

FBI attempt to disrupt antiwar group exposed

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Frank Varelli, a former FBI undercover agent, has revealed he was part of a nationally coordinated effort to infiltrate, discredit, and "break" the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Varelli has also presented potentially explosive evidence of FBI complicity with the Salvadoran death squads.

From June 1981 to August 1984, Varelli was a secret FBI informer operating in the Dallas chapter of CISPES.

The secret FBI disruption operation first began to unravel in 1984 when Varelli and his FBI superiors had a falling out over money and a related money-skimming scandal. Varelli also claims he became disillusioned with the anti-CISPES campaign.

While some details of the case have been public since a front-page *Dallas Morning News* exposé last April, damaging new information has come to light in the last month as part of a lawsuit filed by Varelli seeking back pay from the FBI.

In the context of the deepening governmental crisis over the secret funding of the *contras*, Varelli's revelations received national attention when the "CBS Evening News" aired a two-part series earlier this month. This was followed by a CISPES news conference February 12 on the steps of FBI headquarters in Washington.

"We were not surprised when the story broke," explained Angela Sanbrano, CISPES national coordinator. In the last few years there has been a pattern of break-ins and other disruptive acts aimed at CISPES and other groups opposing U.S.



Angela Sanbrano, leader of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, protests attacks at February 12 press conference outside FBI headquarters.

intervention in Central America.

The FBI admitted in papers filed in court last month that it was investigating CISPES under its secret "international terrorism" guidelines. Under these guidelines the attorney general's office can approve an investigation if it considers the group an agent of a foreign power.

Sanbrano denounced the FBI's use of the "terrorist" designation as justification for its illegal acts. "This is simply a cover,"

she said, "for governmental attacks on legitimate political protest."

Varelli's own testimony underscores this. In a deposition filed as part of the pending court case, he stated: "I was instructed to watch for evidence of arms, arms shipments, and 'safe houses' for hiding terrorists."

"Not once did I find, see, hear, or observe any illegal conduct of any nature."

Continued on Page 13

U.S. move to isolate Nicaragua fails

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — U.S. government efforts to isolate Nicaragua internationally received two more sharp setbacks recently. This reflects disagreements with Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua by most Latin American and European governments.

Foreign ministers of 21 countries met in Guatemala City, Guatemala, February 9-10, and pledged support for a negotiated end to the fighting in Central America, and to continued economic aid to the region, including Nicaragua.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the 12 Western European nations

that make up the European Economic Community (EEC); the five countries of Central America: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; and Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia, whose governments make up the Contadora Group. Contadora's stated goal is to negotiate an end to the military conflict in Central America. Nicaragua has supported Contadora as an opening to pursue peace.

Washington lined up the governments of Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador to get them to politically downplay the importance of Contadora in the Guatemala City meeting. These three countries, known as the Tegucigalpa Bloc, are all directly involved in Washington's *contra* war against Nicaragua.

U.S. envoy Philip Habib also toured Western Europe shortly before the Guatemala meeting, seeking to bolster support there for U.S. war policies.

Despite these efforts, the 21 foreign ministers meeting in Guatemala adopted a resolution stating their willingness to work with Contadora to "find a negotiated, regional, global, and peaceful solution" in Central America.

Claude Cheysson, director of the Permanent Commission of the EEC, told reporters that Europe rejected any armed aggression against Nicaragua. When Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans was asked about U.S. government pressure, he replied: "We are not interested in what the United States thinks about Contadora."

The EEC nations also said they would increase economic aid to Central America, including Nicaragua. Several European diplomats told the *New York Times* that Washington had tried to get them to cut as-

sistance to Nicaragua, which has received \$120 million in aid from the EEC since the 1979 Sandinista revolution.

Nicaragua took the opportunity to propose that the Central American nations sign a treaty providing for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the region, reducing armaments, and establishing border controls to prevent armed attacks from one country into another.

Five days later, the presidents of the Tegucigalpa Bloc countries met in San José, Costa Rica, in an attempt to take a united stand counterposed to Contadora and Nicaragua's peace proposals.

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias issued the call for the San José gathering in

Continued on Page 13

Unionists discuss attacks on meat-packers

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Under sharp attack from the packinghouse bosses, meat-packers across North America are discussing how best to fight back. Interest in that discussion was reflected in the turnout at a February 14 forum here on "Which Way Forward for Meat-Packers."

Cars of meat-packers, their spouses, and supporters drove to Des Moines for the event from Austin, Minnesota; Fremont, Nebraska; and Ottumwa, Marshalltown, and Cherokee, Iowa. All are cities where meat-packers have been involved in important battles against the packinghouse bosses' takeback demands. They were joined at the meeting by meat-packers from several other cities and members of other unions as well. Sixty people attended the forum.

Forum speakers were _____ Austin, Larry McClurg from Ottumwa, Bob Langemeier from Fremont, Rita Lewis from Marshalltown, and Mac Warren, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party's Iowa District. A meat-packer from Cherokee also participated.

McClurg is one of 350 meat-packers currently working in Hormel's Ottumwa plant. He was fired in early 1986 along with some 500 other workers in Ottumwa for honoring picket lines set up by United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9 during their strike.

After an arbitrator ruled the company had to rehire the fired workers, Hormel laid off several hundred and announced the shutdown of its Ottumwa cut-and-kill operation.

McClurg said those working have been donating up to \$1,000 each week to those without jobs.

He described the dangerous working conditions in the plant, including an incident in which he was almost run over by a fork-lift driver trying to keep up with the company's production demands.

The contract between UFCW Local 431 and Hormel expires in April. "There doesn't seem to be a whole lot of preparation yet by the local union leadership to get us ready for a possible strike or a lockout," McClurg said.

He questioned the effectiveness of non-union workers joining in current organizing drives led by the UFCW.

Along with others McClurg is participating in a drive to have the UFCW replaced as the bargaining representative at the Ottumwa plant by a new union, Independent Packing & Meat Cutters Union Local-1.

A leaflet circulated by backers of the

Continued on Page 2

Philippine army escalates killings following collapse of cease-fire

BY SAM MANUEL

MANILA — More than 60 people have been killed here in the last 10 days, the majority civilians. The deaths are a result of stepped-up violence by the military and rightists in the wake of the breakdown in negotiations between the government and the National Democratic Front (NDF). The NDF is a coalition of 12 national organizations, including the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

The cease-fire began to fall apart in the face of armed attacks by sections of the army and the government against working people in the final weeks prior to the vote on the new constitution held February 2. For example, 19 people were killed January 22 when the army opened fire on a

march of 20,000 comprised mostly of farmers demanding land reform.

As a result of this stepped-up violence, the NDF issued an open letter to the people of the Philippines explaining why it would not continue the cease-fire beyond the February 8 deadline.

With the collapse of the cease-fire, chief government negotiator Teofisto Guingona announced that the government would seek to negotiate on a regional basis. "We will go to the provinces, the municipalities, to the members of the NDF directly."

NDF negotiator Antonio Zumel responded, "These moves of the government betray a deep and malicious intent. They are really meant to sow dissension and di-

Continued on Page 10

Firsthand reports from Burkina

Beginning next issue, the *Militant* will be featuring firsthand reports from the West African country of Burkina Faso.

Militant staff writer Ernest Harsch has been invited to attend the Pan-African Film Festival of Ouagadougou, held in Burkina's capital every two years. It is Africa's foremost showcase for film, television, and video, and will draw participants from throughout the continent and from other parts of the world as well.

Harsch will also report on the progress of the democratic revolution that began to unfold in Burkina in 1983 and will interview leaders and activists in the anti-imperialist struggle there.

Union support grows for meat-packers on strike in Wis.

BY BILL BREIHAN

CUDAHY, Wis. — Members of Local P-40 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) here have stepped up their appeal for support in their strike against the Patrick Cudahy Co.

At a support committee meeting February 11, some 80 unionists, strikers, and community residents met to plan a leafletting campaign urging a boycott of Patrick Cudahy products at local supermarkets.

Plans were also announced for a demonstration, tentatively set for the end of March, demanding justice for the Cudahy workers.

Unionists and many others from the Milwaukee area and around the country continue to walk the picket line regularly with the strikers.

The strike is now in its second month. Local P-40 voted January 3 to strike the plant after rejecting a new round of major concessions. The company's "final offer" would have slashed wages from an average of \$9.00 an hour to between \$6.25 and \$8.65 an hour, and made working conditions intolerable.

A federal mediator was brought in to reopen negotiations January 20. But this new round of talks collapsed immediately when the company refused to discuss any modifications in its last offer. Instead, Patrick Cudahy has driven forward with its union-busting plan. After accepting over 2,500 applications, it has hired nearly 300 strikebreakers and restarted its hog kill operation, although on a greatly reduced scale.

The strike of Local P-40 remains firm. Fewer than 30 union members have returned to work, and labor solidarity with the strike has stayed at a high level.

Dozens of unionists turn out daily to aid the strikers, and every week union locals in the area have mobilized their members to walk picket lines. This includes 350 from two United Auto Workers locals, 200 from a United Electrical Workers local, 100 from an Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) local, and another 100 from the Smith Steelworkers.

Financial donations have also been significant. Workers at the big Briggs & Stratton plant in Milwaukee help set the example, donating more than \$5,000 in a shop floor collection organized by AIW Local 232.

The battle against concessions in the meatpacking industry here has a history going back over a decade. In 1975, 750 members of Local 248 of the old Amalgamated Meatcutters union struck nine packinghouses in the Milwaukee area.

The bosses, organized in the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers Association, enlisted the services of the same notorious union-busting law firm — Thomas Krukowski and Associates — involved in the 1985-86 Hormel strike in Austin, Minnesota, and now in the strike at Patrick Cudahy. The Krukowski strategy has been consistent: provocation, scab-herding, and violence.

Local 248 put up a determined fight. They maintained militant picket lines for 16 months, battling the cops, the courts, and several hundred strikebreakers recruited by the employers' association. Union solidarity was widespread. But in the end the union was defeated, Local 248

destroyed. Despite efforts in recent years by the UFCW, none of the packinghouses have been reorganized.

Local P-40 at Patrick Cudahy was not part of the 1975-76 strike. It successfully fought efforts to drive down wages and working conditions for several years following the defeat of Local 248. That changed in 1982, when a first round of concessions was forced on Cudahy workers. The base rate was slashed from \$10.55 an hour to \$9.26. Benefits were also cut.

In 1984, under the threat of a plant closure, the union membership approved — by a small margin and after several votes — a second concession contract. This time the base rate dropped to \$7.31 an hour, with further benefit cuts. Under this 1984 contract wages climbed back up to about \$9.00 an hour by the time of the current strike.

Rather than put up with a third set of drastic cuts in less than five years, the Cudahy workers voted 636 to 38 to strike.

Bill Breihan is a member of USWA Local 1343, on layoff from Bucyrus-Erie.



Militant/Sandi Sherman

Students support United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-40, which is on strike against Cudahy's demand for takebacks.

Midwest farmers testify at hearings

BY JOE SWANSON

OMAHA, Neb. — The U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture held hearings February 10 here and in Underwood, Iowa.

The hearings were attended by about 500 farmers and ranchers in Omaha and by more than 300 farmers and a dozen small businessmen in Underwood.

The new head of the committee, Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont, said the committee had come to hear the "farmers' story."

Dorothy Lau of Murdoch, Nebraska, said her family now owned only 10 acres of a 600-acre farm the family had worked for four generations. Her husband and sons now work in town.

"We tried to borrow ourselves out of debt. That's what happens when farmers don't receive a fair price for their crops."

A disease hit the hog herd, she continued, and early frost killed the soybeans. On top of that came the loan officers who were "too eager to lend in good times and too eager to foreclose in bad times."

Eugene Severens of the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Nebraska, urged the committee to investigate the sale of land by the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA).

He said the government agency was now offering 18 Nebraska farms to the highest bidder rather than to working farm families. The agency introduced new regulations that allow it to sell land in one year. Previous regulations barred the sale of land before three years were up.

Severens said this violates the law, which requires the secretary of agriculture "to the extent practicable sell or lease farmland to operators of not larger than family-farm size."

He pointed out farmers are required to make a 50 percent down payment on land, and that lenders charge 8 to 12 percent in-

terest. He said the government-backed Production Credit Association owns over 400,000 acres, almost all in Iowa.

Steve Halloran, a young farmer from Hastings, Nebraska, told the committee government credit is available only to "worthy farmers, established farmers," and not to farmers who are in trouble or to young farmers trying to get started.

John Hansen of Newman Grove, Nebraska, told the committee, "I have had to get outside-the-farm income to stay in farming. I have become an agricultural lender myself. I sell seed corn and crop insurance, and many of those bills are now uncollectable."

"In my area of the state we have had three good years of crops but we are still losing farmers to the banks. My land value was \$1,300 an acre in 1982. It is now \$400

an acre."

After the hearing, Hansen told this reporter, "We have to bring farmers into the winners' column. So far only grain traders have been winning. The traders control the legislation and the price of grain."

Most of the farmers who attended the hearings were members of farm organizations like the American Agriculture Movement, Farm Crisis Committee, North American Farm Alliance, National Farmers Organization, and the National Farmers Union. There were also about 45 high school and college agriculture students, most of them members of local chapters of Future Farmers of America.

Senator Leahy told the audience, "I am not here with the answers in my pocket to farmers' problems. If I had a magic wand I wouldn't know what to ask for."

Israeli government raids office of newspaper in Jerusalem

BY MALIK MIAH

Charged with "rendering services" to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an outlawed organization, the Alternative Information Centre in West Jerusalem was raided by Israeli police February 16. Four workers at the Centre were arrested, including two Palestinian women. The police ordered the premises closed for six months.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant* February 18, Lea Tsemel, a prominent lawyer and political activist in Jerusalem, said three of the four workers were freed after protests. But the director of the Centre, Michel Warschawski, who is married to Tsemel, remains in prison. His case will not be reviewed for seven days, she said.

"The Centre," Tsemel explained, "provides information on the human rights conditions of Palestinians living in the occupied territories. It reports on government abuse of Palestinians."

She emphasized that the Centre does not render services to the Popular Front or to any Palestinian organization. Nor does it check on those who use its services.

For the past three years the Centre has published a fortnightly English-language newsletter, *News From Within*, providing readers with a wide range of information and analysis on the Palestinian struggle not available in the daily press in Israel or other countries.

The police raid was well orchestrated. The chief of police announced the closing,

then arranged for the television cameras to be present when the office was raided and the workers arrested. It was major news that evening. And all files and equipment were confiscated.

While it is not uncommon for the Israeli government to close down Palestinian-run information and press agencies in the occupied territories, this is not normally the case in Israel. "The Jerusalem Post," reported the February 17 *New York Times*, "described the closing of the Alternative Information Centre and arrest of the Jewish and Arab staff on Monday as the first such crackdown in Jerusalem."

But this attack, Tsemel said, isn't sitting well with many Israelis. "Since Monday there have been daily protests outside the prison from 5 to 6. Petitions are being circulated in the press against the attack. A number of organizations have protested the police action."

Tsemel urged supporters of democratic and human rights in the United States to send telegrams of protest to the Ministry of Justice or Chief of Police, Jerusalem, Israel. Copies should be sent to the Israeli Consulate, 800 2nd Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Attention readers

The Militant will be taking a one-week break next week in order to carry out a major reorganization of our offices that will increase our efficiency and effectiveness. We will resume publication with the issue dated March 13.

Malcolm X Today

Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Editor and author of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, interviewed Malcolm X in Jan. 1965.

New York City, Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m.
at 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal), Manhattan

Donation: \$2. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

More unionists, farmers support fight against gov't spying

Joe Swanson interviewed about Midwest tour for rights fund

BY NORTON SANDLER

NEW YORK — Joe Swanson has been on the road since the end of October talking to unionists and farmers about the current stage of the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and disruption.

Swanson is the Midwest field representative for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), an organization formed in 1973 to publicize and raise funds for that lawsuit.

"I am covering eastern Nebraska, all of Iowa, and southern Minnesota," Swanson explained during a recent interview here.

Swanson worked on the railroad and was a member of the United Transportation Union for 25 years. Most of the time he worked out of Lincoln, Nebraska.

"I've had pretty close to a 100 meetings now," he said, "including the follow-up discussions."

"They have resulted in several dozen new sponsors for the PRDF," he added.

Historic decision

Last August, Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled "the FBI's disruption activities, surreptitious entries, and use of informants" violated the constitutional rights of the SWP and its members. Griesa is expected to issue an injunction soon, limiting the government's ability to use the tens of thousands of pages of illegally obtained files on SWP and YSA members.

Swanson has focused his discussions on that historic decision. Winter road conditions make it difficult to set precise times for meetings. "Generally I walk into a union office and ask if I can have 5 or 10 minutes of someone's time. I think just about every union official has given me that much. Once the discussion begins, many want to talk a little longer."

"What I found," Swanson said, "is that the majority of people have not heard about the suit, let alone the victory. So I begin by talking about what this victory means to all working people and encourage them to read material about it. Particularly helpful is the booklet published by the PRDF that includes the full text of Griesa's decision."

He has met with steelworkers, auto workers, garment workers, machinists, rail workers and meat-packers. Sometimes he has had up to three meetings with the same person. "It does take some persistence," he said.

A few of the meetings have led to additional invitations. Recently, for example, a Steelworkers union official in Omaha,

Nebraska, who Swanson had spoken to in November, helped arrange for him to make a presentation to a districtwide meeting of officers from that union. He has also spoken to leadership bodies of the United Auto Workers and the National Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers in Marshalltown, Iowa.

"Most unionists recognize that the employers' offensive against the working class has had an effect," Swanson said. "They have stories to tell about some period in their life as a union member or a union leader when the bosses, or the local, state, or federal police agencies got involved in harassment or intimidation against them."

"One representative from the Machinists union told me a sheriff showed up unexpectedly to serve an injunction while the union's executive board was meeting during a strike. He thinks the sheriff found out about the meeting through a phone tap."

Questions raised by unionists

Swanson said the unionists raise a few different questions with him about the lawsuit. "They want to know why the suit was originally filed. They also ask how much the FBI was involved in harassing the plaintiffs, the SWP and YSA."

"I explain that the SWP and YSA had known for many years about the role of the political police agencies, particularly the FBI. In the early 1970s, near the end of the Vietnam War, more information came to light. That includes information about the FBI's Cointelpro operation that was directed against the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the antiwar movement, as well as against political organizations such as the Communist Party and the SWP and YSA."

"I tell them there is valuable information on the scope of the government's illegal activity in the PRDF booklet containing the decision," Swanson said. "That's why the booklet is such a good educational tool." He has sold about 65 copies of the decision since the first of the year.

Swanson said most unionists expect the attacks by the employers to continue. "They generally agree with me when I say the bosses and the government will work hand in hand in attacking workers and farmers who fight back," he said.

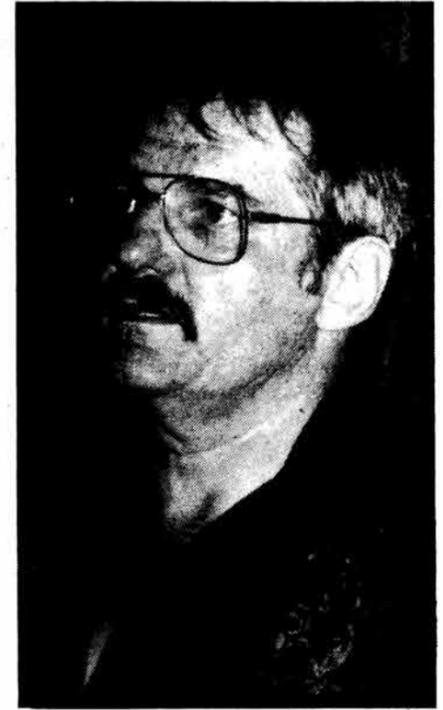
"I tell them this decision will help in that fight," Swanson explained. "It's a door opener for democratic rights and can be used by everyone. That's why sponsorship for the lawsuit is so important," he said. "It helps make this decision stand for people in the labor movement, in the farm movement. It will make the judge's injunction against segregating the illegally obtained files that much stronger," Swanson emphasized.

Support among farmers

Swanson said he hadn't met with as many farmers as unionists, but many of the farmers he has met with have been very open about the case. "They aren't necessarily more aware of the case, but I think the severe hardships that so many have gone through contributes to their interest."

He pointed out that in some cases local and state cops have worked with the FBI to attack the farmers' movement.

One farmer told Swanson that an FBI agent had asked if he could join his farm organization as an undercover agent to keep an eye on so-called right-wing farmers. This particular farmer signed up as a



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Joe Swanson

PRDF sponsor and made a financial contribution.

Recently Swanson made a presentation to 45 members of the American Agriculture Movement at their statewide meeting in Tekamah, Nebraska. Six copies of the decision were sold there.

Response from meat-packers

The quickest to respond, Swanson says, have been some of the meat-packers involved in battle against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota; Fremont, Nebraska; and Ottumwa, Iowa.

"The meat-packers who have been through that struggle are among the best fighters around today," he said. "And they want to know more about the suit so they can explain it to other working people. They want members of their own union and farmers to get the facts about the case."

Unions at Eastern Airlines under fire

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

MIAMI — "I'd like to see Frank Lorenzo get inside the bin of a 727 and load a few thousand pounds of bags." That's how a baggage handler at Eastern Airlines responded to management's latest attack.

Lorenzo is the president of Texas Air, which recently purchased Eastern. On January 22 Lorenzo's point man and Eastern's newly installed president, Philip Bakes, announced that labor costs at Eastern had to be slashed 29 percent.

International Association of Machinists (IAM) members are being told to reopen

their contract, which is supposed to run until the end of this year, and immediately give up 47 percent of their wages and benefits. The IAM organizes cleaners, ramp workers (baggage and freight handlers and fuelers), stock clerks, and mechanics. Flight attendants and pilots, organized by other unions, are being told they have to make new concessions after having already been forced to grant concessions last year.

The company sponsored a public meeting on January 28 where Bakes explained that new cuts were necessary because the unionized workers were being paid above "market value."

Lorenzo led the union busting at Continental Airlines in 1983. He is now consolidating People Express and New York Air into Continental. He says Eastern will remain separate for now but will be dismantled if he doesn't get what he is demanding.

Last fall 500 IAM members were laid off. More were laid off in January. At Miami International Airport it is almost impossible to find a ramp worker who has not been called into the "performance office," where verbal reprimands, letters of warning, and days off without pay are given out.

Frank DeMaria, chief IAM steward at the Newark airport, told the press that while one or two union members are usually suspended in a year, last month 19 were suspended.

According to *Falcon*, Eastern's tabloid, 708 workers were fired in 1986, more than double those fired the previous year.

Eastern has been trying to split the IAM mechanics away from the cleaners, ramp workers, and stock clerks. Company propaganda has focused on the pay of the less skilled workers. The big-business press has quoted management, saying ramp workers average \$43,000 a year, and that with overtime some make as much as \$70,000. These figures are absurd.

Union response

The IAM leadership's initial response to the Texas Air buyout was to propose a buy-

out by the union instead. They have received support for a court challenge along these lines from the other unions at Eastern. Most workers now agree that this approach has reached a dead end.

The union's main strength lies in the fact that its members are opposed to taking pay cuts.

Eastern management is trying to make it as difficult as possible for the union to fight back. On January 8 when members of Local 702 invited Charlie Bryan, the president of IAM District 100, to come to our worksite during lunch break to receive a plaque, management tried to have him forcibly removed from the property. Several hundred union members stood between Bryan and the company security guards.

Bryan has since been barred from company property and stripped of flight privileges.

The airlines were deregulated by James Carter's administration in 1978. This has led to fewer companies, increased danger in the skies, and lower pay and worse working conditions throughout the industry.

In 1981 the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) was broken. Workers at Continental were forced on strike in 1983 and 1984. Instead of organizing widespread solidarity for them, the top officials of the IAM watched as these brothers and sisters went down to defeat. Now this nonunion battering ram is being used against the workers at Eastern.

But the attacks by the airlines can be fought. At least 800 union members came to the afternoon meeting of Local 702 the day Eastern announced its takeback demands. This showed the potential for mobilizing against the attacks.

A strong coalition can be built between the unions at Eastern and those in the rest of the industry, and solidarity can be won from other unionists. A fight is also needed to raise the pay at the nonunion airlines.

Ernest Mailhot is a baggage handler and member of IAM Local 702 in Miami.

PR Political Rights
DF Defense Fund

Help us win more victories for democratic rights

Now that a federal judge has ruled that the FBI's spying against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal, the case is going back to court to determine what will happen to the millions of secret files the government spies accumulated.

Every supporter of democratic rights has a stake in helping bring about another victory against the FBI in the upcoming hearings. The Political Rights Defense Fund needs your endorsement and your financial help to make the next stage in this battle a success.

- I want to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.
- Send me a copy of the booklet with the federal court decision against the FBI. Enclosed is \$1.
- Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.
\$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$50 _____ \$10 _____ other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ Organization _____

Signature _____

Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

White House ran massive covert operation

'Project Democracy' set up by Reagan as secret foreign policy network

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In a speech before the British Parliament on June 8, 1982, President Ronald Reagan called for a "crusade for freedom" that would promote "democratic development" throughout the world.

"Project Democracy" was set up "to foster the infrastructure of democracy — the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities — which allows a people to choose their own way, develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means," according to Reagan.

Recent revelations show that what was actually set in motion four years ago was a massive covert operation, run directly out of the White House, which "grew into a parallel foreign policy apparatus — complete with its own communications systems, secret envoys, leased ships and airplanes, offshore bank accounts and corporations," according to a report in the February 15 *New York Times*.

The purpose of the secret network was to allow the administration to act — quickly and covertly — in the international arena behind the backs of the U.S. people and without regard for the Constitution, Congress, or the law.

National Endowment for Democracy

Project Democracy included an overt side: the National Endowment for Democracy, headed by right-wing social democrat Carl Gershman. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker are both directors of the group.

Its activities include funding right-wing newspapers and trade unions in other countries.

Associates of the National Endowment for Democracy, including Kirkland and Shanker, have responded to the exposé by denying any knowledge of the covert side of the program.

Demonstrators demand end to Nevada nuclear bomb tests

BY BOB HOYLE

MERCURY, Nev. — Some 2,000 people, many of them high school students, came here from 10 states to protest a scheduled nuclear bomb test. The February 5 action occurred at the Nevada Test Site 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas. Four hundred and thirty-eight demonstrators were arrested, including astronomer Carl Sagan, peace activist Daniel Ellsberg, and actors Martin Sheen, Kris Kristofferson, and Robert Blake.

The protest had been planned to take place the same day that the first nuclear bomb test of 1987 was scheduled. But Washington detonated the bomb two days before. Government officials acknowledged the test was done early to avoid protesters.

But instead of dampening protests, the early test fueled the already called action. The day after the test, 1,000 people attended a news conference in Las Vegas to

"Project Democracy was shorthand for everything Ollie was doing in Central America," said one government official referring to former National Security Council (NSC) staff member Lt. Col. Oliver North.

The White House panel investigating the NSC has found that a broad range of activities were carried out under the heading of Project Democracy, most of which have not yet been reported publicly. It was out of this program that the network for the clandestine arms sales to Iran and the international web of illicit aid to the *contras* was organized.

In setting up Project Democracy, the White House issued a memorandum in early August 1982 saying "we need to examine how law and executive order can be made more liberal to permit covert action on a broad scale."

The NSC, which is under the direct control of the White House, became the vehicle for carrying out the secret operations, including aiding the U.S.-run mercenaries waging war against Nicaragua.

The CIA was rejected officially as the police agency for the job because its sordid history of assassination, overthrowing governments, and bankrolling mercenary armies had become public knowledge during the 1970s. The White House felt that openly tainting Project Democracy with the CIA brush would make it harder to get Congressional approval.

But the recent rash of revelations about illegal funding of the Nicaraguan *contras* show that the CIA has been involved in the thing up to its eyebrows.

Billionaires do their bit

To help fund the misnamed project, a meeting was arranged at the White House in March 1983 with several billionaires. Among those attending were press baron Rupert Murdoch; Sir James Goldsmith, publisher of the French magazine *L'Express*; and Chicago businessman Clement

protest the detonation and to learn about plans for the demonstration on the next day.

In response to this pressure, six congressmen spoke at the test-site rally.

The demonstration was organized by American Peace Test, a nationwide group formed a year ago to fight against nuclear testing.

Protests have been held at the test site since 1957, but have increased since the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped testing nuclear weapons on Aug. 6, 1985.

Students in particular have been expressing opposition to U.S. nuclear testing. On Friday, February 6, for example, 150 students at the John F. Kennedy Junior High School in Salt Lake City held a sit-in to demand an end to nuclear tests. When school officials convinced the students to return to class and hold the rally when school wasn't in session, 100 students returned on Saturday to protest.



Retired Gen. John Singlaub with *contras* last year. Operation run from White House included secret envoys and leased ships and airplanes.

Stone.

A slew of "Project Democracy companies" were set up to carry out the decisions of the president and NSC staff.

Now that the existence of Project Democracy has been revealed, new and more damaging facts about its operations will no doubt be forced out into the open as the host of Congressional and administration investigations get under way in the "contragate" crisis.

Everyone investigating *contras*

Another source of new revelations about U.S. backing for the *contras* will be the seven criminal investigations of the mercenaries and their U.S. backers:

- The U.S. Attorney's office in Miami is looking into charges that weapons were smuggled to the *contras* from a Florida airport in 1985.

- The same office is checking up on Southern Air Transport, which has been involved in the Iran arms sales and the *contra* supply operation.

- In Georgia there's an investigation of a 1985 sale of a plane to the *contras*.

Lawrence Walsh, the special federal prosecutor charged with probing the current scandal, has expanded his scope by assuming control of the Miami and Georgia cases.

- There's a criminal investigation of what happened to the \$27 million in so-called non-military aid Congress gave the mercenaries in 1985.

- The General Accounting Office is investigating the Iran arms case.

- There's a federal investigation of charges that U.S. residents who dropped arms to the *contras* also smuggled drugs.

- And there's an FBI investigation of a burglary at the offices of the International Center for Development Policy in Washington, D.C. The center is a critic of U.S. government policy in Central America.

Antiwar activists have called on the FBI to expand its inquiry to include dozens of similar incidents which have taken place around the country in the past two years.

In addition, the CIA has just announced an internal inquiry as to whether its covert actions in support of the Nicaraguan mercenaries violated any laws.

Antiwar coalition formed in Boston

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — "Without getting into a numbers game," said Leslie Cagan, "we are talking about a major march, in capital letters." Cagan is national coordinator of the April 25 antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstration in Washington, D.C. She was speaking to 130 activists who launched the Boston-area coalition for the upcoming protest.

Cagan told the assembled group of student, labor, Central America, anti-apartheid, religious, and disarmament activists who jammed the Service Employees' International Union (SEIU) Local 285 hall February 12 that there have been some 60 coalition meetings like this across the country to initiate building for the San Francisco and Washington marches. Other protests in the nation's capital are scheduled for April 24 and 27.

Cagan, a leader of the Mobilization for Survival, told the gathering, "because of an accident of history — the contragate scandal — the march is especially timely." It makes people, "who are saying 'enough is enough' begin to realize that now is the time to get into the streets."

The Boston meeting was the broadest antiwar planning meeting in a long time. A number of union presidents, vice-presidents, and other officials attended the event. Representatives from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Government Employees; Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees; Massachusetts Teachers Association; SEIU; and United Electrical Workers union, along with the Massachusetts Labor Committee for Democracy, Human Rights, and Nonintervention in Central America all

agreed to take responsibilities on the coalition steering committee.

An earlier student outreach meeting of representatives from seven colleges and high schools began plans for local building events for April 25.

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Central America Solidarity Association have hired full-time staff people to coordinate and organize transportation to Washington.

A fund pitch by Boston Democratic Socialists of America leader Joe Schwartz raised more than \$750 from the floor.

The next general meeting of the coalition is Saturday, March 7, at the Arlington Street Church in Boston.

**Students:
Get your April 25
mobilization
packets now!**

Antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstration kits can be gotten for \$1 each by contacting:

Tom Reifer, c/o Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa
712 G St. SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
Phone: (202) 547-0061
or:
CISPES
P.O. Box 10256
Washington, D.C. 20005
Phone: (202) 265-0890



Militant/Bob Hoyle

Nuclear test site was scene of February 5 protest

Selling to rail workers at Penn Station in N.Y.

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

NEW YORK — A regular team of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters has been selling to rail workers at Pennsylvania Station here since last fall's national

schedules, we haven't run into these two workers since then, but thanks to their subscriptions, they are still able to read the paper every week.

Now the subscriptions bought

added. Our talking to him was apparently the extra nudge it took to convince him to renew his subscription. He said he would be sending in his coupon and money right away.

After the holiday season, it was a little difficult to get the team started back on a regular weekly sale. Then we found a third *Militant-PM* supporter who wanted to join us. This has helped us maintain our regular presence at Penn Station, since we can now always count on a two-person team. Previously, the sale would often not take place if one of us was tied up due to work or other activities.

Because no "plant gate" exists

at this rail yard, the hardest part of selling the *Militant* and *PM* there is being seen by rail workers in the midst of the rush-hour throng of passengers. Thus sales have been quite modest. This makes establishing a regular and more visible presence there our main goal.

After the Amtrak-Conrail train crash a few weeks ago, management, the government, and the media went on a campaign to pin the blame on the workers, instead of focusing on how to improve the hazardous conditions on the railroad.

The sales team utilized the prominent *Militant* coverage to encourage rail workers to buy the

paper. More workers stopped to see what the paper had to say, and several expressed their outrage at the company's attitude.

Also, additional teams of *Militant-PM* supporters have sold at the rail yard for a couple of weeks, and additional papers were sold. The main result, though, was that more workers took a serious look at the *Militant* for the first time, which will pay off over the long run if regular sales are maintained.

Our next step will be to put out a leaflet introducing the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to rail workers, following the suggestion made by a previous contributor to this column.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

subscription drive.

During that drive, two rail workers, one who works for Amtrak and the other for New Jersey Transit, bought *Militant* subscriptions from our team. Because of rail workers' constantly changing

during the fall drive are running out and it's time to renew. Recently we met another NJT worker who told us that one of his co-workers had sold him a *Militant* subscription. "In fact, I just got my renewal notice in the mail," he

'I wish mainstream media would print the truth'

BY MALIK MIAH

As we head into the final week of the eight-week renewal campaign, 881 *Militant* readers have extended their subscriptions. Some 67 renewals came into the business office this past week.

In addition, renewals to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* are just beginning to come in. New *PM* subscribers began receiving renewal notices from New York with the February issue, and distributors around the country only began contacting subscribers a couple weeks ago. Twenty-four renewals came in this past week, with 11 for one-year subscriptions.

Of the 881 *Militant* renewals, 221 are for six-month extensions and 246 are for one-year extensions. Those ordering a six-month or one-year renewal also receive a free issue of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

Readers extending their subscriptions often include a brief comment on their renewal form. After extending her subscription for three months, a reader in Ventura, California, wrote: "I wish the 'mainstream' media would print the truth. Perhaps then people would no longer have such blind faith in their leaders and realize the atrocities that their 'leaders' are directly and indirectly committing against our people."

"Coverage of Irangate has been outstanding," wrote a Baltimore reader. "[I] would like to see more on events in Pakis-

tan. Keep up the great work!"

Another subscriber, in Portland, Maine, wrote: "I read the *Militant* primarily for the Nicaragua coverage." He added, "I would like to see more coverage of Vietnam, and an ongoing analysis of what that country is doing to reconstruct itself after the savage American war."

While all the letters and comments the business office receives are not always favorable, the overall response is positive. This is also true around the country.

In a recent discussion with Candace Wagner and Leroy Watson of Newark, New Jersey, that's what they reported. I last talked to Newark distributors nearly five weeks ago when the renewal effort first kicked off. One month later the results are impressive.

"Not only have 20 people renewed their subscriptions," Wagner said, "but another 18 people have bought first-time subscriptions. That's been one of the benefits of organizing the renewal campaign — everyone is more aware of selling subscriptions in general."

During February, Newark *Militant* supporters are organizing phone calling to the subscriber lists three times a week. In addition, Watson explained, sales are organized at Black History Month events. They also sell at other political events and meetings.

"We only began organizing regular phone calling of *PM* subscribers a couple

weeks ago," Watson added. "The response has been good. Four *PM* subscriptions have been extended. And when we go out to pick up the money, we've also sold back issues of *PM*, the Pathfinder Press book *Habla Nelson Mandela* [Nelson Mandela Speaks], and other literature. One person not only renewed his *PM* subscription but bought a *Militant* subscription when he learned there is an English *PM*."

"That's not uncommon," said Wagner. "Because the *PM* comes out monthly, many *PM* readers also decide to subscribe to the *Militant*."

Watson stressed the value of home visits to subscribers. "People like to see the human face. They want to talk politics."

"We've also found," Wagner said, "that it is important to call back people who say, 'call me in a week or two.' Many of these subscribers have extended their subscriptions on the second or third call back."

After my interview with Wagner and Watson, I ran into Hector Marroquin, another distributor of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* in New Jersey. Marroquin has done some of the phone calling to *PM* subscribers.

I asked him what the response has been. "Great," he said. "80 percent of the people I've talked to said they will renew their *PM* subscription." So far, Marroquin has talked to 20 readers.

Verdict due in Bumpurs killing

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — A judge's verdict is now awaited in the manslaughter trial of Stephen Sullivan, the city cop who shot and killed Eleanor Bumpurs, a 66-year-old Black woman. Sullivan was one of a team of cops who broke into Bumpurs' city housing apartment to evict her for owing four months on her \$98 rent.

The nonjury trial ended February 17 with prosecution and defense summations. Sullivan's lawyer sparked an angry outburst from the courtroom spectators when he suggested Mary Bumpurs, daughter of

the slain woman, had lied from the witness stand.

The defense argued Sullivan had slain the elderly woman to prevent her from attacking another cop with a kitchen knife. Sullivan's first shot ripped off part of Bumpurs' hand. He then fired the shot that killed her.

A doctor testifying for the defense asserted she might have been able to continue wielding the knife with her fourth and fifth fingers, after the remainder were shot off. He acknowledged he was paid \$750 for his testimony.

Meanwhile, a new case of police brutality has created enough of a stench for Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward to announce a ban on the police practice of hog-tying victims.

Wajid Abdul-Salaam, a city transit worker, died February 12 after being subjected to this.

Victims of hog-tying have their shackled hands and feet trussed behind their backs.

Abdul-Salaam was arrested as a burglary suspect after knocking on the door of a home and pleading for water, complaining of chest pains.

Eight cops descended on him, hog-tied him and took him away. In a police holding cell, Abdul-Salaam lapsed into a coma and was pronounced dead after being taken to a hospital.

The lawyer for his family, C. Vernon Mason, charged Abdul-Salaam had been beaten by the cops and this was the cause of his death.

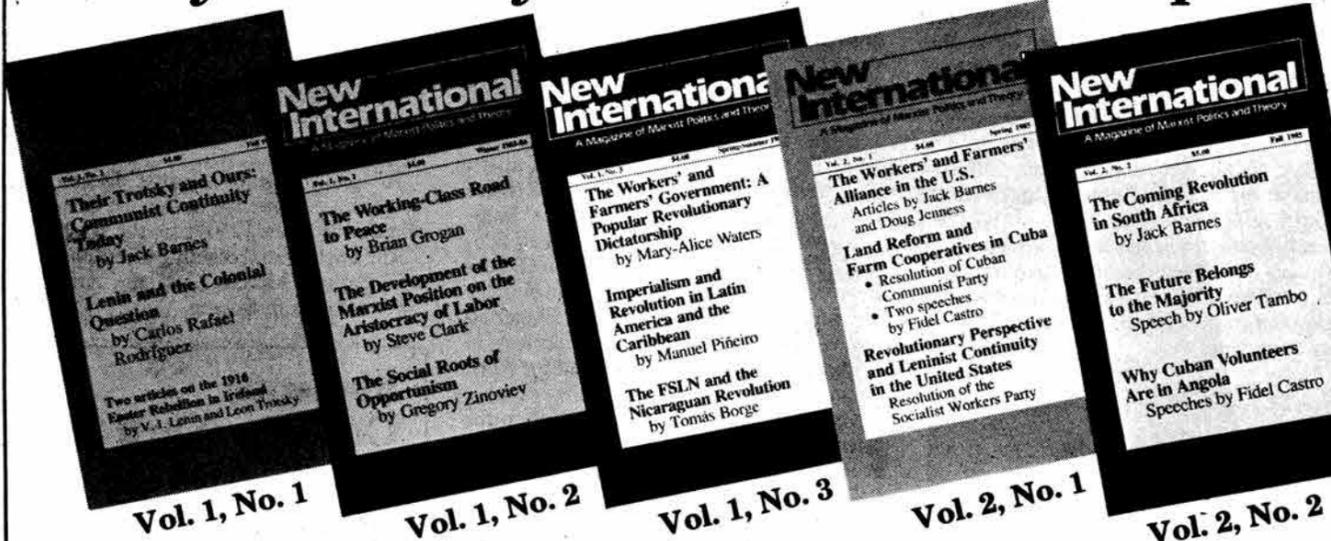
Mason is also attorney for Timothy Grimes, a survivor of the Howard Beach attack.

Police claim an autopsy showed a high level of cocaine in Abdul-Salaam's blood. Mason responded he had received anonymous information from a nurse at the hospital where Abdul-Salaam died. She said a blood test conducted by the hospital found no evidence of cocaine. She gave Mason the name of an attending doctor who could confirm this. So far, the doctor has not been available to reporters.

Mason also said that when Abdul-Salaam's widow saw the body there were bruise marks on his face. She was not permitted to view the rest of the body.

Police conceded there were bruises on his face and "extremities," but argued this was the result of a scuffle, not a beating.

Special offer for 'New International' if you renew your 'Militant' subscription



If you renew your *Militant* subscription today, you'll receive free an issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York.

Or for only \$10 you can receive all of the five issues of *New International* that have appeared — a big saving.

Please send me:

One-year *Militant* renewal subscription and free *New*

International. (Specify *NI* Vol. _____ No. _____ desired.) \$24.

Six-month renewal and free *New International*. (Specify Vol. _____ No. _____) \$12.

All five issues of *New International* (without *Militant* renewal). \$10.

One issue of *New International*. Vol. _____

No. _____ \$3.

Subscription to *New International*. \$12 for three issues. Current issue sent free.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Make check payable to the *Militant*, and send to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Cuba hosts Third World art festival

Challenges imperialist legacy

BY MIKE ALEWITZ

HAVANA — "What we have is a giant festival of Third World art," said Gerardo Mosquera, one of the central organizers of the Havana Biennial. The vast arts exhibition opened November 26 and concluded December 31.

The first Havana Biennial was held in 1984. More than 800 artists from Latin America and the Caribbean participated in that event, and 200,000 people viewed some 2,000 works of art.

That show's success encouraged organizers to expand the 1986 exhibition to include art from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. More than 2,400 works by artists from 58 countries were represented in the show at the National Museum of Fine Arts.

"The Biennial is not just the activities in Havana," Mosquera explained, "but takes place throughout the entire country." Special exhibitions and workshops were held throughout December, including one-person shows by Amalia Palaez of Cuba, Herve Telemaque of Haiti, Nja Mahdaoui of Tunisia, and others.

Artists from Nicaragua played a prominent part in the month's events. That country's revolutionary government is fostering art programs, schools, workshops, and centers.

The lively and popular character of Nicaraguan art was indicated by the group showing of the work of primitivist (untrained) painters from the islands of Solentiname, located in Lake Nicaragua in the southern part of the country. The Solentiname artists' project was organized by Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal.

More than a dozen Nicaraguan artists submitted works to the central show.

"Beyond the blockade" was a show of 60 works by North American artists displayed in the Casa de las Américas during the Biennial. The show included work by such notable artists as Vito Acconci, Judy Chicago, Leon Golub, Keith Haring, Claes Oldenburg, Jacob Lawrence, and Miriam Shapiro. At the opening ceremonies the exhibit was donated to the people of Cuba. The organizing committee for this show included critics Dore Ashton and Lucy Lippard and artists Eva Cockcroft and Juan Sánchez.

Suppression of Third World art

Much of contemporary Third World art is undocumented. The major art institutions and media of the imperialist countries tend to ignore, condemn as irrelevant, or patronize as primitive Third World art. The

modernist and postmodernist movements stemming from Europe and the United States have been held up as the only real contemporary art.

Because of the legacy of imperialism, many countries are unable to maintain arts institutions and a layer of working artists. Even in revolutionary countries like Cuba, the process of building the arts is a decades-long process.

All these factors made the organizers' task difficult. The selection process varied from country to country. In some cases artists were invited by the biennial organizers. In others arts organizations or government institutions made the selections. Many Third World countries were not represented at all. The works themselves ranged from tourist-oriented "primitives" to works reflecting strong European influence to those with indigenously based styles and subject matter.

Prizes were awarded to artists from Uruguay, Mozambique, India, Mexico, Argentina, the Philippines, Angola, Peru, and Cuba. Prize-winner Marta Palau donated her prize money to revolutionary Nicaragua and her award-winning work to Cuba.

The Biennial gave a strong impulse to the work of the Wilfredo Lam Center, which documents and exhibits artistic works of the oppressed peoples who are a majority of the world's population. The center also played a major role in the November 27-29 International Conference on Visual Arts in the Caribbean.

African culture in Cuba

Lilian Llanes, director of the Wilfredo Lam center, opened the conference. She placed the meeting in the context of the struggles in Latin America today and the legacy of the nineteenth-century Cuban revolutionary Jose Martí. Martí was not only a political organizer, but a literary and artistic critic who attempted to forge links between all of the oppressed of the Western Hemisphere — "our America," as he called it.

Suzanne Garriques of Morgan State University in Baltimore spoke on the early works of Lam, an outstanding Cuban artist.

Speeches of Bishop now out in Spanish

The Cuban publishing house Casa de las Américas has put out for the first time in Spanish an extensive collection of the writings of Maurice Bishop, murdered leader

of the Grenada revolution.

The volume, *Maurice Bishop: Selected Speeches, 1979-1983*, traces the history of the Grenada revolution through more than 30 speeches by Bishop.

This is a "major publishing event for Cuba, and for the many eventual readers throughout Latin America," declared a report on the new book in the January 25 issue of the Havana newspaper *Granma Weekly Review*.

"Casa de las Américas always planned to provide Spanish-speaking readers in Cuba and Latin America with the chance to read the thinking of a man who became a bulwark of revolutionary honesty and integrity, and this has now materialized" with the Spanish edition of *Selected Speeches*.

The book updates a collection of Bishop's speeches originally printed in English by Casa de las Américas in 1982. Added are a number of important documents, including the text of Bishop's speech to U.S. working people at Hunter College in New York City June 5, 1983.

Also added to the Spanish-language edition are three interviews with Bishop, two taken from *Granma* and a third that first appeared in the U.S. news magazine *Intercontinental Press* in 1980.

'Platoon' makes you think twice about fighting another Vietnam

Platoon. Written and directed by Oliver Stone. Produced by Arnold Kopelson. Distributed by Orion Pictures.

BY MICHAEL BROWN

Platoon is a movie about a group of GIs in Vietnam who at first thought they were

FILM REVIEW

fighting for democratic rights but later realized they were fighting to survive.

month-long Latin American film festival began. In just a few weeks, between 400 and 500 new films from throughout Latin America were shown. Like the Biennial, the film festival is an international effort hosted by Cuba and sponsored by a wide spectrum of individuals and institutions.

A special program of African films ran concurrently with the festival. Film-makers from the West African nation of Burkina Faso participated. Gaston Kaboré, president of the Film Center there, described the African film festival to be held in Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso, in late February.

At the November 26 opening ceremony of the Biennial, Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart addressed an audience of thousands. "In bringing your work from such far off places," he said, "you have shown great trust in Cuba, and this moves and commits us. Visual arts in the so-called Third World date back thousands of years. Their history is sacred because it expresses what we are. Those who don't seek nourishment from the past cannot build a constructive present or future. In the last few decades the visual arts of many of our peoples were influenced by the so-called European avant-garde; but now we have broken on the scene with our own force."

The story begins with a group of GIs who have just landed in Vietnam. The first thing they see are body bags being shipped back to the States. That's when their look of determination turns into fear. I am sure a lot of vets could relate to that particular scene.

Chris Taylor, who plays the patriotic college student, comes to realize who is fighting the war — workers, farmers, and poor people. One of the GIs asks him, "What are you doing here? You're a rich college kid who quit school to come here. You must be crazy." After the first battle, he begins to feel a little crazy.

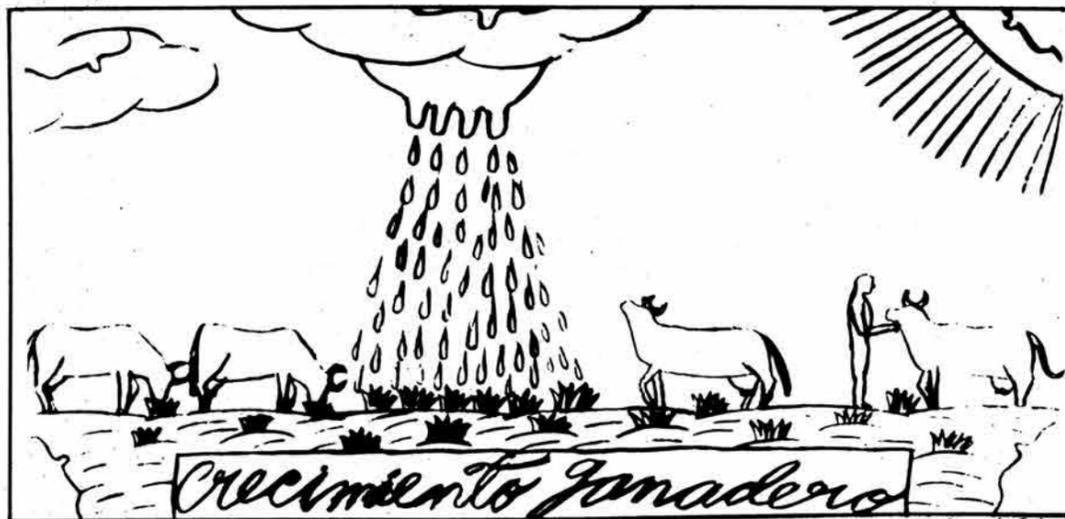
Fear becomes the only emotion throughout the movie: the fear of being killed, the fear of not making it home. This is what really makes the movie realistic.

In one segment of the movie the platoon comes upon a small village. The GIs come face to face with peasants who are supporters of the revolution. Sergeant Barnes, a gung-ho lifer who controls a small clique of GIs, begins to ransack the village. They beat and kill a young retarded peasant, rape children, and end up killing an old woman who stood up and complained about the GIs doing this. That's when the other GIs step in to stop a potential massacre. At that moment the GIs don't know who the enemy is, or why they are there. All throughout the movie the only thing the GIs can think about is going home and counting the days they have left.

This movie is a powerful and accurate description of the Vietnam War. All of us who served in Vietnam can relate in one way or another to *Platoon*. I would like to recommend that everyone, especially young people and the Rambo stereotypes, see *Platoon*.

The deep message and strong impact of this movie will make you think twice about fighting another Vietnam. Think Central America . . .

Michael Brown was in the U.S. Navy's Riverine Patrol Forces in Vietnam in 1971.



Dairy Development by Cuban artist José Bedia, exhibited with art from 58 countries at Biennial.

Antonio López

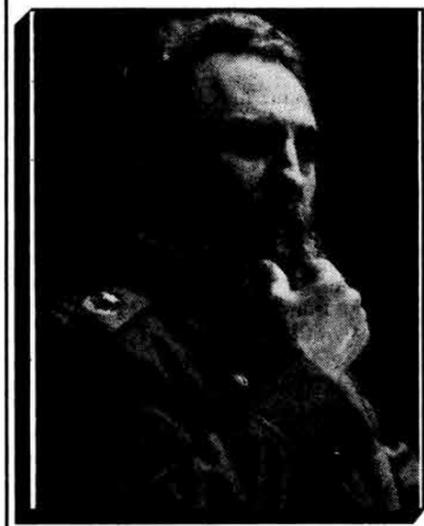
... from Pathfinder:

Fidel Castro Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

"Undoubtedly the longest and most wide-ranging interview ever conducted with Cuban President Fidel Castro. In it, Castro speaks directly to the people of the United States on questions of vital importance to citizens of both our countries."

From the preface by Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally, who with Jeffrey M. Elliot conducted the interview. 276 pages, \$7.95

Available from Pathfinder Bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



Defeat of printers' strike is big blow to British workers

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — At a meeting here February 10, printers called off their 13-month-long strike against two plants owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International. The "Wapping Dispute," as it became known, was the most important labor battle in Britain since the 1984-1985 miners' strike. The defeat of this struggle is a big setback for the working class in Britain.

A week before the strike was called off, the leadership of the two major printers' unions, the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT-82) and the National Graphical Association (NGA) had withdrawn official backing for the strike. This was done under the threat of court action by Murdoch. The newspaper tycoon claimed damages of £250,000 (\$400,000) from each union for failing to end mass demonstrations and mass picketing outside the News International plants at Wapping in East London and Kinning Park in Glasgow.

The decision by the top officials of the two unions to end support for the strike was made without consulting the strikers.

The strikers' goal was to win the reinstatement of the 5,500 printers fired by News International in January 1985 at the time the new Wapping plant was opened, and to win recognition at Wapping and Kinning Park.

The failure to win these aims has substantially weakened these two hitherto powerful printing unions.

Moreover, it is a sharp setback to the fight against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's antiunion laws, which were used to their fullest extent against this strike.

Among other things, these laws greatly curtail picketing.

New work rules in the Wapping plant itself establish a new trend in conditions of employment. The scab work force, recruited by the electricians' union, has accepted a legally enforceable no-strike agreement and complete job flexibility. As a result, jobs in the News International print room have been cut from 2,000 when it operated at Fleet Street to 500 at its Wapping location.

Determined struggle

The fired News International print workers put up a determined fight. They maintained a round-the-clock picket of the plant and mobilized twice-weekly demonstrations of several thousand. From time to time, the Saturday demonstrations became a major focus for the labor movement. At one of these mobilizations, on January 24, police waded into 20,000 demonstrators, causing a number of injuries.

The plant was surrounded by razor wire. Police on horseback as well as on foot, carrying shields and wielding riot sticks, were routine outside Wapping during the strike. Nearly 1,500 printers and their supporters were arrested in 1986.

Yet the strike remained essentially isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) general council refused to mobilize any of its nearly 10 million members in support. TUC General Secretary Norman Willis argued that Thatcher's antiunion laws would be used against the TUC if it took action.

The general council's position was in defiance of the 1986 TUC's Congress, which voted to back the print workers' struggle and demanded the general council discipline the electricians' union for organizing the scab work force.

Leaderships of other unions made sympathetic noises, but with the exception of the miners' little action was taken. The Transport Union failed to discipline its members who nightly drove Murdoch's transport trucks through the picket lines. Murdoch had acquired his own transport company to distribute his papers nationally, thereby sidestepping solidarity action by rail workers who previously had distributed the papers.

Neil Kinnock and the leadership of the

Labour Party verbally supported the strike. Their orientation, however, was to end mass picketing, which they considered harmful to their electoral chances.

Solidarity from the miners

There was some important support, nonetheless. For example the coal miners and the Women Against Pit Closures mobilized to aid the strikers.

Arthur Scargill, the leader of the National Union of Mineworkers, addressed mass rallies outside Wapping on a number of occasions. Early in the dispute Scargill had declared, "Miners will respond in their thousands if the print workers ask them." No official call came, however.

Support for the printers also came from Women Against Murdoch (WAM), which organized the women family members of the printers in the dispute. WAM had been inspired by the Women Against Pit Closures that had organized similar support during the miners' strike.

Support groups were formed in most major cities. This network collected much needed finances and helped mobilize for the mass pickets and demonstrations.

Residents in the local area regularly mobilized to show their support and to demonstrate their hostility to the existence in their community of "Fortress Wapping."

The leaders of the SOGAT-82 and the NGA, however, never developed a strategy for mobilizing the strength of their own unions or building solidarity with the rest of the labor movement. From the beginning, they counterposed their alternative of "moderation" to that of the still-fresh experience of mass picketing and mass action during the coal miners' strike.

Accordingly, they insisted any action they organized stay within the Tories' draconian antiunion laws. They focused on campaigning for a consumer boycott of News International titles rather than mobilizing support from other trade unions.

Polarization in print unions

This contradictory stance reflected the polarized situation among print workers.

The printers have enjoyed some of the highest paid jobs in British industry. Union strength had been such that if you lost your union membership, you would also lose



Tony Savino

Workers picket Wapping plant owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International firm. British cops helped break strike against firing of 5,500 unionists.

your job. And over the years printers had demonstrated solidarity with other fights.

But in the last few years the composition of the print unions has changed. The print union SOGAT-82 had been formed in 1982 from a fusion between printers in the main print centers such as Fleet Street in London and those who organized distribution in ancillary industries as well as printers in smaller plants. The printers from the main centers were a minority in the new union. The divisions during the strike tended to fall along those lines.

The militancy and determination of the fired printers deepened the polarization in the print unions and in the broader labor movement. On three separate occasions the fired printers rejected sellout deals in secret ballots. The demonstrations and mass picketing of Wapping were carried on in direct defiance of the court injunction granted News International and acceded to by the union leaderships in May.

This bold stance enabled the printers in Wapping and Kinning Park to win their union to support their strike and demands. At the biennial delegate conference last July, clear aims of full reinstatement and union recognition were won for the first time. Until then the leadership had emphasized increasing unemployment payments.

Other opportunities to extend the struggle and deepen support were missed. For example, no campaign was organized to

win the workers at Demrose in Liverpool, who produce the News International color supplement. Consequently, they refused to join the fight.

Then, in turn, all the other newspaper publishers demanded new conditions, wage cuts, and layoffs. Each one of these deals was negotiated by the union leadership without trying to link up with the Wapping fight.

The only exception to this bleak picture in the print industry were the London wholesale distribution workers who refused to handle News International titles. The leader of this action, Mike Hicks, was jailed for 12 months on a trumped-up charge.

Without mobilizing print workers, it was difficult to get action from the rest of the labor movement. The handwriting was on the wall when, early this year, the SOGAT membership narrowly turned down a proposed 88-cents-a-week assessment for the strike. The police riot and the court actions added the *coup de grace*.

This fight will leave an indelible mark on the labor movement. The lessons of this historic struggle will be debated for a long time. The experience has deepened the political understanding of those who supported the fight in the support committees, in the NUM, and in Women Against Pit Closures. This is also true of such left Labour Party figures as Tony Benn who fully backed the struggle.

New Zealand socialists hold nat'l conference

The following article is abridged from the January 30 issue of *Socialist Action*, a biweekly newspaper published in Auckland, New Zealand.

BY JOAN PHILLIPS

AUCKLAND — How can socialist workers most effectively participate in political movements and in the struggles of workers and their unions? How can socialists help other working-class fighters gain a broader class perspective?

These questions were the heart of discussions at the five-day Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held by the Socialist Action League and Young Socialists at the end of 1986.

International guests included Dave Deutschmann, a representative of Pathfinder Press/Pacific and Asia based in Sydney, Australia; a delegation from the Socialist League, a group of Australian supporters of the Fourth International; and Sam Manuel, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

Members of other left groups in New Zealand also attended, including members of the Workers Communist League, a representative of the Revolutionary Communist League in Christchurch, and members of the Socialist Alliance from Auckland and Wellington.

The conference was addressed by representatives of an anti-apartheid organization, Hart; Kanak Solidarity (Kanakans are the indigenous people fighting for the independence of New Caledonia, South Pacific

islands held by France as a colony); Nicaragua Must Survive; Philippines Solidarity Network; Auckland Trades Council Peace Office; and the Cuba Friendship Society.

The conference featured talks, class series, panel discussions, and other events. Topics ranged from women's liberation, to the freedom struggle in the Pacific, to the program for farmers put forward by the New Zealand Labour Party in its early years.

Workshops brought together SAL members involved in different struggles and campaigns to discuss perspectives for 1987.

Other workshops discussed strengthening SAL finances, literature sales, socialist forums, and other institutions.

League and YS members who belong to the two meat workers' unions — the United Food and Chemical Workers Union and the Engineers Union — met separately.

A rally raised money for *Socialist Action*. Three international guests spoke — Deutschmann, Manuel, and Lee Warkington (the latter representing the Socialist League of Australia). Jurriaan Bendien presented greetings on behalf of the Revolutionary Communist League.

Two *Socialist Action* supporters, attending their first conference, also spoke.

Two themes dominated the conference.

The first was the new opportunities that exist to draw workers, their unions, and young fighters into political activity. This

is especially true of activities opposing U.S. imperialism's war against Nicaragua and in solidarity with the struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Mike Tucker, editor of *Socialist Action*, reported on the new openings for spreading socialist ideas in the labor movement in New Zealand.

Growing numbers of union members are looking for effective ways to fight the bosses' attacks, Tucker said. He cited the fight of the pulp and paper workers at Kawerau last August and September.

Harold Appleton, assistant secretary of the Pulp and Paper Workers Union at Kawerau, was a special guest at the conference. He took part in a panel discussion on the situation facing the unions.

He described the participation of the union ranks in all decisions made during the battle. He stressed that a union's strength is its membership, and that workers need unity and union solidarity to confront common problems. "Every fight is everyone's fight," he said.

The second theme was the challenge before New Zealand communists to deepen our understanding of our revolutionary heritage and continuity. Socialist Action League National Secretary Russell Johnson spoke on "Communist Continuity and Prospects for a Socialist Revolution in New Zealand." Many classes dealt with aspects of this theme.

A total of \$3,380 [US\$1,825] worth of literature was sold by Pilot Books, a New Zealand distributor of books published by Pathfinder Press.

What sanctions work against apartheid?

BY ERNEST HARSCH

International Business Machines, General Motors, Exxon, General Electric, Coca-Cola, and some 70 other U.S. companies have announced over the past two years that they are pulling out of South Africa.

Are these "withdrawals" effective sanctions? Are these companies really cutting their ties to apartheid? Is this what anti-apartheid activists have been campaigning for?

Many opponents of apartheid don't think so.

"It is fake divestment," Tim Webb, a British trade union leader, said of IBM's announced withdrawal. He was speaking at a mid-January conference in London of British and U.S. union leaders called to discuss an international organizing drive for IBM workers.

Morton Bahr, president of the Communications Workers of America, said that IBM's announcement was "hypocritical," designed to "deceive the American people."

Several days later, on January 19, five U.S. anti-apartheid organizations issued a statement declaring that "companies like General Motors, IBM, and Coca-Cola have announced withdrawals but continue to provide vital economic support to South Africa through ongoing licensing, distribution, marketing, and service agreements."

IBM, for example, has granted an exclusive IBM franchise to the new company that has bought up its former subsidiary. The full range of IBM products and services will continue to be available in South Africa.

"Such companies have not ended their links to apartheid," the statement said.

The five groups are the American Committee on Africa, American Friends Service Committee, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, TransAfrica, and Washington Office on Africa.

Meanwhile, the economic sanctions that the U.S. government has proclaimed against South Africa are very limited.

Contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 approved by Congress, these measures prohibit most new U.S. investments in South Africa and imports of South African steel, iron, uranium, coal, and textiles. These trade restrictions affect \$350 million worth of South African exports to the United States — only a tenth of the \$3.4 billion yearly trade between the two countries.

Companies feel the heat

Limited though they are, such measures by Washington and by many U.S. corporations reflect the pressure they are under. For a long time they resisted any reduction in their direct ties with South Africa.

But the massive growth of the South African freedom struggle has shaken the confidence of many foreign investors.

So has South Africa's severe economic recession. Most of the firms that have said they are pulling out have cited the declin-



General Motors plant in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. GM says it has pulled out of South Africa, but "new" owners will produce GM cars and trucks with parts supplied by GM in United States.

ing profit rate of their South African operations.

The U.S. government and companies have likewise come under intense pressure from the anti-apartheid movement in this country.

As part of the fight for sanctions, the demand for state and city governments and universities to withdraw their funds from companies doing business in South Africa has served to educate about U.S. corporate links with apartheid. And it has served to help mobilize tens of thousands in action against apartheid, particularly students.

So far, 15 states, 49 cities, and 120 uni-

versities have adopted measures at least partially divesting funds from companies operating in South Africa.

Confronted with this situation, about a quarter of all U.S. companies with direct subsidiaries in South Africa have made "divestment" announcements.

'Not withdrawing from South Africa'

But rather than pulling out entirely, these companies are selling their subsidiaries to local South African businessmen and corporations — with whom they then maintain close ties.

Asian-Americans hit racist attacks

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

NEW YORK — "Just like other people of color," Mini Liu said in a meeting here recently, "Asian-Americans face racist attacks. Asian-Americans are presented as a 'model minority' which is then used to justify their exclusion from affirmative action and other programs."

Liu is chairperson of the Coalition Against Anti-Asian Violence. In a statement of purpose adopted by the coalition last August, some of the attacks against Asian-Americans were described:

- Gary Moy, a Chinese-American teenager, was stabbed in Brooklyn last June by a youth who said, "These Chinks don't belong in this neighborhood."

- Charles Pyo, a Korean cab driver, was severely beaten last March by Queens, New York police shouting racial slurs.

- Bun Vong, a Kampuchean refugee, was chased and beaten to death by two men in Medford, Massachusetts, in August 1985.

- Ly Yung Cheung, a Chinese-American garment worker, was pushed to her death in front of a subway train two years ago. The assailant said he had a "phobia about Asians."

The coalition of organizations that came together looking for a way to respond to the racist attacks includes Japanese-, Chinese-, and Korean-American groups, as well as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25, which has a predominantly Chinese membership.

Contributing to anti-Asian violence, the statement points out, are the whipping up of anti-alien sentiment, proposals to restrict immigration, and the campaign to

make English the official language of the United States.

The coalition condemns the scapegoating of Asian countries, hence all Asian-looking people, for unemployment in this country, and opposes the "Buy American" campaign and the calls for trade protectionism that are pressed by the labor union officialdom.

The coalition has been participating in the protest movement against the murder of Michael Griffith, the Black construction worker killed in the Howard Beach attack. "It's time to unite," Mini Liu said, "and demand justice."

Bobbis Misailides is a member of ILGWU Local 23-25.

Oliver Tambo speaks in Atlanta

BY HELEN LOWENTHAL

ATLANTA — Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), received a standing ovation from 2,500 students and guests at a Morehouse College assembly, where he was awarded an honorary degree on February 5, the last day of his U.S. tour. Many of the students at the Black college had demonstrated two weeks earlier to protest the exclusion of Blacks from Forsyth County, Georgia, and several speakers alluded to the racism of apartheid and racism in the United States.

Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young made welcoming remarks for the program. He criticized the Reagan administration's support for the apartheid regime and compared it with its support for the *contras* in Nicaragua.

Tambo traced the history of the ANC, which is observing its 75th anniversary this year. For its first 50 years, it was committed to nonviolent forms of protest, Tambo said. But in 1961 it took up arms. Like General Washington and the 5,000 Black soldiers who fought as part of the Continental Army for the independence of the 13 colonies, "we also know — in the face of tyranny — to rise up in defense of the oppressed."

"The apartheid regime is the fountainhead of international racism," Tambo said.

"It has its allies here . . . South Africa is a hothouse of racist ideas for racists in the United States." He reiterated the program of the ANC for a united, democratic South Africa with equal rights for all.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Oliver Tambo, president of African National Congress of South Africa.

Haitian protesters in Miami call for ouster of U.S.-backed regime

BY LINDA JOYCE

MIAMI — Over 500 people took to the streets here February 7 to express their dissatisfaction with the National Council of Government (CNG), Haiti's caretaker government since Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier was toppled one year ago.

The crowd chanted, "Down with CNG—Long live Charlemagne Peralte" and "Death to imperialism—blow by blow. Down with the CIA!" as they marched through downtown to the Haitian consulate. Peralte was the head of the national liberation movement in Haiti during the U.S. occupation, 1915-1934.

Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, delivered a letter to the Haitian consulate demanding that the \$50 passport fees for Haitians wanting to return be reduced.

The Miami city government put up \$10,000 to put on a street festival in the Haitian community to try to deflect protest.

Their "celebration" of "democracy" in Haiti since Duvalier's fall was a flop. Many Haitians said there was nothing to celebrate. Nothing has been done to change the gross poverty and horrendous working conditions of Haiti's workers and peasants.

Referring to the Haitians that organized the "celebration," a representative of the Committee Against CNG Propaganda said at the rally after the march, "Feb. 7, 1987, shows us clearly who is ready to fight for radical change in Haiti and who is not, and further why we can't participate in any celebration. Feb. 7 should be a moment of reflection for the masses to find new forms of struggle that will lead to radical changes."

Other speakers included a representative of the Latin American Solidarity Committee.

Groups organizing the march included the Veye Yo Committee, Ad Hoc Committee of Solidarity With Haiti, and the Committee Against CNG Propaganda.

Argentine revolutionary Nahuel Moreno dies

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Hugo Bressano, better known as Nahuel Moreno, an Argentine leader of the revolutionary workers' movement for four and a half decades, died of a heart attack January 25 at the age of 62.

Moreno became politically active in the Argentine Trotskyist movement when he was 15 years old. In 1941 he was a founding member of the Workers Party of the Socialist Revolution (PORS), which was recognized as the Argentine section of the Fourth International.

During the labor upsurge that swept Argentina after World War II, Moreno participated in the battles that forged two of the country's most powerful unions — the packinghouse and textile unions. He was especially active in the important 1945 meat-packers' strike against the British-owned Anglo and CIABASA plants.

In 1956, he also was centrally involved in a major political strike of the metalworkers protesting the military coup that overthrew the government of Juan Perón the previous year.

The postwar period saw two Trotskyist groups develop in Argentina — the Fourth International group, led by Juan Posadas, and the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), led by Moreno.

In 1953 the Fourth International split into two public wings, the International Secretariat and the International Committee. The IS recognized the group led by Posadas, who headed its Latin American Bureau; the Moreno-led organization supported the IC.

When the Cuban revolution triumphed in 1959, a large majority in both wings of the Fourth International responded enthusiastically to this historic advance for workers and peasants the world over. This and other developments paved the way for reunification of the majority of the forces in the International in 1963.

The Posadas current, however, viewed Cuba's revolutionary leaders as competitors in Latin America and set out to contest for leadership throughout the continent. Its sectarian political course led it to break with the Fourth International in 1962, refusing to take part in the reunification.

The party led by Moreno was not recognized as the Argentine section of the Fourth International until 1965. The same year, it merged with another group to form the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).

During the 1960s, revolutionists all over Latin America were inspired by the Cuban revolution and debated its lessons for the struggles developing throughout the conti-



Hugo Bressano, better known as Nahuel Moreno, was longtime leader of revolutionary workers' movement.

ment. Much of the discussion centered on how to repeat in other Latin American countries the overturn of capitalist rule that the workers and peasants had carried out in Cuba. The role of guerrilla warfare and the kind of revolutionary organization needed were hotly disputed.

These developments were reflected inside the whole workers' vanguard, including in the Fourth International. In the early 1970s, two factions emerged — the International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF), dividing the Fourth International into two virtually equal parts.

The IMT presented guerrilla warfare as a general strategic orientation for the revolutionary movement in all of Latin America. The LTF, while seeing guerrilla struggle as an important and correct tactic in certain concrete situations, argued that no single tactic could be successful if raised to the level of a strategy. It insisted on the perspective of building revolutionary parties based on the struggles, experiences, and mass organizations of the workers and farmers. Only parties capable of winning leadership on all fronts could stand at the head of a mass struggle for power.

In Argentina, where a mass upsurge was developing against the military dictatorship, the PRT split in 1968 over the guerrilla strategy.

One group, called the PRT (*Combatiente*), was led by Roberto Santucho. It launched a guerrilla organization, the Revolutionary People's Army, and sought to carry out the guerrilla warfare strategy. Santucho and many other courageous and dedicated revolutionaries were killed in the

repression unleashed by the military regime. The party moved away from the Fourth International and finally left it in 1973.

The other group, led by Moreno, was called the PRT (*La Verdad*). It rejected the orientation advocated by the IMT, and supported the LTF.

1969 workers' upsurge

In 1969 a huge workers' upsurge began in Argentina, continuing for several years. Massive strikes and popular rebellions shook industrial centers such as Córdoba, Rosario, and other Argentine cities. The PRT (*La Verdad*) was able to test its perspectives in practice. It succeeded in winning many workers and expanding its influence in the unions.

When the military regime was forced to hold elections in 1973, the PRT (*La Verdad*) — which had joined with the Argentine Socialist Party to form the Socialist Workers Party (PST) — took advantage of this opening to present its revolutionary views to millions of Argentine working people. The party ran Juan Carlos Coral for president and Nora Ciapponi for vice-president, as well as a slate of 2,200 candidates, including many well-known militant unionists.

With the 1976 military coup in Argentina, the PST, like all other workers' par-

ties, was forced underground and suffered heavy blows. Nevertheless, its considerable roots in the workers' movement enabled it to survive the harsh repression.

However, the PST under Moreno's leadership began to develop an increasingly sectarian and adventurous course that eventually led it to break from the Fourth International. The first clear indication of this outside Argentina was its ultraleft stand on what working people should do in Portugal following the 1974 overthrow of the dictatorship there and the subsequent popular upsurge in that country.

From 1975 on, Moreno also bitterly opposed the dissolution of the two factions within the Fourth International. In 1977 the factions dissolved, and Moreno established his own Bolshevik Faction. This was accompanied by an increasingly harsh and factional internal regime.

Provocation

Moreno's break with revolutionary Marxism culminated with a provocation directed against the victorious Sandinista revolution in 1979.

In the final months of the revolutionary struggle for power in Nicaragua, Moreno's supporters organized an armed international contingent called the Simón Bolívar Brigade. It entered Nicaragua in the last days of the country's civil war.

Using the name and banners of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the brigade refused to submit to the Sandinistas' discipline and carried out provocative actions that led to the expulsion from the country of its non-Nicaraguan members. The Simón Bolívar Brigade played a particularly destructive role in the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields.

Moreno's course was condemned by the Fourth International as a "criminal adventure." In response, Moreno and his followers formally broke with the Fourth International.

At the time of his death, Moreno was the central leader of the Movement Toward Socialism in Argentina, and of an international Trotskyist grouping called the International Workers League.

A memorial meeting and funeral procession of several thousand was held for Nahuel Moreno on January 27 in Buenos Aires.

Killings by Philippine military

Continued from front page
vision within the NDF ranks."

The government has gone to great lengths to present the NDF as solely responsible for ending the talks and itself as willing to continue negotiations. At the same time, President Corazon Aquino took a tough stance toward the guerrilla fighters.

On February 11 Aquino spoke before some 400 middle level officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) at Camp Aguinaldo. She told officers to "renew their battle with the rebels so that we shall have law and order throughout the country and so that our people can work in peace."

She continued, "The truce is over. Send this message to all our troops so that none will be misled to relax their vigilance to their peril and that of the people they are charged to protect."

In the same speech Aquino announced formation of a special committee to investigate human rights abuses by nonmilitary personnel, possibly including the CPP-led New People's Army guerrilla organization. The action is to be taken upon the recommendation of Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos.

Aquino has also begun a series of discussions with the army. On February 10 she met with 20 officers of the AFP. Among them were Col. Gregorio Honasan, former chief of security; Juan Ponce Enrile, former defense minister; and Maj. Efrén Aroyata, commander of a faction of the AFP known as the Guardians.

It was reported that the officers assured Aquino of their loyalty to her as commander in chief and that they are at one with the government in excising the "communist threat."

Though there have been some clashes between the NPA and government forces, the bulk of those killed have been civilian

workers and farmers.

The target of the counterinsurgency drive is the workers' and peasants' organizations. According to an article in the February 5 issue of the Manila *Malaya*, "Top military officials met in Manila to map out a coordinated campaign against the urban wing of the NPA. Maj. Gen. Salvador Mison said that the NPA has infiltrated 159 labor unions, 107 schools and universities, and 98 squatter areas in the city."

Since the end of the cease-fire, military attacks in the villages throughout the country have increased. The most brutal occurred February 10 in Lupao, which is located in the province of Nueva Ecija, north of Manila.

Initially the army reported that 14 people — 11 NPA combatants, one army officer, and two civilians — had been killed in a battle between government troops and the NPA. The two civilians were reported to have been killed in a crossfire.

The bitter truth was revealed on February 13 when George Castaneda, the mayor of Lupao, reported that 15 people had been killed, all of them civilians.

Among those killed were six children, an 82-year-old blind woman, and her husband.

Though the army claimed that 12 of those killed were NPA guerrillas, no weapons were recovered from the victims or their homes.

The massacre was confirmed by the acting governor of Nueva Ecija, Emmanuel Santos, in a February 17 report to President Aquino.

A survivor, Jovita Lacasandile, told the *Manila Chronicle*, "The soldiers fired on the people like sitting ducks. They herded them into their houses and ordered them to sit. Then the soldiers opened fire with their rifles."

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? The fight for political rights

The court case brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other U.S. spy agencies "is a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protection to the rights of all," said leading constitutional rights attorney Leonard Boudin, who represents the SWP and YSA.

In an extensive interview featured in the February issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Boudin discusses this lawsuit and the broader fight for democratic rights today.

The interview also describes his involvement in the defense of victims of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, and more recently the fight for the right to bail for Puerto Rican nationalists framed up by the U.S. government on charges of "terrorism."

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.

Perspectiva Mundial

Protestas dicen 'basta' a los ataques racistas

Piden cárcel para matones de Howard Beach

USA
Tras la crisis que sacude a Washington

USA
Entrevista con el destacado abogado Leonard Boudin

Nicaragua
Avanza el proyecto de autonomía para la Costa Atlántica

Convocan a marchas nacionales antiguerra para el 25 de abril

Subscriptions: \$7 for one year; \$4 for six months; Introductory offer, \$2.00 for five months.
 Begin my sub with current issue.

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Clip and mail to PM, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Protest by workers in Philippine export zone

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MARIVELES, Philippines — Some 3,000 singing, chanting workers marched from the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ) February 5 over the narrow bridge that separates the zone from their homes in this city.

Most of the marchers had walked off their jobs to participate in the funeral of 24-year-old Alberto Gonzales. Gonzales was shot dead January 31 when Philippine marines fired without warning into a crowd of 1,000 workers stationed on a barricade across the bridge.

The barricade had been erected January 27 as part of a "welgan bayan" or people's strike organized by BEPZ unions and Mariveles community groups. The strikers protested the January 22 massacre of peasants marching on the Malacañang presidential palace in Manila demanding land reform.

The BEPZ unions, organized as the Bataan Labor Alliance, also demanded a 25 percent wage increase and union rights consistent with promises made by President Corazon Aquino. She made these pledges at a union-organized May Day rally over nine months ago, but none of the rights have yet been made law.

The BEPZ authorities admitted that 31 of the 32 factories in the zone were affected by the strike, with fewer than 6,000 of the 18,000-strong work force reporting for work before the military broke the protest action.

Along with Gonzales, Raul Hilapil, a 10-year-old bystander, was also shot dead. Thirty-four others were injured, two critically.

January 31 attack

Before the February 5 protest march, the *Militant* interviewed Armando Romero and Lucy Salao about the January 31 attack. Romero is coordinator of the Mariveles Young Christian Workers (YCW), whose members include leaders of the union at Intercontinental Garment Manufacturing Corp., the British-owned company that employs 1,300 people in its plant producing sweatsuits.

Salao is the president of the union at IGMC.

On the morning of January 31, they said, about 200 military and police and 10 fire trucks were mobilized in front of the bridge, the main entrance to Mariveles. They demanded admission into the town to "protect" the people, who they claimed were tired of the strikers.

When the workers responded with such chants as, "Implement the Cory [May Day] pronouncements!" the barricades were attacked with high-pressure hoses.

At 1 p.m. a new group of marines was deployed along the river bank. Unknown to the protesters, snipers had been placed on a low hill overlooking the bridge.

The workers were told to disperse, and the police then attacked the barricades. In response, Romero and Salao explained, nearby squatters began dismantling their makeshift homes and passing the walls to the workers at the barricade for use as shields.

The marines began firing bursts, first into the air and then directly into the fleeing crowd across the river. Gonzales was shot in the chest as he pleaded with soldiers to stop shooting.

The murderous attack was unexpected, the YCW leader said. Only the day before, in a meeting with the unions, Jaime Guerrero, head of the government's authority in charge of all the export zones, and BEPZ manager Vic Banzon had assured workers that they recognized the justice of the union demands. The officials promised that military force would not be used.

Most of the injured were garment workers employed in sweatshops owned by foreign corporations in the zone.

Conditions in the export zone

As the march protesting the killings wound its way from the administrative cen-

ter of the BEPZ toward Mariveles, some of these workers outlined to the *Militant* conditions that led them to form the Bataan Labor Alliance.

At the Lotus factory making Nike running shoes, workers receive 52 pesos (\$2.60) for an eight-hour day. Some companies pay even less.

At the United Hong Kong underwear factory, workers receive the equivalent of only \$1 a day, less than half the legal minimum wage. The starting rate there is just 60 cents. The company got away with this, it was explained to this reporter, by bribing inspectors from the Ministry of Labor and Employment.

Many of the workers are women as young as 12 years old.

Garment workers, mostly women, were a large part of the march. They were organized in contingents identified by the company logos imprinted on their T-shirts and blouses.

The chants of the marchers were loudest and most defiant as they passed the military post during their approach to the bridge. The marines had been pulled off the bridge and kept in the background, in line with the Aquino government's promise to keep the military out of Mariveles during the march.

Funeral procession

Crowds of onlookers lined the streets as the march wound its way through the city. Nearing the church where Gonzales' funeral was to be held, the demonstrators fell silent. They were honoring a union commitment to their dead comrade's parents to hold a silent funeral procession.

There was standing-room only inside the big concrete-floored church. BEPZ workers, in their T-shirts and denims, predominated.

Alberto Gonzales' father addressed the congregation. A lifelong resident of Mariveles, he condemned the establishment of the export zone. He said it had destroyed the rice lands and fishing grounds of Mariveles, bringing only poverty and oppression. His son had given his life to fight this, he said.

Gonzales graduated from engineering school in Manila last October. There he had become involved in the Anti-imperialist League of Filipino Students. He had returned to Mariveles to see his parents before looking for a job.

Following the procession to the cemetery, more than 500 workers returned to the center of town for a rally. Speakers included Primo Ampara, chairman of the Bataan Labor Alliance; Elmer Labog, deputy general secretary of the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation; and a national representative of the Young Christian Workers.

One KMU speaker drew much applause from the crowd when he contrasted the government's kid-glove treatment of rightist military mutineers with its attacks on unarmed peasant and worker protesters.

According to KMU leader Labog, some 7,000 people participated in a province-wide protest rally in Mariveles the next day.

Company shutdowns and threats

In the wake of the strike and military repression in the Bataan Export Processing Zone, the Lotus Export Specialist, Inc. reportedly announced February 10 that it will shut down its plant in the zone. About 1,200 workers will lose their jobs. Company officials blame labor unrest and inadequate facilities in the zone for the decision.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Elmer Labog said that in the aftermath of the five-day strike, BEPZ employers are threatening to shut down all KMU-organized plants in the zone for an extended period in a continuing bid to break the unions.

This would affect 70 percent of the 18,000 BEPZ workers, he said.



Filipino garment workers in Bataan Export Processing Zone

— WORLD NEWS BRIEFS —

British gov't promotes emigration to Malvinas

To tighten its colonial grip on the Malvinas Islands, the British government is promoting emigration to the islands, long a part of Argentina's national territory.

Applicants will be given free one-way plane fares, assistance in selling their homes, and the cost of shipping their possessions.

They will also be given priority in obtaining housing. This has created anger among the present 1,902 residents who

The students are demanding open admissions to the universities — that is, the admission of anyone who wishes to attend.

The Socialist Party government of Prime Minister Felipe González has taken the posture of avoiding a confrontation with the students. But scores of young people have been arrested or injured by the cops. In Madrid, a 14-year-old was shot.

The government has refused to accept the demand to end the entrance examination, offering instead to include students in a revision of the entry system, an offer they rejected.

The government also offered to increase school spending by \$150 million, with most of it for scholarships.

The students have demanded more scholarships, as well as stipends for the poorest of students.

The relevance of such demands is underlined by government figures, according to which the unemployment rate is 21 percent, the highest in Western Europe. For youth between the ages of 16 and 24, the jobless figure is a thumping 45 percent.



are coping with a housing shortage. In good measure the shortage is due to the presence of 3,000 British troops, plus workers brought in to build barracks for the troops and a new airport.

In 1982, Argentina moved to reclaim the Malvinas Islands. With U.S. cooperation, the British government responded with a savage assault by a fleet of ships, planes, and troops. This aggression was condemned internationally by anticolonial forces.

Spanish students urge open admissions

Two Spanish student organizations were reported calling on their members to return to classes temporarily while continuing street protest actions.

Massive student actions largely shut down the country's universities and high schools after the Christmas break.

In the face of attacks by the police, tens of thousands have marched in Madrid and other cities across Spain. On February 13, high school students converged on Madrid for a march estimated by student leaders at 150,000.

Preceded by the massive student demonstrations in France last December, the Spanish demonstrations are aimed at ending a system of college admission based on a single examination. High school grades do not count.

Industries continue poisoning the Rhine

The catastrophic spill of 30 tons of mercury and other poisons into the Rhine River last November did little to motivate the governments of the area to enforce meaningful environmental safety standards.

That spill at the Sandoz Chemical company in Switzerland was one in a series of accidents along the river, a key artery for Switzerland, France, West Germany, and the Netherlands.

In January, two barges collided, releasing 540 tons of nitrogen fertilizer into the river. Then a barge rammed a tanker, spilling 10 tons of an explosive benzene compound.

The big chemical and pharmaceutical plants along the river draw out vast amounts of water for production and pour back waste. The water dumped into the river is supposed to be treated, but present treatment methods don't filter out such lethal chemicals as mercury, cadmium, and lead. To improve the treatment process, it's said, would be "prohibitive."

Seven nuclear power plants are now operating along the Rhine, with two more planned.

They discharge huge amounts of heated water into the river, raising its temperature. This spurs the growth of bacteria, which reduces the amount of oxygen, making it even more impossible for fish and plant life to survive.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Women and the Cuban Revolution. Slideshow and presentation by Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party. Tue., Feb. 24, 6 p.m. Dodd 154, UCLA campus. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Racism on the Rise? Speakers: Ahmed J. Anderson, vice-president of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Richmond, participated in Georgia antiracist march; Georges Sayad, chairperson of Oakland Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Diego

Crisis in the Philippines: Workers and Farmers Press Their Demands. Speakers: Emmanuel Fuentebella, photojournalist of the alternative press during the Marcos years; Mari Hawkes, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1125 and chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Francisco

Memorial Meeting for Bob Hoch, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 22, 5 p.m. 3284 23rd St. For more information, call (415) 282-6255.

Immigration Policy As Thought Control: How the FBI and Immigration and Naturalization Service Silence Opposition to U.S. Foreign Policy. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

COLORADO

Denver

The Real Role of the Soviet Union in World Politics. Speaker: Duncan Williams, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Philippines in Crisis: An Update. Speakers: Diana Galindo; Julie Wolinski, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

Films: Sun City and Mandela. To be followed by discussion of future anti-apartheid activities. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Malcolm X: His Life and Its Meaning for Today. Showing of *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz*, a film on the life of Malcolm X. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 10. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Struggle Against Apartheid Today. Speakers: Sahotra Sarkar, former teacher at Sol-

omon Mahlangu Freedom College of the African National Congress in Tanzania. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

The Fight for Black Political Power in Chicago: How Working People Could Win It. A discussion of the alliances of Black and Latino communities and the labor movement. Speakers: Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Kovak C. Williamson, co-convenor, Anti-Apartheid Student Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women. A video *Killing Us Softly*, on advertising's image of women. Speaker: Pat Grogan, former staff writer for the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

IOWA

Des Moines

Eyewitness Report From Forsyth County. Speakers: Marcia Gallo, member United Auto Workers Local 30 and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Kansas City, Missouri; others. Sun., March 1, 7 p.m. 2105 Forest. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Malcolm X: His Lessons for Today. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

From Howard Beach, New York, to Forsyth County, Georgia: The Fight Against Racist Violence. A panel discussion. Speakers: Dr. Henry Silva, participant in antiracist march in Cumming, Georgia, member National Board of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Carl Snowden, alderman, Annapolis City Council; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

A Tribute to Malcolm X. Speaker: Betsy Soares, chairperson Boston Socialist Workers Party. Film: *Tribute to Malcolm X*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., Allston. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

Celebrate International Women's Day. A panel discussion. Film: *Winnie Mandela*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., Allston. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Platoon: Lessons of Vietnam for Today's Youth. Speakers: Curtis Hunter, activist, Detroit-Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Shelton McCrainey, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 1200. Sat., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

4065.
ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

IOWA: Des Moines: SWP, YSA, 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

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

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3640 Magazine St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 895-1961.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Zip: 02134. Tel: (617) 787-0275.

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.
St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

mation call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Legacy of Malcolm X and the Struggle for Black Liberation Today. Speaker: Mac Warren, member of Socialist Workers Party National Committee and longtime Black rights activist. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Malcolm X. A 90-minute documentary on the life of Malcolm X narrated by James Earl Jones. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Reception for Gallo campaign. Sat., Feb. 28, 6-8 p.m. Program at 7 p.m. Party to follow. Bellerive, 214 E Armour Blvd., in the Oak Room. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Gallo for Mayor Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Working People Mobilize Against Racism. Speakers: Miesa Patterson, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2471; Asa Carter, president Black Student Organization, University of Nebraska. Sun., Feb. 22, 5 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., Feb. 28. Open house, 1-5 p.m.; dinner, 5 p.m. (\$2 donation); program, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Albany

30,000 March in Georgia to Advance Black Rights. An eyewitness report. Speaker: James Winfield, National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation \$2. Sponsor: YSA and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Commemorate Augusto César Sandino. Video festival. Sat., Feb. 21, 2-7 p.m. P.S. 41 on W 11th St. off 6th Ave. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Political Legacy of Malcolm X. Video showing and presentation. Sun., Feb. 22, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Toledo

Nicaragua: Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Chip Thomas, medical doctor attended the fourth International North American Health Conference, Managua; Dean Peoples, participated in coffee harvest with a North American brigade. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Civil War: Real Story of the Second

American Revolution. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Dallas

Demonstration Against Deportations. Sat., Feb. 28, 10 a.m. City Hall Plaza. Sponsor: Proyecto Adelante.

El Salvador: An Eyewitness Report. Slideshow and presentation on the In Search of Peace conference in San Salvador. Speaker: Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Houston

The Political Legacy of Malcolm X. Video showing and panel discussion. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Malcolm X and the Battle Against Racism Today. Film: *Malcolm X: the Struggle for Freedom*. Speaker: representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Stop Racist Attacks from Tacoma to Howard Beach to Forsyth County. Speakers: Oscar Eason, Larry Moore, Lel Rono Stinnett, Jill Fein. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

From Johannesburg, South Africa, to Forsyth County, Georgia: Malcolm X, His Ideas and Their Meaning for Today. Speakers: Malik Edwards, codirector for public relations, D.C. United Black Fund, former director Malcolm X Resource Center; Jim Slade, executive board, D.C. Coalition of Black Trade Unions; Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

"Amerika": Fact or Fantasy? Speakers: Doug Hord, Socialist Workers Party, member American Flint Glassworkers Union Local 5; others. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Report From Student Delegation to El Salvador. Slideshow and presentations by Judi Kinch and Chris Waraksa, members of the Latin America Solidarity Committee at University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.
Dallas: SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 1306 1st Ave. N. Zip: 35203. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-

"Ollie sent me" — "MIAMI — People indicted on drug charges are increasingly arguing as a defense that they have been supply-



Harry Ring

ing arms to the Nicaraguan rebels with the knowledge of federal agents, according to law-enforcement officers." — News item.

This week's civics lesson — "Every government needs covert

action. Every president has used private individuals for that... It is unwise to make undue use of government channels to make government policy." — Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), member of the House committee probing the tragedy.

Sorry about that — After spending nine years on death row, Percy Cobb and Darby Williams won release when, in a retrial, an Illinois judge found them innocent.

"Thanks for your support" — In addition to those sorely needed wage increases, a number of Congress members gained a modest fringe benefit. Fifty-four of those

reelected to the House had campaign surpluses of more than \$250,000. Election law permits those who were in Congress before 1980 to convert the surplus into personal funds. Forty-six qualify to pocket the leftovers.

March of American culture — William Quinn offers New Yorkers a course in artspeak — what to say about paintings. Said a grad, "The course teaches you how to sound halfway intelligent about art when you're not. It's great."

Alive, but not kicking — A survey found that the "American dream" of a better life is still alive. According to the poll, 32 percent thought it was very much alive,

while 54 percent responded, "somewhat." Among Blacks, 21 percent were optimistic about the dream.

Be grateful for small favors — With the expanded use of fees at national parks, it now costs a buck to visit the Statue of Liberty. But you can still check out the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia for free — so far.

The sane society — What with the influx of yuppies into Brooklyn's Park Slope district, parking space is at a premium. So, one chap is doing nicely selling spaces in a parking garage as condos — \$30,000 plus \$147 a month maintenance and taxes.

Eau de brine — The Donzi company, makers of fast boats, is branching out into fragrances, and will offer a \$40 bottle of Donzi cologne. "It's a good extension of our marketing," the company prez explained. "Not only will people be able to go fast in a Donzi, they'll be able to smell good while doing it."

Sounds reasonable — "I find it difficult to believe that a church that blesses dogs in a Virginia fox hunt can't find a way to bless life-giving, lasting relationships between human beings." — Episcopal Bishop John Spong urging the church to recognize nonmarital relations between homosexuals, young adults, the divorced, and widowed.

FBI campaign to disrupt antiwar group exposed

Continued from front page

The CISPES organization was peaceful, nonviolent, and devoted to changing the policies of the United States towards Central America by persuasion and education."

In this deposition Varella explained he was born into a wealthy and powerful Salvadoran family. He emigrated to the United States in 1980 and was recruited to the FBI in March 1981 to help with the operations against Central America solidarity groups.

A few months later, Varella was given false identification papers in the name of Gilberto Mendoza and instructed to infiltrate the local chapter of CISPES.

The Dallas FBI office, he explained, had become the "center or hub" of the national

CISPES investigation.

According to his deposition, he was sent by the FBI to El Salvador to establish ties with the Salvadoran National Guard. "While there," he says, "the National Guard gave me a copy of their 'death squad' list. The National Guard, in conjunction with others, had drafted a list of persons marked for assassination. While there, I observed members of the National Guard add several names to the death squad list."

According to Varella, he gave this information, along with a copy of the death squad list, to the FBI on his return to the United States.

Varella also says he reported to the FBI that Col. Mario Denis Moran and other leaders of the National Guard were involved in the murders of three nuns from the United States and a lay missionary in El Salvador Dec. 2, 1980.

Moran "admitted to me," Varella said, "that he participated in the murders of American citizens Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman at the Sheraton Hotel in San Salvador in January 1981." Hammer and Pearlman were members of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

The FBI, which was supposedly conducting an investigation of these murders because of the widespread outrage they evoked, apparently took no action after receiving Varella's damning information. Instead Varella was simply instructed to maintain his contacts with the National Guard.

Specifically, Varella was told to regularly report to the Guard the names of Salvadorans who had been deported from the United States. Many such deportees have been kidnapped upon their arrival in El Salvador, often being tortured and killed.

No action was ever taken against Moran. On the contrary, he is reported to be currently serving as the military attaché to the Salvadoran embassy in Washington, D.C.

Varella also said he compiled an FBI "Terrorist Photograph Album." He said

this was supposed to include "a collection of the individuals who were active or interested in Central American policies who might have terrorist tendencies. In reality, the 'Terrorist Photograph Album' contained persons who really just opposed Reagan's Central American policy."

Nearly 700 individual names, photographs, and descriptions were eventually entered in the album. Included were at least two U.S. senators, Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) and Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), then-Congressman Michael Barnes (D-Md.) and former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White.

Varella's revelations will be examined at a hearing of the House Judiciary subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, headed by Representative Don Edwards (D-Calif.). The hearings will focus on the break-ins over the past few years at the offices of CISPES and other groups opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

"With Varella's assertions we are entering a new phase of our inquiry," Edwards told the *Washington Post*.

CISPES announced that it is cooperating with these hearings, and is calling on others to work with them to mount a campaign against the FBI disruption operations.

"This is not the first case in which the U.S. government has attempted through illegal means to suppress dissent against an immoral war," said Sanbrano on the FBI steps. "During the 1960s, the FBI and other agencies used such practices frequently against the movement to stop the war in Vietnam."

"We will continue our work to change what is an unjust and immoral U.S. policy toward Central America. We demand the FBI and other government and private agencies stop the harassment and illegal actions against CISPES and other organizations."



Militant/Lou Howort

Blows to anti-Nicaragua drive

Continued from front page

late January, saying that he had a new "peace plan" to present to the meeting. Arias invited Guatemala to join Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador at the meeting, but excluded Nicaragua, claiming it was not a "democratic nation."

Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo announced that he would attend the San José meeting "to listen to any proposals without taking sides."

U.S. officials Frank Carlucci and Elliott Abrams met with Arias in Costa Rica on January 31 and announced their "total support" for the San José meeting and Arias' peace plan. Details of the plan were kept secret, but reports in the press here indicated that it included demands for Nicaragua to recognize and negotiate with the U.S.-organized contras.

Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry issued a sharp statement denouncing the San José meeting as "a clear act of sabotage of the Contadora negotiating process" and "the most recent manifestation of the interven-

tionist policies of the U.S. government."

Arias' maneuver also met with opposition within Costa Rica itself. The Sandinista daily *Barricada* reported from Costa Rica February 15 that several organizations planned protest meetings condemning the exclusion of Nicaragua. A group of prominent Costa Rican professionals announced they would present the presidents with a statement denouncing "the covert war that the U.S. government maintains against our sister country."

The San José meeting itself failed to produce a united bloc against Nicaragua. Cerezo and El Salvador's President José Napoleón Duarte said publicly afterwards there could be no agreements without Nicaragua's participation.

Instead, the four presidents issued a call for a meeting of all Central American presidents to be held within 90 days in Guatemala. Arias was commissioned to formally invite Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to that meeting.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

February 25, 1977

In the first week of January, Czech and Slovak defenders of civil liberties attempted to deliver a petition to the Prague government calling for respect for the democratic rights guaranteed by the Czechoslovak constitution. Despite a campaign of government harassment against the nearly 300 people who originally signed Charter 77, another 200 names have been added to the petition since it first became known in Czechoslovakia. The following are excerpts:

Law No. 120 of the Czechoslovak Collection of Laws includes the text of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, both signed in behalf of our Republic in 1968 and confirmed at the 1975 Helsinki Conference. These pacts went into effect in our country on March 23, 1976; since that date our citizens have had the right, and the State has had the duty, to abide by them.

Their publication, however, is at the same time an urgent reminder of the many fundamental human rights that, regrettably, exist in our country only on paper. The right of free expression guaranteed by Article 19 of the first pact, for example, is quite illusory. Tens of thousands of citizens have been prevented from working in their professions for the sole reason that their views differ from the official ones.

Hundreds of thousands of other citizens have been denied the "freedom from fear" cited in the Preamble to the first pact; they live in constant peril of losing their jobs or other benefits if they express their opinions.

Freedom of speech is suppressed by the government's management of all mass media, including the publishing and cultural institutions.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

February 26, 1962 Price 10¢

Last month Rev. Martin Luther King announced a campaign to register Negro voters in the South. The campaign will include speaking tours of Southern states, including Mississippi, by Reverend King, urging Negroes to register.

Our readers can get an idea of the importance and difficulties of such a campaign from Travis Britt, who participated last summer in a voter-registration drive in the area around McComb in the Delta area of Mississippi. The drive was organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

A native of North Carolina and a veteran of the Jackson Freedom Ride and Jail-in, Britt is 28 years old, tall, with a calm, engaging manner. To a question on how he got involved in the drive in McComb, he replied: "I spent over a month in the Mississippi state prison with other Freedom Riders and there was a lot of discussion there about how the struggle should be carried on when we got out. Then, in the middle of August 1961, after most of us had been released on bail, about 180 of us had to return to Jackson at one time for arraignment in court. Mississippi was trying to make it very expensive, which it did, but it also gave us the opportunity to meet each other and talk things over, face to face, instead of through ventilators and around walls.

"[SNCC leader] Bob Moses had already been arrested when I arrived. He had taken three local Negroes to the registrar's office in Liberty, in the adjoining county, and was stopped on the road by police. They asked him if he was 'the nigger that came down from New York to stir up a lot of trouble.' He answered, 'I'm the Negro who came down from New York to instruct people in voter registration.' So they took him in and fined him \$50 for 'interfering with an officer' or some such thing. He stayed in jail rather than pay the fine."

'Contra' leaders in disarray

The disarray in the top public leadership of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) is a fruit of what the Nicaraguan government calls the "strategic defeat" of those U.S.-run mercenaries by the Sandinista People's Army.

The failure of the *contras* to spark a civil war inside Nicaragua, after more than five years of trying, has provoked disagreements in Washington about how to best pursue the U.S. rulers' goal of ousting the Sandinista government.

The infighting among the *contras* — who are organized, trained, supplied, clothed, fed, paid, and led by the CIA — reflects the political divisions that exist among their U.S. masters.

The White House is doing its utmost to patch things up in order to put the best possible face on the *contra* operation as the fight over continued U.S. government funding of these terrorist bands goes into its next round.

The first move was to get rid of the UNO leader most associated with the pro-Somoza commanders who are the backbone of the *contra* military operation.

On February 16 Adolfo Calero announced he was resigning from the triumvirate that runs UNO. Calero is the head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the main armed *contra* grouping.

Calero explained he was resigning so as "not to be an obstacle" to efforts to win more political and material support for the *contras* within the United States and from other countries.

Washington organized UNO in 1985 in an attempt to unite the different armed factions fighting against the Nicaraguan government. The goal was to create an image of the *contras* as both an effective military force and a serious political alternative to the popular Sandinista government.

This effort has failed miserably.

"UNO is a myth. The guys running the shop are the ones who sat at Somoza's knee," explained a U.S. congressional aide.

Washington has never been successful in transforming the *contras* from a cut-throat band of mercenaries into a professional army with a significant base of support in Nicaragua. And it never will.

The *contras* were not the advance guard of mass opposition to the Sandinista revolution but remnants of the praetorian guard of the old dictatorship. And while, through lies and terror, they've recruited some Nicaraguan peasants to their ranks, more and more of them are deserting the *contras* and returning to their homes and families.

"We are simply seen as mercenaries," admitted Calero. "We have to project ourselves as winners if we are to have more success."

Without direct aid from Washington, the *contras'* future is "dim and grim" said UNO spokesperson Ernesto Palacios. "We have to win the political war in the United States and then the military war comes later," he explained.

Another *contra* adviser explained, "With the need at the moment to win U.S. opinion and Congress, the Nicaraguan people are secondary. No one is thinking about the masses right now."

Those are quite damning admissions coming from people that Reagan has dubbed "freedom fighters."

The demoralization of the *contra* leaders should serve as an *inspiration* for U.S. opponents of this dirty war.

We should redouble our efforts to build the national April 25 antiwar protests in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco as well as other actions this spring to demand an end to all U.S. aid to the *contras*.

Lenin's last and unfinished political fight

BY DOUG JENNESS

There "should be no forgotten names or blanks, either in history or in literature." Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev expressed this opinion to a meeting February 13 of leading officials of the Soviet Union's media.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October 1917 Russian revolution, Gorbachev continued, "those who made that revolution must not be pushed into the background, people must be educated on the example of those who laid down their lives for the revolution and socialism."

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Gorbachev's speech, in the context of the measures recently taken to lift restrictions on the press and the freeing of political prisoners, raises questions about how far his regime is going to go in reviewing and making public some facts about Soviet history and the men and women who made it.

One sign of the changes that might be in the offing was an article that appeared last month in *Moscow News*, a weekly published in English, French, and German.

The article, by the paper's editor-in-chief, Yegor Yakovlev, discussed some of V.I. Lenin's proposals at the end of his political life in 1922 and early 1923 for dealing with pressing problems facing the workers' and peasants' republic.

Yakovlev quoted from some letters of Lenin's written in December 1922, where the revolutionary leader urged the next congress of the Soviet Communist Party to take some major steps to reorganize the leadership structures of the party and the government.

Among those Yakovlev cited was Lenin's proposal that Joseph Stalin be removed as general secretary of the party. He quoted from Lenin, "Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a general secretary. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite, and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc."

Lenin said these flaws may appear to be a "negligible detail." But "it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance."

Yakovlev wrote, "Lenin was right, tragically right."

Not since the days of Nikita Khrushchev in the 1950s and early 1960s has such sharp criticism of Stalin been heard from high levels of the Soviet officialdom. At a closed session of the Soviet Communist Party's congress in 1956, Khrushchev, then the leading official in the party and the government, sharply criticized many of Stalin's repressive policies.

Lenin's 1922 letters and some related documents, which had never been published in the Soviet Union, were made available to delegates at the 1956 Congress. Lenin's letters were subsequently included in the fourth Russian edition of Lenin's collected works and published in 1961.

But even before Khrushchev was forced out in 1964, the easing of restrictions on literary expression and probing into the past that had followed his revelations about Stalin, was reversed.

In the past two decades, not only discussion of the Stalin era but of Khrushchev himself has been virtually nonexistent. This makes all the more significant the recent article by Yakovlev in *Moscow News*.

Much has changed in the Soviet Union since 1922-23. But opening some pages of this early chapter of Soviet history is salutary. It will stimulate many people inside the Soviet Union and in other countries to go back and study closely Lenin's final political struggle.

Lenin was concerned about such dangers to the young Soviet republic as the breakup of the alliance between workers and peasants; the growth of new exploiting layers in the countryside; the pressures to abandon the state monopoly of foreign trade; the revival of Russian national chauvinism in the party and the state; and the emergence of a careerist, bureaucratic layer in the party and government leadership.

And the fight Lenin began to wage against what was to become a privileged bureaucratic caste — one that finally usurped political power from the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union — has great relevance for today. It offers the essential political foundation for those seeking to return the Soviet workers' state to a revolutionary course based on the workers and farmers both there and around the world.

Pathfinder Press has announced plans to collect into a single volume Lenin's last speeches, articles, memoranda, and letters and the notebooks of his secretaries — that is, the documents of Lenin's last and unfinished battle. This is a most timely publishing project.

Union support for April 25

The national antiwar protests being held in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on April 25 are winning support from top union officials. Presidents of 19 national and international unions signed the call for the march and rally in Washington.

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco AFL-CIO Labor Council, and Albert Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, are among the co-chairs of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, the coalition building the San Francisco action. The coalition has its office in the ILWU Local 6 headquarters.

In New York and Chicago, union officials were leading participants in the initial meetings of local coalitions. In New York, Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees union has donated space to the coalition.

The endorsements and other support coming at an early stage in the process of organizing the action offer an opportunity to win substantial participation in the Washington and San Francisco actions by union members throughout the country.

In the past few years thousands of union members have visited Nicaragua to see for themselves what is going on there. They have participated in actions or actively opposed the war in other ways. The endorsement of April

25 by union officers is a challenge to antiwar unionists to start *now* to translate this endorsement into concrete efforts to mobilize union members on April 25. This will not happen automatically as a consequence of the initial endorsements of union officials.

Antiwar fighters in the unions must begin now, in the 10 weeks before the marches, to publicize the actions among their coworkers and other unionists, and to discuss the importance of April 25 at local meetings and other union events.

Union locals that endorse April 25 should begin to charter buses to bring unionists to the marches. Union funds should be used to help assure that any union member who wants to join the march in San Francisco and Washington can do so.

Articles in local union newspapers and union committee newsletters are needed to help publicize the April 25 actions.

Unions that back April 25 should send representatives to local coalition meetings and participate in activities to reach out to other unions in their area, as well as help draw in farmers, students, and others.

Now is the time for antiwar unionists to seize the initiative in building April 25. This is the road to making the union contingents in San Francisco and Washington, D.C., marches and rallies as big as possible.

Protest INS move to deport nine

The U.S. government's arrest and proposed deportation of nine immigrants — eight Palestinians and a Kenyan married to one of the eight — is an attack on the democratic rights of all immigrants and visitors in this country.

Seven of the nine were arrested at gunpoint early on the morning of January 26. While in prison, they were shackled hand and foot during visits with attorneys and relatives.

They are charged with being supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

To back up their case, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) accuse them of possessing "certain magazines" such as *Democratic Palestine*, the *Palestine Bulletin*, and *Palestine Focus*.

In addition to attacking the right of immigrants to speak their minds and read what they wish, the move against the eight escalates the broader campaign against Arab-Americans.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis reported February 10 on the harrowing experience of a Palestine-born woman, a U.S. citizen, who was seized by cops in San Diego, two days after the Los Angeles arrests. They handcuffed her and took her to a house where she was interrogated about another person. The men then cuffed her to a pole for more than three hours. After threats and attempted bribery failed to win her cooperation, she was released, with the warning, "We'll always be around."

Government officials claim that the move against the nine in Los Angeles is justified, under the McCarran-

Walter Act, adopted in 1952 at the height of the McCarthy-era witch-hunt. Its many reactionary features include a provision allowing the government to exclude immigrants or visitors who are alleged to belong to an organization that "advocates world communism."

A government document recently made public revealed the Reagan administration was discussing "contingency plans" for using this antidemocratic law to justify "removal of selected aliens and sealing of the border." The document advocates expulsion of "activists" under the pretext of fighting terrorism.

The Los Angeles arrests are aimed at intimidating all supporters of Palestinian rights — and not them alone. It is also aimed at South African supporters of the African National Congress; Libyans and Iranians who Washington smears as terrorists; Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and other immigrants in this country who oppose Washington's war in Central America; immigrant workers who join unions or stand up for their rights in other ways; and many others.

Protests against the attack on the nine in Los Angeles are having an impact. The February 17 *New York Times* quoted John Shaw, an assistant immigration official in Washington, as worrying that attempts to enforce provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act today "could result in situations unacceptable to the American public at large." And on the same day an immigration judge in Los Angeles ordered the release of eight of the jailed immigrants.

Picket lines, public meetings, and other actions in defense of the Los Angeles victims deserve broad support.

A company prescribes firing for injured workers

BY ELOISE LINGER

AVENEL, N.J. — Picture an old but not antiquated plant with about 300 production workers. It's a small unit of General Dynamics, the big military contractor.

Feel the onset of cold weather, bringing October and November days with little or no heat in the plant.

Suddenly there is a rash of accidents. A hand is mangled in a machine. Fingers are ripped and bones broken

UNION TALK

between steel plates. There are watery, swollen joints from bumping accidents; torn muscles; and a run of back injuries.

What is management's response? An attempt to intimidate or even fire injured workers. That's what has been happening to me and others in United Auto Workers Local 1035.

In October I began operating a coil-winding machine, which required pulling wires while standing off balance with one foot on a power pedal. One morning, I felt pain from my lower back and hip down to my toes. By 11:00 a.m. it was hard to take a step.

The industrial clinic doctor told me to rest over the weekend and then come back for therapy. About this time, the company began a push to get the injured back to work — or fired.

The upshot was that I got fired. "Isn't it against the law to fire a worker who has been hurt on the job?" you may ask. Yes, but for the employers money is a more powerful incentive than law, ethics, or decency.

Workers at my plant began jokingly to refer to the

nurse and the security and safety director as "Doctor Ruth and Dirty Harry" because they believed they were telling doctors how to practice medicine. My experience lent support to that belief.

The first time I was sent to the orthopedic doctor, nearly all injured workers from my plant were discharged by the doctor the same day and sent back to work — whether they had been hurt weeks ago or just recently like me. But my body was not ready. Driving the car set off back and leg pains. So did lifting, pushing, or being on my feet more than a few minutes.

Coworkers were alarmed and angry, especially when my body jerked or I would yell involuntarily due to sudden jabbing pains. One union brother suggested a brand of liniment, but many suggested a lawyer. Some thought that the company was trying to get rid of me because of my opposition to racism and my attempts to involve coworkers in anti-apartheid actions.

While working on December 19, I suffered another injury involving both the lower and upper back. The doctor ordered me back to work but also ordered a CAT scan.

On December 24 company officials told me not to return to work until after the CAT scan.

The company withheld disability checks, leaving me — the main breadwinner in my family — without income.

I wondered with a laugh whether General Dynamics director Lester Crown, whose family owns 23 percent of the company plus other holdings, had ever been unable to get proper medical treatment for a painful injury, or had ever experienced a lean Christmas because of layoff or injury.

The CAT scan showed a possible herniated disc and I entered the hospital January 15 for a further test on my

spine.

By then the company had sharply stepped up the attack. On January 5 — before the CAT scan — I was mailed a letter of suspension due to "serious doubt regarding the validity of your alleged physical disability." A few days later company officials claimed to have a videotape of me carrying "things." They also claimed that their investigators had verified only one reference on my job application.

On the day I went into the hospital, the company sent me a notice of termination. They now claimed I had not obeyed doctor's orders and that they could not verify my job application. By now, rumors were flying on the plant floor about what had happened to me.

To dispel the rumors, I wrote a short letter that was distributed by coworkers at the plant. The letter answered company claims with facts.

In a second letter a few days later, I said that the flimsy charges against me were part of an effort to intimidate us into not reporting injuries, unsafe equipment, or other dangerous job conditions.

"Our health is more important than dollars," I wrote. "The union is us. The union is fighting these firings."

Something about that letter struck a raw nerve. When management found copies in the bathrooms, cafeteria, and elsewhere, a foreman warned one worker that he better not get caught giving them out. After this threat, he was written up on outlandish charges. The union grieved the ticket and won the case two weeks later.

Coworkers have given me a lot of moral support and encouragement. Some have said there is no way the company can get away with this kind of meanness. Others say they're sorry this happened to me, but they're glad I'm standing up for my rights.

LETTERS

More facts, less steam

Congratulations for using less diatribe and rhetoric, and more accurate reporting and presentation of the facts so the reader can come to his own conclusions. Reporting on the positive effects of antiracist protest in Forsyth County, Georgia, was particularly good.
P.L.B.
Madison, Connecticut

Cumming, Georgia

I want to congratulate the *Militant* on its coverage of the two Cumming, Georgia, demonstrations. The first article expressed the courage of the demonstrators and the reporter.

The article on the second demonstration celebrated a victory. I was especially impressed with the report of the many local residents who took part. The size and breadth of the action showed that many things have changed.

I was particularly struck by the difference between the coverage in the *Militant* and the bourgeois media. The big-business press spent most of its time covering the racists, not the demonstrators. I think the major media are only too happy to report an upsurge of racism. What they are incapable of showing is a successful fightback.

Just as the newspapers can never say that workers won a strike, they can never portray how people's collective power can overwhelm the racists. In short, they deal in despair; the *Militant* deals in hope.
Seth Widgerson
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Grenada solidarity

A recent community forum sponsored by the Midwest Labor Institute in Detroit heard a report from former *Free West Indian* staff writer Michelle Gibbs. Gibbs lived and worked in Grenada for three years when the revolutionary government headed by Maurice Bishop was in power.

Gibbs traced the gains of the revolution, pointing out that women gained maternity leave, joined trade unions, won child care and equal pay for equal work. Real wages went up, and small farmers benefited from government aid. Unemployment dropped from 49 percent to 14 percent.

The U.S. invasion stopped all those gains, she said, "but many of the finest cadre are still alive and functioning."

The question period focused on the Bernard Coard grouping and whether they were, as Fidel Castro has said, responsible for "handing the revolution over to imperialism on a silver platter."

Gibbs said, "It is unclear to me whether Coard gave the orders to shoot them [Bishop and the other New Jewel Movement leaders who were executed], but if anyone could have saved them it was Coard, and he did not."

Following the meeting there were brisk sales of Fidel Castro's *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* and the *Militant* with the interview by Don Rojas, former press secretary to Maurice Bishop.
M.F.
Detroit, Michigan

Until print falls off

Inmates in this Texas prison camp are probably the most impoverished in the nation — no pay, total slave labor. But if you can send a complimentary subscription, you can bet your paper will be appreciated and passed throughout the camp until the print falls off.
A prisoner
Lovelady, Texas

Great rag

You guys have a great rag, but I can't handle a subscription at this time — hopefully later.
B.S.
Concord, California

P.S. Later is now. Enclosed is a check for \$15.

Corporate criminal

I'm writing about a rally scheduled for February 28 in Massillon, Ohio, to enlighten people about the shutdown of Superior Brand Meats, a packinghouse owned by Neil Genshaft. He also owns another plant in Canton, Ohio, called Guyandoll Foods, and two other plants — Worthington Packing in Worthington, Indiana; and Carriage Hill Foods in Salem, Ohio. All are unionized except Carriage Hill.

We need some coverage of this

corporate criminal and his corporate rapers of the American worker.

Mark Kneffler
member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 17A
Canton, Ohio

Copies to share

I found your paper to be very informative. I would like you to send me a few copies to share with the rest of the prisoners here. We're confined to our cells 23 hours a day and need all the reading material we can get.
A prisoner
Marion, Illinois

Second invasion

In reference to the article "Why the Soviet Union is not capitalist," in the January 23 issue, you say: "Not even with the help of two imperialist military invasions (1918-20 and 1941-45)..." I know about the first invasion. Send me information about the second. Never heard of it before.

Also, please send me the address of the African National Congress so I can donate.
P.C.
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Editor replies: The second imperialist invasion began in June 1941 when German troops invaded the Soviet Union. The address of the African National Congress is 801 Second Ave., Suite 405, New York, N.Y. 10017.

What's important

I'm writing to renew my subscription to the *Militant*, and also to let you know I think it's one of the best newspapers in this country.

You have some good writers who tell it like it is. They try very hard to seek the truth. That's what's important.
K.S.
San Diego, California

Castro and Mandela

I'm particularly impressed with your coverage of struggles in Third World countries, which are directly related to ours domestically whether we care to admit it or not.

If you have any contact with Pathfinder Press, can you help me



get copies of Fidel Castro's book *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* and Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle Is My Life*?
A prisoner
Represa, California

Consistent voice

Every day the news gets worse. However, movements are growing in support of liberation struggles, against racism and apartheid, and resisting U.S. intervention.

It's more important than ever for activists and progressive people to connect on a regular basis. And I'm glad you have been consistent as a voice for anti-imperialist politics.

I'm now a prisoner and no longer have the money to subscribe. But if you have any old copies you can send, or a few complimentary issues, they'll be well used.
A prisoner
Dallas, Pennsylvania

Renewal

I am an inmate at the Auburn Correctional Facility and I'm writing in request of renewing my subscription. My present subscription will be up shortly. I had paid \$3 for 12 weeks because I was a new reader.

However, I was hoping you would be kind enough to let me have an additional 12 weeks for \$3. Things are hard in prison, and I don't want to miss any of your paper. Hopefully in the very near future I will be able to donate

some money to the *Militant*, which will in some way make up for your help. Keep up the good work.
A prisoner
Auburn, New York

Subscription request

I have been advised that the *Militant* is very informative in regards to the political arena the world over. I am an indigent prisoner. I therefore respectfully request you to furnish me with some issues of the *Militant* without financial obligation. I hope this request is not an inconvenience, but rather a sign that there are individuals as well as organizations who both recognize the need and are searching for the truth.
A prisoner
Attica, New York

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

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

Palestinian camps under siege

Lebanese Amal troops try to cut growing support for PLO

BY HARRY RING

Bowing to public pressure, a Lebanese militia force has permitted some food to enter two of the Palestinian refugee camps it has held under siege. Conditions of near-starvation have developed at the camps, with reports that people are eating dogs and cats, and even rats.

About 35,000 homeless Palestinians have been under siege, some for nearly five months. They have been subjected to rifle and mortar fire by Amal, a Shiite Muslim militia led by Nabih Berri. Lebanon's minister of justice, Berri is a close collaborator with the neighboring government of Syria. The Syrian regime has troops stationed in areas of Lebanon and has played an increasing role in Lebanese politics.

The aim of Amal's bloody siege is to prevent a resurgence of the guerrilla forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Lebanese refugee camps have been a major source of strength for the PLO.

Driven out of Lebanon by Israeli invaders in 1982, the PLO liberation fighters have been making a steady comeback there.

Syria and Amal have tried to justify the war against the PLO with the claim that a resurgence of the guerrilla force will invite a new Israeli invasion.

On February 15, Amal troops held their fire while 16 tons of foodstuffs were trucked into the Burj al Brajneh camp in Beirut.

At the Rashidiye camp at Tyre, south of Beirut, food was also brought in and Amal declared a five-hour lifting of the siege to permit camp dwellers to search for food and medicine in Tyre.

There were no reports of food being permitted into Shatila, also in Beirut and the third camp under siege.

A Canadian doctor at the Shatila camp told reporters by radio that while the situation there was not yet as "catastrophic" as in Burj al Brajneh, the 5,000 Shatila dwellers were not "far away" from the same kind of desperate hunger.

From Burj al Brajneh, a British surgeon also spoke to reporters by radio. She said the food brought in would not last very long and people were already dying "directly and indirectly from malnutrition."

Some of the food reaching the camps had first been shifted from the United Nations relief agency trucks to trucks belonging to the Iranian embassy.

When the first convoy attempted to enter Burj al Brajneh, Amal troops fired on it, killing a member of the embassy staff. The Iranian government has been trying to negotiate a cease-fire that would end the Amal siege.

As its key condition for a cease-fire, Amal has demanded PLO fighters withdraw from the village of Maghdusheh, which they won in a fierce battle last November. A hilltop town overlooking the Rashidiye camp, it is of strategic value to the PLO since it permits a response to the Amal force besieging the camp.

According to a February 14 *Washington Post* dispatch, the increasingly critical situation in the camps prompted PLO forces to withdraw from the village, retrenching on nearby slopes. Amal is demanding they return to the camps.

At the time the PLO was driven out of Lebanon by the Israeli military, the Syrian regime helped promote divisions within the movement. It succeeded in turning a number of PLO affiliates against Al Fatah, which is led by Yassir Arafat and is the leading force within the PLO.

Since the brutal assault on the Palestin-

ian camps, however, growing unity in action has been reported among the various PLO affiliates, along with a lessening of Syrian influence among the anti-Arafat dissidents.

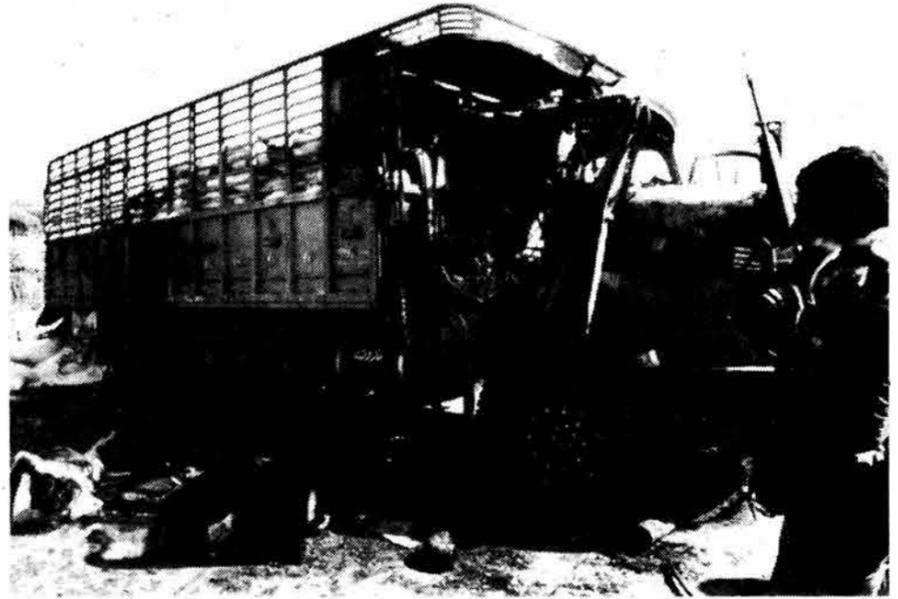
Meanwhile, the assault on the camps has sparked protest demonstrations among Palestinian residents of the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River. The Israeli military, as customary, responded with brutal repression.

On February 9, at least 11 Palestinian youth were wounded, when occupation troops opened fire on protesters and used tear gas against them.

The Israeli attack was directed against students at Al Najah University in the city of Nablus, and other protesters at Balata, a refugee center near Nablus.

Officials said troops were obliged to shoot in "self-defense." They ordered the university shut down for 30 days.

But the repression has not stemmed a rising wave of Palestinian protest throughout the West Bank.



Food truck destroyed by Amal militia. More than 30,000 homeless Palestinians have been cut off from UN food deliveries for nearly five months.

Who is "labor's friend" in Chicago?

BY OMARI MUSA

CHICAGO — In what is being hailed here as a major victory for Mayor Harold Washington, the Chicago Federation of Labor February 5 endorsed his bid to be the Democratic Party standardbearer in the primary election.

The vote was 231 for Washington to 115 for neutrality in the February 24 primary.

Lou Montenegro, president of the Midwest Region of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and labor coordinator for Washington's reelection campaign, claimed the endorsement "says that Harold Washington for 17 years has been a friend of labor. It also says that labor does reward its friends."

Pedro Vásquez, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the April elections, responded, "The CFL endorsement is not an advance for unionists, nor a blow to racial discrimination against Blacks and Latinos.

"What the endorsement tells workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women," Vásquez said, "is to subordinate their struggles against the bosses, to forget about the U.S. government's war against the people of Nicaragua, to put aside their mobilizations against government and corporate support for the racist regime in South Africa.

"It says to working people who live in substandard housing not to fight for better housing," Vásquez added, "but to simply vote for Washington and miraculously things will get better somehow."

Many workers favor Washington because he signed the law that gave city workers the right to collective bargaining early in his administration. "Doesn't this mean the mayor is a friend and labor should back him?" the *Militant* asked Vásquez.

"Winning recognition and bargaining rights is a gain for public service unions," Vásquez said. "But that doesn't change the fact that the wages and union rights of public workers are under attack here under Washington's administration, just as they are around the country."

Vásquez pointed out that both Chicago big business dailies have also endorsed Washington and list among his achievements attacks on city workers and his tight relationship with big business.

"The *Chicago Sun Times*," Vásquez said, "notes in its endorsement, 'Washington has forged a solid alliance with busi-

ness on concepts for long-range municipal finance. Implementation will depend on city hall's skills in marketing the city and controlling payroll figures.'

"The *Chicago Tribune* said the same thing in clearer language," Vásquez noted. "It said, 'He has made impressive cuts in the city work force without denting the police or fire departments.'"

Vásquez also pointed out that Washington was nowhere to be found during the attacks on Chicago meat-packers and steelworkers.

"For six months Washington did nothing to rally support for Chicago steelworkers while they were locked out of their jobs by USX. The same can be said in relation to Oscar Mayer's lockout of more than 600 workers last year.

"If this is what so called 'friends of labor' are about, we'd better find other friends," he declared.

"Working people and our unions are facing a crisis," Vásquez emphasized. "Employers and the government keep trying to force more concessions down our throats

and to roll back the victories of the civil rights movement, like affirmative action and school desegregation. And we face the threat of being sent to fight a war in Central America that is in the interests of big business, not us. The job of liberals like Washington," Vásquez said, "is to lull us into believing they can solve the problems we face. What they don't want us to do is to mobilize through our unions and other organizations to fight against concessions, against attacks on our rights, and against war. Their slogan is out of the street, into the voting booth.

"What we need is a different kind of party," the socialist candidate explained. "A labor party that puts the interests of workers, farmers, youth, Blacks, women, and Latinos first. A party based on the unions that we can use to organize a fight against the employers, against the racist mobs like in Forsyth County, Georgia, and Howard Beach, New York. A party that will fight for decent low-cost housing, force an end to segregated housing and education. One that opposes U.S. intervention in Central America."

San Francisco auto worker opens campaign for Congress

BY JANICE LYNN

SAN FRANCISCO — Cathy Sedwick, an auto worker and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has announced her campaign for U.S. Congress here. A special election was called for the seat previously held by Congresswoman Fala Burton, who died in early February.

Supporters of Sedwick have begun fanning out in the 5th Congressional District in San Francisco to gather signatures to place her name on the ballot. They are aiming to collect 3,000 signatures in the one-week deadline. The election is scheduled April 7 and a runoff for June 2.

Sedwick explains, "I'm a working person running for Congress because I think we have to do something about the political and social crisis we face."

Her campaign platform boldly states, "No contra aid! Stop racist attacks; break all ties with South Africa! Money for jobs, not for war."

Petitioners report that working people are glad to sign to put a socialist candidate on the ballot as they read her stands on these important issues. They also report an increased receptivity and interest in purchasing the *Militant*. Many signers want to have political discussions about the kind of government we need.

Sedwick and her supporters are urging people to participate in the April 25 demonstration against U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa. She is actively building this action in her union, the United Auto Workers. The action in San Francisco is one of two national demonstrations to be held on that day.

"When working people mobilize in action we learn that our real power is ourselves," Sedwick stated in her campaign flier. "But we need our own political party — a labor party — to represent us, and not the rich as the Democrats and Republicans do."