now handle much of what was once the province of government bodies. The committees provide a level of grass-



Congregation of Blacks and whites in South Africa commemorate 10th anniversary of 1976 anti-apartheid uprising by Black youths in Soweto. Current upsurge has not been turned back by declaration of state of emergency.

roots organization that didn't exist before. They make township residents more politically aware, and they make the rebellion harder to stamp out."

In the effort to crack this resistance, the apartheid regime is using emergency regulations and news censorship to cover up stepped-up killings. On June 16, for instance, troops attacked a youth center in Zwid township near Port Elizabeth. When a group of about 50 children threw stones at the armored cars, the troops inside opened fire. Seven or eight were reported dead, according to the British daily *Guardian*.

On June 21 the *Guardian* further reported that South African security forces had killed several children, most of them infants, in tear gas attacks during raids in KwaThema township near Johannesburg.

The official figures for the numbers of people killed show a higher daily rate than before the emergency — and these figures are understated.

The regime's stepped-up repression has inspired incidents of armed resistance. Andrew Molope, a top cop in the supposedly independent bantustan of Bophuthatswana, was shot to death June 22.

On March 26, Molope gave the order to fire on more than 10,000 Blacks who had gathered to demand the release of jailed children. At least 11 people were killed. Molope, conceded the June 23 *Washington Post*, "was a hated figure" in the Winterfeld squatter camp in Bophuthatswana where he was killed. The *Post* described his killing as "the first time in recent history there has been a reprisal assassination of a senior official."

Demand for economic sanctions

The determination of the South African masses to continue the struggle is inspiring a growing international demand for economic sanctions on the apartheid regime.

This pressure was reflected in the June 22 editorial in the *New York Times* — which had previously criticized demands for sanctions — calling on the U.S. government to impose economic sanctions being called for by the Commonwealth group of nations.

On June 18 the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a proposal by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D.-Calif.) requiring total disin-

vestment from South Africa within 180 days of enactment and imposing an embargo on most trade with South Africa.

A 100-nation conference on South Africa sponsored by the United Nations also called for sanctions. The meeting was boycotted by the U.S., British, and West German governments.

And a wide range of South African anti-apartheid forces have reiterated their call for sanctions in defiance of laws that bar such advocacy.

'Just wars and just violence'

On June 22 in New York City, Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, South Africa, called for sanctions. He said that the church in South Africa might have to accept the necessity of armed struggle to defeat apartheid. "There is a long history in Christian tradition of just wars and just violence," he said.

Anti-apartheid leader Desmond Tutu declared June 18 that President Reagan's opposition to sanctions made him "an accomplice after the fact" in the crime of apartheid.

On June 23 Winnie Mandela called the state of emergency "a declaration of war." She denounced the claim by Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that their opposition to sanctions is motivated by concern for Blacks' well-being.

"Whether Margaret Thatcher and Reagan continue supporting Pretoria to this day, we shall win in the end. We shall liberate our country."

Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), called on the union movement around the world to block international trade with South Africa. This, he said, would be "workers' own contribution to as peaceful a resolution of the South African problem as possible."

Events since the state of emergency have reinforced the standing of the African National Congress as the leader of the liberation struggle. On June 23 a representative of the British government met with Tambo in a reversal of previous British government policy.

But Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, said June 16 that U.S. State Department officials had refused to meet with him.



Stephen Bingham (front left) with his attorney Gerald Schwartzbach and (in rear) two other members of defense team.

Solidarity City backs P-9

Continued from Page 4

ington's war against Korea told me the government's doing the same thing here in the United States it did in Korea, defending rich people.

Another P-9 member, who's a Vietnam veteran, explained, "It's one war to another," Vietnam to Nicaragua. The government hates Nicaragua for the same reason it hates P-9: "They can't control us."

The wife of a P-9 member told me that she used to be quite prejudiced against Blacks and Hispanics. That changed through this struggle. There is one new prejudice she has developed, however: "Three-piece suits. I hate them."

At the Monday night meeting at Solidarity City, two farmers spoke.

One was Chris Heaton. He's a Minnesota farmer whose wife is a member of

the UFCW. The other was Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance. He called P-9's struggle a "gallant fight." He talked about the plight of working farmers and linked it to the fight against apartheid, for the rights of women and Blacks, and labor struggles.

The farm activist pointed to the kinds of catastrophes this system is subjecting working people to. He pointed to the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl and the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons. The space shuttle Challenger, on the trip after the one that exploded, was supposed to have 47 pounds of plutonium on board, he reported. We all gasped. Only one pound of this deadly material, scientists estimate, could destroy all life on earth.

"It is up to us," he said, to rise up and "reclaim the universe, the world, and the country."

Not a penny to Afghan rightists!

President Reagan's June 16 meeting with four leaders of ultrarightist forces in Afghanistan marks a further escalation of U.S. aggression in that part of the world.

According to U.S. officials, Washington provides about \$500 million annually to the ultrarightists, who are fighting Soviet and Afghan forces in an effort to topple the government of Afghanistan.

Since Moscow sent tens of thousands of troops to Afghanistan in 1979, Washington has seized on this as a pretext for the U.S. aggression that had already begun and to make propaganda for U.S.-supported terrorists attacking Nicaragua, Angola, and Kampuchea (Cambodia).

Following the meeting, there were indications that still more U.S. arms would go to the reactionaries. According to White House media spokesman Larry Speakes, they asked for "effective weapons for air and ground defense."

The ultrarightist Afghan leaders also wanted the U.S. government to break diplomatic relations with Afghanistan and recognize a provisional government that they may set up. Reagan said the proposed actions were "premature."

One purpose of Reagan's meeting with the rightists was to undermine the possibility that talks sponsored by the United Nations will lead to a peace settlement. Reagan told them he favored their demand for direct talks between the Soviet government and the rightists — indicating opposition to the talks between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan that the United Nations has been sponsoring.

The Pakistani government of military dictator Zia ul-Haq faces growing popular demands for democracy and fears sharper conflict with the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. It is looking for a way to limit or reduce its involvement in the conflict. Some 3 million Afghan refugees are in Pakistan, where the rightists have a base of operation.

But Reagan insisted that the U.S. government would endorse no settlement that was unacceptable to the Afghan reactionaries.

The Afghan rightists have strong bipartisan support in Congress. Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.), Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), and Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Tex.) were among those supporting their demand for official recognition.

According to the *New York Times*, one government official suggested that the rightists don't yet control enough Afghan territory to make official recognition credible. The official, according to the *Times* summary, indicated concern that the reactionaries might "appear to be a U.S. proxy."

The rightist leaders claim to be leading a nationalist resistance movement and to be fighting for the Islamic religion, but this is demagoguery.

In fact they represent the interests of landlords, usurers, merchants, and other exploiters who violently oppose any moves that would undermine their domination over the peasant masses — including agrarian reform, literacy campaigns, expanded medical care, and restrictions on the sale of women as brides.

A major source of financing for the reactionaries is the international heroin trade. The State Department told Congress in February that the poppy fields of the rightist Afghan landlords are "the world's leading source of illicit heroin exports to the United States and Europe."

"We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war against the Russian nonbelievers," rightist leader Mohammed Rasul told the *New York Times*.

While the administration spewed out hypocritical charges of dope-dealing against Mexican and Panamanian officials, Reagan met in the White House with big-time Afghan heroin merchants and promised them more money and guns.

Working people should call on the U.S. government to take its dirty hands off Afghanistan. Not one penny for the proimperialist bands!

James P. Cannon on Karl Marx and the 4th of July

The article by James P. Cannon excerpted below first appeared in the July 16, 1951, edition of the *Militant* under the title "From Karl Marx to the Fourth of July."

Cannon was a principal founder of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and served as the party's national secretary until 1953.

The article is taken from the book *Notebook of an Agitator*. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 or from one of the bookstores listed in the directory on page 12. To order by mail, please send \$8.95 plus 75 cents shipping and handling.

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I'm a Fourth of July man from away back, and a great believer in fire crackers, picnics, and brass bands to go with it. You can stop me any time and get me to listen to the glorious story of the greatness of our country and how and when it all got started.

The representatives in Congress assembled 175 years ago were the great initiators. But nobody can sell me the Fourth of July speeches which represent the start as the

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finish and the promise as the fulfillment. I quit believing in them a long time ago. As soon as I grew old enough to look around and see what was going on in this country — all the inequality and injustice still remaining — the beneficiaries of privilege, claiming the heritage of our first revolution, struck me as imposters. I recognized the standard Fourth of July orators as phonies, as desecrators of a noble dream. They didn't look to me like the Liberty Boys of '76.

But that never turned me against the Fourth of July, as was the case with so many American radicals and revolutionists in the past. I thought the Fourth of July belonged to the people. It is wrong to confuse internationalism with anti-Americanism; to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of our country to the reactionaries; to let the modern workers' revolutionary movement, the legitimate heir of the men of 1776, appear as something foreign to our country.

We are internationalists, and we know very well that our fate is bound up with that of the rest of the world. The revolution which will transform society and bring in the socialist order is a world-wide affair, a task requiring international cooperation to which we contribute only a part. But our part in this international cooperation is the revolution here at home. We must attend to that, study it and know it. And we can't do that properly unless we know our country and its history and traditions. They are, for the greater part, good. The country itself is good, and so are the great majority of people in it. Their achievements are many and great. There is nothing really wrong with the USA except that the wrong people have usurped control of it and are running it into the ditch.

The cure for that is not to throw away the country and its traditions, but to get rid of the usurpers by the process popularized by our forefathers under the name of revolution. This new revolution will have to complete the work started by the men of 1776. They secured the nation's independence. The Second American Revolution of the Sixties, known as the Civil War, smashed the system of chattel slavery, unified the country and opened the way for its unobstructed industrial development. The task of the Third American Revolution is to take this great industrial machine out of the hands of a parasitical clique who operate it for their own benefit, and operate it for the benefit of all.

That's the general idea. But it is not quite as simple as it sounds. There are complications and complexities. The workers have to make their way through a jungle of traps and deceptions. They need a map and a compass. They need a generalization of the experiences of the past and a theoretical guiding line for the future. That's what Marxism is. The American workers will come to Marx, and with him they will be invincible. "Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers," said Trotsky. We have the same opinion, and we are working to realize it.

Karl Marx, the German Jew, who lived and worked out his profound theory in England, is native to all countries. The supreme analyst of capitalism is most of all at home in the United States where the development of capitalism has reached its apogee. Marx will help the American workers to know their country, and to change it and make it really their own.

Sexual harassment is illegal

The Supreme Court ruled June 19 that sexual harassment by employers against workers on the job is illegal.

This is a big victory for working people, especially women workers.

This was the court's first ruling on the issue. It declared that sexual harassment, even if it doesn't affect job status, violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits sex discrimination by employers.

Up until now, women workers had to prove not only that they had been sexually harassed, but that it had resulted in their being fired, or in the loss of a raise, promotion, training, or other advancement. Otherwise, the harassment wasn't considered a violation of federal law.

This hasn't been so easy to prove in most cases.

But with this decision, sexual harassment by employers — any unwanted sexual advances, proposition, demand, or attention — is by definition sex discrimination and a violation of Title VII.

The court said women workers can now sue their bosses for sex discrimination on the grounds that sexual harassment by supervisors creates a "hostile job environment."

That's putting it mildly.

Every recent survey of working women shows that the big majority have been subjected to sexual harassment on the job in some form.

The harassment ranges from being the object of lewd "jokes" to the extreme of rape and other violent abuse. In a 1981 survey, one in every 100 federal employees reported having faced actual or attempted rape or assault on

the job.

Sexual harassment is often used by management to drive women out of high-paying jobs. It is always meant to sap the confidence and combativity of women workers, beat them down, rob them of their dignity, and attempt to force them to pay an outrageous price for the jobs they need to support themselves and their children.

Every major meeting of women unionists in recent years has targeted sexual harassment as one of the big problems facing working women. This has led to a broader discussion in the labor movement as a whole.

All the major unions have taken strong positions on the need to fight sexual harassment. This includes opposing sexual harassment of women workers by coworkers, as well as by bosses. This position is supported by the overwhelming majority of both male and female workers as a basic question of union solidarity, dignity, and equality.

But there are two serious drawbacks to the Supreme Court ruling. In deciding this case, the court held that testimony concerning the worker's behavior — that she "dressed provocatively and talked about sexual fantasies" — could not be absolutely barred. This opens the door to the age-old slander that the woman was really "asking for it" even though she refused the sexual attention. The second drawback is that the company is no longer automatically held responsible for the actions of its supervisory personnel.

On balance, however, the Supreme Court ruling puts working women and the union movement in a much better position to fight sexual harassment and to win dignity and equality on the job for women workers.

AIDS scare vs. civil rights

On June 22 the Justice Department gave a green light to employers and others to use irrational fears about AIDS as a pretext for intensified discrimination against gays and for stepped-up intimidation of all workers.

According to the ruling, employers and public health officials who claim to fear the spread of AIDS may discriminate against victims of the disease or those whose blood tests indicate the presence of the AIDS virus.

By implication, the ruling would also support discrimination by hospitals, landlords, school boards, and others against AIDS victims or the more than 1 million people thought to carry the virus.

Scientists have established that AIDS is communicated by direct sexual contact or the injection of blood bearing the AIDS virus. It is not "catching" from other contacts.

Despite the fact that there is no evidence that AIDS can be spread through casual contact, the Justice Department holds that workers fired on the basis of this irrational fear

have no recourse.

The Justice Department denounced a September 1985 federal court decision that held that laws protecting the civil rights of the handicapped covered victims of AIDS.

The Reagan administration's escalation of the attack on gay rights is also a reaction to the failure of scare propaganda around AIDS to block the recent passage of a gay rights bill in New York City.

The Justice Department ruling seeks to spur reactionary and antisocial hysteria around AIDS. The targets will be all gay people, and others, such as Haitians, who are members of groups designated as higher-risk.

The ruling hands employers another means of intimidating, dividing, and attacking the democratic rights of workers. The pressures on workers to take blood tests, with their jobs hanging in the balance, will be intensified.

This attempt to legalize discrimination against AIDS victims, gays, and others threatens the rights of all.

How Cuba won the great battle against illiteracy

Making a New People: Education in Revolutionary Cuba by Theodore MacDonald. New Star Books, \$9.95 paper.

BY DON DAVIS

In September 1960, less than two years after the triumph of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro stood before the United Nations General Assembly and made the following bold declaration:

"During the next year our people intend to fight the great battle of illiteracy, with the ambitious goal of teaching every single inhabitant of the country to read and write. . . .

"Cuba will be the first country of America which, after

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a few months, will be able to say it does not have one person who remains illiterate."

Thus began the remarkable process of transforming Cuba's distorted and inadequate educational system into a model for the entire world.

The story of how that happened, and what Cuban education looks like today, is told in *Making a New People: Education in Revolutionary Cuba* by Theodore MacDonald.

MacDonald, a professor of education at the University of Newcastle in Australia, begins by describing education before the revolution and then traces the different stages of educational reform since 1959.

How far Cuba has come can be seen in the different tasks posed in the revolution's early days compared with those of today.

Immediately after the revolution the problem was to teach more than a million illiterates to read and then to provide the teachers, classrooms, and books for a greatly expanded number of people — adults as well as children — who wanted to learn and were being encouraged to do so.

Today educational controversies involve such things as a "new math" curriculum that parents complain about because they don't understand it.

Cuba's strides forward can easily be measured in statistics. Here are a few:

- Illiteracy went from 24 percent before the revolution to 2 percent today. (It is 12 percent in the United States.)

- Before the revolution, half of all children aged 7 to 14 did not attend school. Today 98.7 percent of children between 6 and 12, and 82 percent of those 13-16, are in school.

- The number of students entering Cuban universities increased more than fivefold in the first two decades of the revolution.

But more important than the statistics are the points MacDonald makes about why and how Cuba made such gains.

One key point is that such gains were only possible as part of a revolutionary process in which Cuban workers and farmers came increasingly to control their own lives.

Other countries, MacDonald points out, have made initial gains in fighting illiteracy, which soon were reversed. A literacy campaign in Egypt in the 1950s, for example, reduced illiteracy from 79 to 22 percent — but 10 years later it was back up to 78 percent.

In Cuba people learned to read and then went on to study more. The illiteracy rate, which declined from 24 percent to 4 percent in 15 months during the literacy campaign, is now down to the present 2 percent. (The UN regards any country having less than 5 percent illiteracy as literate.)

"It is clear," MacDonald writes, "that the Cuban campaign involved something that made large numbers of illiterate adults want to learn to read and to want to keep reading."

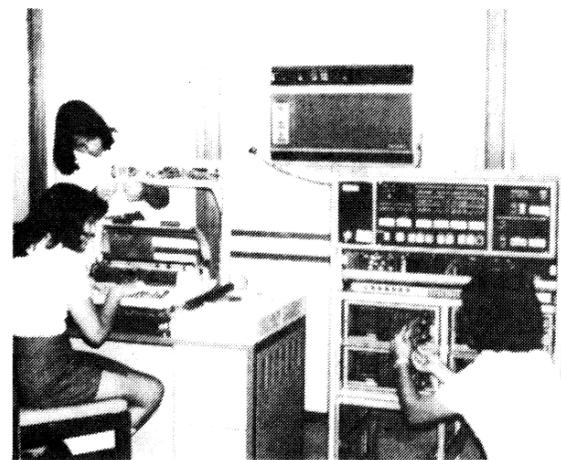
He also describes the dramatic shift in educational priorities as the Cuban economy went from one geared to the profits of U.S. corporations to one aimed at meeting the needs of the Cuban people.

MacDonald explains that in prerevolutionary Cuba, as in most countries dominated by big capitalist corporations, there was no priority given to training young people to run the key economic sectors like agriculture or mining.

If a U.S. corporation wanted to launch a new economic project in Cuba it would send in its own technicians and supervisors. Cubans were only needed as low-paid labor. In the universities, the best students went into the humanities, ignoring the subject areas most relevant to the Cuban economy.

Today, by contrast, the Cuban emphasis on using advanced technology to rapidly increase production has resulted in the main educational priorities being in the fields of science and mathematics.

Thus the number of law students dropped from 6,000



Ninth grade Cuban students attending an electronics workshop.

in 1958 to 200 in 1970, while there was a tremendous increase in the different scientific courses being offered and the number of Cuban students taking them.

One measure of Cuba's progress — and its focus on being able to handle advanced technology — is that after a team of Cuban students finished second (to the Soviet Union) in a recent international mathematics competition a Cuban official said, "That is not enough . . . we must put Cuba first."

MacDonald makes observations that highlight the differences between schools in Cuba and this country. For instance, corporal punishment is unheard of in the Cuban schooling system, and "students seem to genuinely believe that their teachers have a deep personal concern for their moral and political development, as well as their academic welfare."

MacDonald describes his book as being aimed at both professional educators and nonprofessionals, and it does contain more detail and technical jargon than the general reader might like.

As an introduction to Cuban education — and to the Cuban revolution in general — it would be better to first read Jonathan Kozol's *Children of the Revolution*.

But as a more complete and systematic account of Cuban education, *Making a New People* is a valuable resource.

California garment boss blackmails union members

BY DON MACKLE

The largest employer of unionized garment workers in California is demanding that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) reopen its contract and accept deep wage cuts. Koret of California employs more than 1,000 workers in production, distribution, and contract shops.

In April the company announced plans to close three of

UNION TALK

its shops in the San Francisco Bay Area and another in Price, Utah, by the end of June. The company has used the threat of plant closings to blackmail workers into giving up a 6 percent raise due in September. It is also demanding immediate 30 percent wage concessions from sewing operators and pressers, who Koret claims are making inflated wages on the piece-rate system.

One of the contract shops Koret wants to close, Sun Garment, has already begun to do work for other nonunion companies. ILGWU members are being paid below the union scale when they perform this outside work. This is part of a continuing company campaign to drive down union wages and working conditions that began before the threatened plant shutdowns.

Some individual sewers, for example, have had their average wage on piece work reduced from \$10 to \$5 an hour in recent months. The company is also trying to impose a piece-rate system on cutters and other employees at the Koret distribution center. This would result in lowering their hourly wage.

Discussion in the shops about how the union can defend itself are continuing. Many workers fear Koret will demand more cutbacks in the future if the company is allowed to tear up and rewrite the present contract.

A union meeting was recently held in San Francisco to discuss the threatened shop closings and to hear reports on negotiations with the company. About 1,000 members

attended the Bay Area meeting where ILGWU Joint Board member Mattie Jackson told workers Koret would not guarantee keeping its plants open even if union members accepted the takebacks.

Union members were angry at the idea of allowing Koret to rewrite a contract it had signed with the union less than a year ago. One worker did make a motion to accept a 20 percent wage cut. But only a handful voted for it.

If Koret's attack on wages and working conditions succeeds, it will be a serious blow to the ILGWU and any plans to organize garment workers in California. This state has emerged as the second-largest garment-producing area in the country, next to New York. But currently the ILGWU organizes less than 10 percent of the garment workers employed in the Bay Area. Most of them are employed by Koret or in contract shops affiliated with it.

Don Mackle is a member of the ILGWU in the San Francisco Bay Area and works at a Koret distribution center.

LETTERS

Borrowed a copy

I am a Black socialist incarcerated here in the state reformatory and recently had occasion to borrow a copy of your newspaper from a friend. I found the articles fresh and from a view that was both realistic and informative, combined with politics I could strongly relate to. I sincerely enjoyed reading this paper.

Unfortunately, I am financially destitute and cannot afford a subscription (we only make \$.50 a day). But I wonder if you might have some type of program for prisoners. If not, perhaps you have a few outdated papers you have no need for. I would greatly appreciate and make good use of them!

There are very few papers available to us here, and most of those are local papers, which I hate!

If there is any way you good comrades can help me with this problem, I promise to do everything in my power to help promote

you. If not, thanks anyway, and stick to your guns. We need them in these repressive times.

*A prisoner
Pendleton, Indiana*

Sustain those in prisons

I first want to let you know that your periodical plays a valuable role in sustaining those of us in prison who are revolutionaries. It gives us contact with the people's struggles and helps us to educate ourselves and new comrades inside these walls.

Righteous struggles for reform of the racist and reactionary prison system go on, but it's difficult to get the news to outside supporters. Here at the State Correctional Institution at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, the Lifer's Association is organizing to demand that there be parole eligibility for life sentenced prisoners after 15 years. Currently in the state of Pennsylvania life sentence means "natural life" un-

less there is a governor's pardon commuting a lifer's sentence. This destroys a prisoner's hope for the future and makes rehabilitation a joke.

Lifers who are paroled have historically had a very low recidivism rate and are an example of the possibility for prisoners to resume productive lives.

Friends on the outside are trying to generate community support. We ask our comrades and friends to contact: Lillian Blair (215) 898-3080, Gerald Parker (215) 985-8118, and Lucille Rinaldi (215) 389-4921.

*A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania*

Back issues

I want to thank you for the back issues of the *Militant* I didn't get when I was in Florence. I have been transferred to another facility, and I have enclosed my new address.

I have been a socialist for six

years and traveled all over the Caribbean, South America, England, and the United States.

Because I am a socialist, my mail and newspapers are closely censored. I always pass on the *Militant* to other inmates.

The issue of South Africa will only change through armed revolution and the freeing of Nelson Mandela. It doesn't surprise me that South African commandos would attack Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana. They have done it before in Mozambique and Angola.

The United States' policy of "constructive engagement" is a cover-up. President Reagan supports that racist government and supplies them with arms through allies such as Israel, Argentina, and so on.

Reagan has been able to manipulate the U.S. media with lies about Libya, Angola, Chile, South Africa, South Korea, and so on.

He supports dictatorships in

South Korea and Chile that are very oppressive to the people. And he attacks innocent nations like Libya and Grenada.

The *Militant* is the only paper that gives us the facts. Keep up the good work, and Long Live Socialism.

*A prisoner
Goodyear, Arizona*

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

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

British miners discuss Hormel strike Miners' support group inspired by meatpackers' determination

BY NORTON SANDLER

ROTHERHAM, England — Not many people in the room had heard of Geo. A. Hormel & Co., but heads sure started nodding when I mentioned Spam.

While in this area on a reporting trip for the *Militant*, I was invited by the Rotherham Miners Support Group to make a presentation to their June 2 meeting about the battle that Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers — members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 — are waging against Hormel.

For the past 15 months the Rotherham group has been organizing political and financial support for coal miners who were fired by the British Coal Board because of union activity during the 1984-1985 miners' strike.

The group's events are regularly attended by a number of fired miners and their wives and supporters. Many working miners and their wives also come.

About half of the 40 present at the meeting I attended were men. They spanned generations, all in one way or another veterans of the 1984-85 coal strike, the greatest labor battle in Britain in decades.

Though the strike was eventually defeated, the struggle put up by the British miners served as an example to working people the world over.

Interest in P-9 fight

It is not surprising that a group like this would respond enthusiastically to Local P-9's ongoing struggle, since much of the history of the meatpackers' strike rang true to experiences they themselves had gone through.

Hormel's adamant refusal to negotiate a decent contract, the massive use of cops and troops to protect scabs and disrupt peaceful picketing, and court intervention in the strike all sounded very familiar to the mining families.

The working people at the meeting were inspired to hear about U.S. workers relying on union democracy and union power to try to win the struggle.

But the best response came to my remarks on how the example being set by P-9 is completely different from what has become the norm in the U.S. labor movement in the last 45 years. No one was particularly surprised to learn that P-9 was being viciously attacked by the top officials of the United Food and Commercial Workers and of the AFL-CIO.

The British media portrays the union movement in the United States as being complacent. Views put forward by the U.S. trade union bureaucracy are presented as though they are identical to what the ranks of working people think. British government officials like to hold up the exam-



Rotherham Miners Support Group members Marlene Kelly (left), Stephanie Gregory, and Thelma Gaddick are active in raising funds to help miners fired during the 1984-85 British coal strike. Support group heard a report on the Hormel meatpackers' strike.

ple of workers in the U.S. accepting concessions as a model for what should happen in England.

After I spoke, Maurice Wood, a member of the executive board of the South Yorkshire National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the union's liaison to the Rotherham support group, took the floor.

He reiterated that what P-9 was doing was new in the United States, and important. He said that he was going to spread the word about the Minnesota meatpackers fight to others in the NUM.

Stephanie Gregory, the group's chairperson, gave me £20 (about \$30) and a

message of support to take back to Local P-9.

Two women who have been on strike at the Silent Night furniture company for over a year came over to talk about the P-9 fight.

Group works closely with miners' union

I was not the first person from outside of England to speak at a meeting of the support group. They have had speakers from El Salvador and several European countries at their meetings.

The miners and their wives who participated in the long strike battle explain they are not the same people they were when the

struggle began.

A handful of women organized the Rotherham group at the beginning of the strike to raise money to feed, clothe, and pay the bills for miners and their families.

"I am a miner's wife, I have two sons that are miners, and two sons-in-law that are miners," Thelma Gaddick, the group's secretary, said, giving an example of how she and other women became involved.

In the course of the struggle, the organization grew. Its members went all over the country speaking, marching, and picketing with the union. Miners began attending the meetings.

Campaign to win miners' jobs back

A major campaign of the NUM is to win reinstatement for the more than 500 miners fired during the strike.

The NUM says the fired miners remain members of the union and is trying to raise \$40,000 a week to support them.

This task is complicated by the fact that the union's bank account has been locked up by the courts for nearly two years.

The Rotherham Support Group in its support to the NUM's efforts works closely with organizations such as Women Against Pit Closures and the National Justice for Mineworkers.

"We have over the last months helped keep the sacked miners' fight alive," Stephanie Gregory said.

Gregory reviewed the history of the group's work with the NUM.

"At the beginning of the strike, it's fair to say, the bona fide NUM delegate didn't recognize us. We were just women doing what we were to be doing," she said.

"By the end of the strike, we had praise. Many said without the work of the women, the strike couldn't have gone on."

Mick Boyle, 24, bought the only "P-9 Proud" button I had with me. He has lived in a nearby mining village his entire life and went to work in the mines when he was 17.

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Senate committee slanders Panama

BY STEVE CRAINE

A U.S. Senate committee allegedly investigating the drug trade in Latin America has turned its attention to slandering the government of Panama, after leading a similar attack against Mexico.

The Western Hemisphere affairs subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has accused Panama of being the linchpin of the region's drug trade. And an administration official claims Panama-

nian armed forces head Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega is the "facilitator" of most drug deals that move through the country.

Appearing on a June 22 nationally televised interview program, subcommittee chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina said Noriega was "head of the biggest drug trafficking operation in the Western Hemisphere."

The subcommittee also heard accusations that Panamanian officials provide

arms to revolutionary guerrilla movements in Latin America.

Major big-business papers, especially the *New York Times*, contributed to the effort to brand Panama an international pariah for its alleged role in distributing drugs. On June 12 the *Times* prominently featured a lengthy article about Panama based entirely on anonymous statements from "senior State Department, White House, Pentagon, and intelligence officials."

This article broadened the Helms subcommittee's arrogant interference in the internal affairs of Panama by including charges that General Noriega, who is the de facto political leader of the country, had ordered the murder of a political opponent and had been providing intelligence information simultaneously to the U.S. and Cuban governments for 15 years.

A few weeks before beginning its probe of Panama, the Helms subcommittee had convened in secret to hear U.S. officials make similar allegations about corruption and drug smuggling in Mexico. Some Mexican government officials were accused of growing, as well as transporting and selling, illegal drugs.

The Mexican government, and even many U.S. government officials, strongly protested the frame-up nature of the charges made before the Senate subcommittee. One U.S. drug enforcement officer admitted the accusations are "just wrong." A Mexican state governor accused of owning four marijuana-growing ranches turned

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Good response in Chicago petitioning drive

BY MARGI HUSK
AND MATT HERRESHOFF

CHICAGO — Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are involved in an exciting petitioning campaign to put SWP candidates on the Illinois ballot in 1986. Heading the slate of 10 socialist candidates are Omari Musa for U.S. senator and Diane Rolings for governor. At the end of three weeks of petitioning, 22,858 signatures have been collected out of a goal of 30,000.

Spearheading the petition drive in the first two weeks was a full-time team of eight SWP and YSA members, who collected some 5,755 signatures. Team member Scott Dombeck, a leader of the Chicago YSA and the SWP's candidate for attorney general, said, "The response has been fantastic. We're meeting hundreds of young people every day. They're fed up

with unemployment, the war in Central America, and with the apartheid regime in South Africa."

In just two weeks 900 of these young people have bought copies of the socialist campaign's newspapers, the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*. They've also purchased more than \$200 worth of YSA T-shirts, buttons, and socialist books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press. More than 100 of them signed up to find out more about the YSA.

At DePaul University, more than 400 students signed petitions, 100 bought copies of the socialist press, and 25 wanted more information about the YSA. Students at DePaul recently won a free speech fight that defeated a school administration effort to prevent Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, from speaking on the campus in defense of abor-

tion rights.

"The free speech fight really politicized the campus," said Dombeck. "Students are forming and joining organizations against the war in Central America, to divest from South Africa, and to defend abortion rights."

In the first two weeks the full-time team collected more than 1,000 signatures on college campuses in Chicago.

Between now and July 12, the team will be going to working-class neighborhoods, bus and subway stops, plant gates, and more campuses with the socialist campaign.

"We aim to get the socialist ticket on the ballot," said Dombeck, "to reach thousands more people with our revolutionary ideas, and to recruit to the Young Socialist Alliance."