

Behind antigov't protests in Panama

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"We reject the United States campaign against Panama!" "No to interventionism!" "Panama yes, intervention no!"

Those are among the slogans that have featured at many of the marches and demonstrations held in that country in recent weeks to counter a right-wing mobilization aimed at toppling the Panamanian government.

The major U.S. news media has largely ignored these actions. Instead it has focused on the antigovernment protests organized by business and professional groups. These have been portrayed as a popular movement for democracy, against a repressive military regime.

That image is false. It seeks to obscure the true aims of the opposition forces in Panama — as well as the direct support they are receiving from Washington.

To working people and other supporters of Panamanian sovereignty, the questions at stake are clear:

Will Washington once again be able to impose a government of its choice, as it has so many times before? Will Panama regain sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone in 1999, as stipulated by existing treaties, or will the zone remain under U.S. military occupation?

In a country that has so long suffered
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Congress moves to gag southern African groups



In response to growing support in United States for southern African freedom fighters of African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organisation, House of Representatives adopted measures to restrict their ability to reach U.S. audiences.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Without any public fanfare or mention in the major news media, the House of Representatives has adopted several measures that directly attack the right of southern African freedom organizations to address the U.S. people.

During a one-week period in mid-June, the House passed these measures in the form of amendments to the State Department Authorization Bill. They seek to curtail the movement and activities within the United States of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. The amendments also violence-bait those two groups, which are fighting to rid South Africa of the hated apartheid system and free Namibia from South African rule.

One amendment, proposed by Rep. Patrick Swindall (R.-Ga.), would specifically restrict the movement of representatives of the ANC and SWAPO (as well as of the Palestine Liberation Organization) to the confines of those cities where the organizations have their missions. The amendment's wording is vague enough that this restriction could be applied against any public spokesperson of the two groups, not just those officially attached to the ANC and SWAPO missions.

No such travel restrictions would apply to representatives of the apartheid regime.

As a justification for this measure, the Swindall amendment red-baits the ANC and SWAPO by claiming that the restrictions are intended to "keep Soviet and Soviet-bloc intelligence operatives out of the United States."

Rep. Dan Burton (R.-Ind.) put forward two other amendments, both of which were passed. One would reduce U.S. funding by 25 percent for any United Nations project if, in the judgement of the White House, its "primary purpose is to benefit the ANC."

Burton's second amendment calls for a study of alleged "ANC forced detention camps." After some discussion, the Democratic-dominated House decided to modify this latter amendment by calling for a similar study of South African government de-

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Why 18 workers perished in boxcar

BY JIM WATSON

EL PASO, Texas — The story is a grim one. Nineteen undocumented workers hopped an eastbound Missouri Pacific freight train here on the evening of July 1. Within 12 hours, 18 of them died from dehydration and suffocation after being locked in an air-tight boxcar.

The deteriorating Mexican economy is forcing a growing number of Mexicans to

See editorial on page 14.

try to get across the border to find work. But it is becoming increasingly dangerous.

In 1985, bodies of 12 drowning victims were recovered from the Rio Grande, which divides this metropolitan area of 1.5 million people into Juárez, Mexico, and El Paso.

So far this year 42 bodies have been pulled from the river.

These figures do not include those maimed and killed in the El Paso railyards.

Confrontations with the U.S. Border Patrol (*la migra*) have become increasingly nasty. *La migra* routinely makes more than 20,000 arrests a month here.

Recently *la migra* agents have been involved in the shooting and drowning of Mexicans, and they chased a teenager onto a highway where he was struck by a car and killed. They also drove into Juárez and set fire to a house there.

According to the lone survivor of the boxcar incident, three *coyotes* (smugglers) made arrangements for the 19 people to board the boxcar as it pulled out of El Paso. One of the *coyotes* stayed behind. The other two were supposed to stay on board and cut a hole in the floor of the boxcar so the group could exit in Fort Worth.

Apparently the two were among the first

to die. The problem of insufficient oxygen was compounded by the fact that the train was held up for two hours in El Paso while *la migra* supposedly inspected it.

The people in the car had to remain perfectly quiet so as not to be discovered. By the time the work began on the escape hole, it was too late.

"There was blood all over the boxcar, apparently from where they were vomiting, and clothes were scattered all over from where they were trying to keep cool by peeling their clothes off," said border patrol cop Mike Williams.

The lone survivor got through by breathing through a tiny hole in the floor he had gouged with a railroad spike and a paring knife.

The media has carried extensive coverage of this event blaming smugglers for the deaths. Little mention is made of the grinding poverty in the Mexican interior and the intense exploitation of Mexican workers by U.S. companies on both sides of the border.

These U.S. companies, with "twin-plant" facilities on both sides of the border, pay workers on the Mexican side between 50 and 75 cents an hour.

The League for Immigration and Border Rights Education (LIBRE) issued a statement that began, "Why did 18 men perish in a boxcar near Sierra Blanca? Because, like millions of other people in America, they were trying to get to work. But unlike so-called 'legal' humans who enjoy the dignity of riding in a car or bus, the men died because they were forced to travel like freight, like insects. Such is the reality of work for poor people from Third World countries, who, due to our cynical immigration policy, are classified as illegal aliens."

Eddie Nathan, an organizer for LIBRE,

said a demonstration protesting the deaths will be held July 17.

The shock of these deaths runs deep in El Paso, which is more than 70 percent Hispanic. Nearby in the small community of Sierra Blanca, where the boxcar was discovered, residents were visibly shaken.

Billy Addington, a Sierra Blanca grocer, said immigrants had been passing through the town for years trying to evade *la migra*. The boxcar deaths reminded him of movies about Nazi concentration camps.

Haitian strikes demand ouster of ruling military council

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"The people are fed up. We must have a change of government."

This statement by one of the leaders of the ongoing protests against the military regime in Haiti sums up the mood among the masses of people of that impoverished Caribbean country.

On July 2, Haiti's government was forced to retreat on its decision to take control of the upcoming elections for public office out of the hands of the constitutionally designated electoral council and give it to the Ministry of the Interior.

The government was also compelled to announce that it would rescind its dissolution of the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers.

The ruling junta had declared the union dissolved on June 30. Because the union's officers are facing charges of intimidation and incitement to riot, however, the union will have to have a new executive committee, according to government spokespeople. And no date was set for the union's reinstatement.

The concessions were forced on the government by a week of national general

strikes and protests called by a broad coalition of 57 opposition organizations.

By the end of the week, soldiers had killed 23 people and wounded more than 100.

The government's concessions, rather than quelling the mass movement, have sparked renewed calls for the regime's resignation.

The national strike resumed Monday, July 6, after a weekend break to allow people to buy food and other necessities. Businesses, offices, stores, and public transportation remained closed.

Soldiers were instructed to stay off the streets, thus allowing the July 6 and 7 protests to proceed peacefully.

Meanwhile, U.S., French, and Canadian diplomats assured the military regime of their governments' continuing support. Washington funds Haiti's rulers to the tune of \$100 million. The U.S. government was also the biggest backer of the tyrannical Duvalier dynasty, which was ousted as a result of popular protests in February 1986. The current ruling council was handpicked by "president for life" Jean-Claude Duvalier as he was fleeing the country.

Will Bork nomination spell end to rights?

BY FRED FELDMAN

President Reagan's nomination of Federal Appeals Court Judge Robert Bork for the U.S. Supreme Court has stirred up a wide-ranging debate. The retirement of Justice Lewis Powell is what opened up a space on the bench.

Reagan praised Bork as an "intellectually powerful advocate of judicial restraint." Behind this platitude, however, is Bork's ugly record on democratic rights.

Among his reactionary stands are opposition to the 1973 Supreme Court decision that recognized women's right to abortion.

Bork has urged that the First Amendment to the Constitution be reinterpreted to allow more suppression of free speech rights. He has consistently ruled against the rights of defendants in criminal proceedings.

Right-wing forces, who have taken blows and lost some posts in the Reagan administration since the Iran-contra arms deals surfaced, are elated by the appointment. Daniel Popeo of the Washington Legal Foundation crowed, "We have the opportunity now to roll back 30 years of social and political activism by the Supreme Court."

'Swing vote'

Editors of major dailies have reinforced this claim by portraying outgoing Justice Powell as the "swing vote" in many 5-4 court decisions that upheld constitutional rights.

Prominent Democrats like Sen. Edward Kennedy have vowed to fight Bork's appointment when it comes up for confirmation in the Senate. Kennedy warned that placing Bork on the court might enable Reagan to "impose his reactionary vision of the Constitution on the Supreme Court and on the next generation of Americans."

Most union officials, and leaders of civil rights and women's rights groups, have echoed this theme.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Ralph Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, for example, declared that Bork's confirmation would "jeopardize the civil rights achievements of the past 30 years."

"Well-established law on affirmative action, on privacy, on women's rights, and school desegregation could overnight be substantially eroded or overturned," they said.

How should working people view this debate?

First of all, it would be a big error to accept the claim that the rights won in recent years by Blacks, women, and all working people can be swept aside by Bork's potential "swing vote."

Rights aren't gifts from courts

This view is based on the notion that the elimination of legal, Jim Crow segregation, the winning of women's right to abortion, and the maintenance of demo-

cratic rights like the separation of church and state were gifts from benevolent judges that can be taken back by mean-spirited ones. This is false. These rights were won in struggle, and they cannot be taken away without a fight.

No court, let alone a single "swing vote," can restore the "separate but equal" doctrine that provided the legal justification for the system of racial segregation. The overturn of that doctrine by the courts in the 1950s and '60s registered victories won by working people at home and abroad.

Nor will Bork's potential "swing vote" be able to outlaw abortion rights. The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision declared abortion rights to be inherent in the constitutional right to privacy. This was another fruit of the victorious civil rights movement, which dealt such blows to every kind of discrimination and opened the door to an expansion of rights for all the oppressed and exploited.

Tens of thousands of women and their supporters marched and rallied for legal abortion. And thousands of women gave their lives, victims of the back-alley butchery that stemmed from outlawing abortion. No 5-4 vote on the Supreme Court will force women and their allies to give up a right that is a matter of life and death.

For more than a decade the ruling families have been on the offensive against the rights and living standards of working people. As part of this drive, they have probed and tested for openings to chip

away at or roll back the democratic and social gains won since the 1960s.

Since Reagan came to office in 1981, the White House has attempted to take some initiatives to push back abortion rights and affirmative action. But this effort has run into big obstacles and has made little headway. The gains won by Blacks, women, and others have wide popular support. These gains have been institutionalized, and working people have come to see them as part of their basic rights.

That was reflected in last year's Supreme Court votes reaffirming a women's right to abortion and this year's votes upholding the constitutionality of affirmative action programs.

The struggle over affirmative action has highlighted the inability of the courts to take ground by fiat that the rulers have been unable to win from working people in struggle.

In 1978 the Supreme Court attempted to deal a heavy blow to affirmative action. In a deciding opinion written by Justice Lewis Powell, the court ruled that Allan Bakke, a white student, had been discriminated against by a medical school's affirmative action program that sought to increase the number of Black, Latino, and Asian students.

But in 1987, Powell formed part of a court majority that upheld similar programs aimed at reducing job discrimination. The shift did not occur because the

letter of the law had changed or because Powell or others who switched sides had suddenly become foes of job discrimination.

The latest rulings registered the widening support for affirmative action, particularly in the labor movement, and the stiff resistance to attacks on it. The rulers were forced to set aside the idea of a head-on assault, despite the calls for this by the Reagan administration. The appointment of Bork, even if he is confirmed, will not change these facts.

Role of court rulings

Adding another outright reactionary like Bork to the court could result in more court rulings attacking democratic rights. There have been plenty of those in recent years, such as the rulings upholding the death penalty and "preventive detention" of people without bail or charge.

But despite the boasts of the rightists and the dirges of the liberals, the court cannot roll back the fundamental gains won by working people in the last 30 years.

Laws and court rulings reflect the class relationship of forces — the outcome of battles fought on the streets, picket lines, and elsewhere. An attempt by the rulers today to sweep away affirmative action, abortion rights, or other conquests would spark massive battles with huge political risks for the rulers.

In battles of this scope, the alleged swing vote of Bork or any other robed reactionary will count for very little.

Congress seeks to gag African groups

Continued from front page

tention camps. In either its original or modified version, this measure seeks to equate the ANC with the oppressive apartheid regime.

If incorporated into the Senate's version of the same appropriations bill, the Swindall and Burton amendments could soon become law.

Slanders

The groundwork for these most recent attacks on the ANC and SWAPO was laid last year, when Congress adopted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. That measure did mandate some limited sanctions against the apartheid regime, but it also was tarred by provisions directed against the ANC.

Those provisions helped feed slanders of the ANC as a "terrorist," "communist-dominated" organization and sought to have the ANC registered as a "foreign agent." They also mandated the State Department to prepare a report on the extent of Communist Party "infiltration" of the ANC. That report, delivered to Congress in January, contained further red-baiting smears.

Burton, who was also a key proponent of

the anti-ANC clauses of last year's act, has admitted that the information used in his allegations against the organization was provided by "South African intelligence and other sources."

Attempt at censorship

The attacks against the ANC and SWAPO come at a time when the two groups are winning a wider audience here. The fact that they are supported by millions of people at home gives them tremendous moral and political authority.

Much of the time of members of the ANC's UN mission in New York is spent touring the country, speaking to college students, church groups, trade unions, and others about the struggle in South Africa. ANC members living in other cities (many of them students) are also often called upon to speak at anti-apartheid rallies and meetings.

The direct participation of the ANC and SWAPO has been a factor in helping strengthen the U.S. anti-apartheid movement. Their emphasis on the need for breaking all ties with the South African regime has also helped keep the spotlight on U.S. government and corporate complicity with apartheid.

The response in Washington has been to try to silence these voices, to keep the U.S. people from hearing the truth about what is going on in southern Africa and what the U.S. government's actual role is. The amendments essentially seek to censor ideas and information.

This congressional campaign against the southern African freedom organizations has been paralleled by similar attacks against those governments in the region that provide refuge and assistance to the ANC and SWAPO.

In May, the Senate approved a resolution calling on the Reagan administration to halt all U.S. aid to any government in the region that practices "state terrorism" — a term used by the White House and Pretoria alike to refer to any form of assistance to guerrilla movements.

The Senate also adopted, by a 94-0 vote, a resolution urging the White House to impose full-scale economic sanctions against Angola. Sen. Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) has put forward a similar bill that would mandate such sanctions.

The American Committee on Africa and other U.S. anti-apartheid organizations are urging action to prevent these from becoming law.

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The *Militant* is written in the interests of workers and farmers. Every week it tells the truth about the war Washington and the employers are waging against working people at home and abroad. We provide first-hand coverage of events in other countries, such as Cuba, Burkina Faso, and the Philippines. In addition, regular on-the-scene reports come from our Nicaragua Bureau.

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Rallies back fight against gov't spying

Unionists, antiwar fighters, and defenders of immigrant rights speak out

BY FRED FELDMAN

Unionists, opponents of the U.S. war in Central America, fighters for Black rights, and victims of police frame-ups and spying are speaking out at rallies across the country in support of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF has helped fund and publicize the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other government political police operations. The suit won a historic ruling against the government last August. Now the two organizations are fighting for an injunction barring the use of files gathered on them illegally by the FBI.

Jack Foley, director of District 1 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, sent a message to the June 27 rally in Los Angeles. "We cannot sit idly by and allow our rights to be taken away, which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The Political Rights Defense Fund issue needs labor leaders' and members' full support."

More than 100 people attended the rally, which heard Ruben Villareal, a business agent for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, denounce raids by immigration cops on Los Angeles garment shops. The raids single out union activists.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is "a contra army in the United States," declared Peter Schey, executive director of the National Center for Immigrants Rights.

Michel Shehahdeh also spoke. He is one of the Los Angeles 8, seven Palestinians and a Kenyan facing deportation proceedings for alleged association with a Palestinian organization. Shehahdeh pointed out that the government had singled them out for attack because it viewed Palestinians as the "weak link in the civil liberties chain."

They miscalculated he said, citing the wide support won in the continuing fight

for the rights of the LA 8.

Other messages of support were sent to the rally by actor and unionist Ed Asner and Congressman Esteban Torres.

Talks by Marcia Halverson, a TWA flight attendant fighting for reinstatement, and Harold Mitchell, president of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 100, highlighted the PRDF rally in Cleveland June 20.

Halverson described her experiences in the strike by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. "I'm embarrassed at how naive I was before, but I learned. The courts, the police, the Federal Aviation Administration, and the State Department all eased the way for the company to hire and retain strikebreakers."

Mitchell, who is also cochair of the local Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), described spending 27 months in jail for his role in anti-Ku Klux Klan rallies in northern Ohio in the mid-1960s. While he was in prison in 1968, the Ohio National Guard occupied the jail to suppress a protest by inmates, and four prisoners were killed.

Mitchell read the resolution of support for the SWP-YSA lawsuit adopted by the last national convention of the CBTU in St. Louis.

The featured speaker in San Diego June 12 was Kristen Crabtree, an 18-year-old student at the University of California at San Diego. Crabtree had been physically assaulted by an FBI agent while taking photographs for the campus newspaper at a rally protesting campus recruiting by the FBI and CIA.

Charged with assaulting a federal officer, she faces three years in prison if convicted.

Another speaker was Kelly Cookson, who recently completed four years of active military service and two years in the



Fred Blair, a leader of TecNica (which sends skilled workers as volunteers to Nicaragua), voices support of suit against FBI spying at Los Angeles rally for political rights. Blair denounced FBI harassment of volunteer workers on their return from Nicaragua.

Marine Corps reserve. He described how military regulations attempt to suppress the constitutional rights of soldiers and urged the PRDF to continue efforts to get out facts about the SWP and YSA suit among GI's.

The rally in Newark June 27 was held at the Metropolitan Ecumenical Center. Dave Robinson of the center opened the rally by describing being told by a State Department official that he and the local office of the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA), a group opposed to U.S. foreign policy, were under federal surveillance.

Cate Woods, president of the Trenton, New Jersey, chapter of the National Organization for Women, also spoke.

Woods described her run-ins with the political cops, beginning with a 24-hour surveillance of her apartment by the FBI and New Jersey state police in 1982 because of her involvement in antidraft pro-

tests. FBI agents searched her home three times, on the pretext of searching for Black activist Joanne Chesimard. "They're terrorizing me every day and then calling me a terrorist," she said.

Phil Mclewin, president of the Bergen County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, sent a message of solidarity to the rally.

The Newark rally raised \$2,200 in contributions and pledges toward the national PRDF goal of raising \$90,000 by July 19.

In San Diego, the rally culminated a fundraising effort that has brought in \$2,300 in donations and pledges. In Cleveland, the rally culminated a drive that netted \$1,250 for PRDF. About \$1,800 was collected or pledged at the Los Angeles meeting.

This article is based in part on reporting by Marty Pettit, Laurel Kelly, Ken Honda, and M.J. Rahn.

Political Rights Defense Fund \$90,000 Fund Scoreboard

(as of July 7, 1987)

Region	Goal	Received	%	Region	Goal	Received	%
Wisconsin	1,200	1,360	113	Oregon	1,200	435	36
Pennsylvania	2,200	2,405	109	Arizona-			
Illinois-				New Mex.	1,010	327	32
Indiana	2,500	2,402	96	Northern			
Washington				California	7,000	2,105	30
state	2,000	1,730	87	Nebraska-			
New Jersey	5,000	3,802	76	S. Dakota	750	196	26
Texas	3,500	2,460	70	New England	3,020	755	25
Ohio	2,810	1,941	69	Iowa	750	160	21
Southern				Mid-Atlantic	3,025	603	19
California	11,200	7,475	67	Colorado	1,200	130	11
Georgia	1,500	969	65	Minnesota-			
Missouri-				N. Dakota	2,750	306	11
Kansas	3,550	2,094	59	N. Carolina	1,000	96	10
New York	9,100	5,185	57	Florida	1,020	28	3
Utah	1,950	1,058	54	Alabama	1,200	20	2
W. Virginia-				Michigan	2,000	40	2
Kentucky	2,200	1,141	51	Other	15,000	10,002	67
Louisiana	1,000	368	37	Total	90,635	45,593	55

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Help the Political Rights Defense Fund protect the Bill of Rights. Support the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

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Send me _____ copies of the federal judge's decision against FBI spying and harassment (\$1 each).

Send me _____ copies of an 8-page tabloid containing the Justice Department's attack on the decision. Reprints government agencies' statements claiming "right" to spy.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Organization _____
Signature _____

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

Prisoners aid suit against FBI

On June 9 the Political Rights Defense Fund received nine sponsor cards in the mail from inmates incarcerated in Western Penitentiary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

These new endorsers were gathered by Gary Georgia, a PRDF supporter imprisoned there.

Prisoners in this facility had been victimized recently by prison officials after guards accused them of setting a fire that caused the emptying of the north cell block on the morning of January 27. More than 700 prisoners were forced to stand outside in 4-degree cold, surrounded by state and

local police dressed in flak jackets and armed with shotguns. These prisoners were then kept locked up for two days and subjected to cell-by-cell strip searches.

Efforts by the guards to pin the fire on prisoners failed when fire officials ruled that it would have been impossible for them to have done so, since the fire started after the nightly "lockup."

After going through these experiences, and after reading the decision in the Socialist Workers Party's case against government spying and disruption, Georgia requested PRDF literature and a supply of sponsor cards and circulated them.

'Militant' will not publish next week

The *Militant* will be taking a one-week break next week in order to complete a major clean-up and reorganization of our offices.

Last February we also shut down for a week to begin the process of reviewing every file and piece of equipment we had in order to get rid of the useless and broken, obtain necessary equipment that we didn't have, put our files in order, and do a thorough cleaning.

The effort is being carried out in conjunction with the other staffs that we share a building with at 410 West Street in Manhattan: the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*; Pathfinder publishing house; Photo Comp Press; and the Library of Social History.

One of the biggest projects we undertook on the fourth floor, which is occupied by the editorial staffs of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Pathfinder*, was sorting,

reorganizing, and updating our photo files. We ended up throwing away many photos that were either of poor quality or not useful for our current needs.

This will make it easier to find and use the ones that best illustrate the paper.

We are also doing some work to improve our extensive file of newspaper clippings — what is called "the morgue" — and our files of the many publications we receive.

Our decision to take on this project now is part of the *Militant's* response to the increase in struggles by working people against attacks by employers and the government. One measure of this has been the increase in our circulation.

Reorganizing and cleaning our premises will put the *Militant* in the best possible shape to respond in an even more timely and effective manner to these new developments.

We will resume publication with the issue dated July 31.

Northwest Airline workers protest firings

BY BILL JOHNSON

DETROIT — "What do we want? Parity! When do we want it? Now!" chanted 600 members of International Association of Machinists Local 141 as they staged a rally at the Metro Airport here June 22.

The unionists, who are mechanics, fleet service cleaners, baggage handlers, and other ramp personnel and ticket agents from first and second shifts assembled during their break period to send Northwest Orient a message of union solidarity.

The demonstration focused on Northwest's suspension of union Vice-president Al Wojcik for his defense of union members facing stepped-up company harassment and firings.

The workers by demanding parity want Northwest to sign the proposed IAM transition agreement to upgrade the former Republic Airlines employees who now work for Northwest since the October 1986 merger of the two companies. Former Republic employees make anywhere from \$3 to \$4 less than Northwest employees in the same job classifications.

Northwest refused to check off dues from wages of the 15,000 new members of the union. Altogether the IAM represents 23,000 Northwest employees. A recent court ruling on this, however, declared the company must now collect the dues.

Management then moved to lay off 650 workers. Here in Detroit, it has stepped up harassment — suspending ground service personnel on such charges as "horseplay" and "dropping a piece of baggage."

In Minneapolis and Detroit the union has responded to the antiunion campaign by discouraging workers from working overtime, which the company desperately needs — especially since the layoffs. This campaign has been nearly 100 percent effective, forcing the company to declare an "emergency" on occasion to force some workers to fill work stations for the next shift.

Nationally IAM members have launched a safety-first campaign. They are paying careful attention to loading and unloading planes. Mechanics, ramp personnel, and pilots are assuring the 100 percent safety of all aircraft by adhering to all Federal Aviation Administration safety regulations.

This has resulted in delaying more than

Maine paperworkers resist takebacks

BY DENISE McINERNEY AND BARBARA SIMONS

JAY, Maine — Some 1,200 workers went on strike at the large International Paper Co. (IP) mill here June 16.

Members of Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union and Local 246 of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers voted by a 9-to-1 margin to reject the company's demands for concessions.

They join 1,600 unionists on strike at IP plants in Mobile, Alabama, and DePere, Wisconsin.

The workers here had offered to stay on the job under the terms of the old contract, but IP rejected this.

The takebacks included a 12 percent cut in pay and a new productivity scheme that would combine job classifications, gut seniority, and allow the company to contract out maintenance work. Strikers say 500 jobs would be lost immediately.

IP hired BE&K Construction, a strike-breaking outfit, to work in the mill in case the union rejected the contract. BE&K employees, management personnel, and scabs are now trying to keep the mill operating.

Union members are angry. Their anger has been fueled by the doubling of IP's profits in 1985 and 1986.

Local 14 member Mike Burke said if the workers accept the company's offer they will be treated like dogs.

This fight follows a 76-day strike last year at Boise Cascade's paper mill in nearby Rumford. That company used goons to help reopen the plant, and 350 of the 1,200 members of the paperworkers' union lost their jobs to replacement workers.

Strikers at IP are being joined on the picket line by unionists from the Boise Cascade plant and from the shipyard in Bath, Maine.

90 percent of flights, costing the company a large amount in FAA fines and customer complaints.

In recent negotiations Northwest has attempted to split mechanics and ticket agents from ramp personnel, offering wage increases to the first two groups. But union negotiators said no to this divide-and-rule scheme.

Flight attendants, facing similar union-busting tactics, also solidarized with the ramp workers. Some face an annual pay gap of up to \$15,000 between former Republic and Northwest flight attendants. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters recently won the right to represent all the flight attendants.

Republic pilots also face wide pay discrepancies relative to Northwest pilots. The pilots' and flight attendants' cases are in arbitration now.

Northwest claims that it needs to remain competitive and cannot afford to upgrade Republic workers. But the company just signed a \$20 billion contract for 200 new planes with the European Airbus consortium and awarded top management huge bonuses. Northwest Board Chairman Steven Rotheimer, for example, got a raise this year of \$250,000 plus 54,000 shares of stock valued at over \$4 million.

Textile union discusses war, imports

BY RICH STUART

MIAMI BEACH, Fla. — More than 2,000 delegates attended the June 15-21 convention of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

ACTWU mainly represents textile and apparel industry workers in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. It also organizes headwear and footwear workers.

Many delegates, reflecting the composition of the union, were women, and a significant number were Black or Latino.

Much convention time went into installing Jack Sheinkman as union president. He replaced Murray Finley, who retired.

Guest speakers included Pennsylvania Sen. John Heinz, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland.

A central theme struck by top ACTWU officers was the need to elect a Democratic Party president in 1988.

Preoccupation with the presidential election was combined with a constant push for delegates to step up support to legislation restricting foreign imports into the United States. ACTWU officials claimed import restrictions would solve the problems of layoffs, plant closings, and employer demands for concessions.

Many important issues were never discussed, including the September expiration of the contract covering thousands of ACTWU members in the apparel industry.

The current contract was negotiated in 1985. At that time union members had concessions imposed on them, which included being forced to accept lump-sum payments in place of regular hourly wage increases. ACTWU members in Montreal waged a successful five-week strike against the lump-sum payments last winter.

Opposition to the U.S. government's support for the Nicaraguan contras was a major topic of discussion in convention sessions and workshops.

Sheinkman pointed to ACTWU's endorsement of the April 25 demonstrations against the war in Central America and against South African apartheid.

A number of delegates took the floor to voice their opposition to the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua. Julia Hicks from Portland, Oregon, expressed solidarity with the family of Ben Linder, the U.S. engineer murdered by the contras.

Montreal delegate Nancy Walker explained that the Canadian government's complicity in the war has become a big issue in that country.

The resolution on foreign affairs that was passed called for ending aid to the contras.

About 20 delegates attended a presentation by Miriam and John Linder, sister and brother of Ben Linder.



Militant
At Minneapolis airport demonstration June 25, Northwest workers demanded upgrading the pay of former Republic workers. Machinists' union members there and in Detroit have been refusing overtime in fight for wage parity.

Many delegates addressed the need to organize the hundreds of thousands of non-union garment and textile workers in the United States. In the South, only 25,000 out of 500,000 textile workers are organized.

Considerable discussion took place on the issue of immigration. Many delegates opposed the new Immigration Reform and Control Act as a threat to the labor movement. Lydia Sanchez Bracamonte, an ACTWU organizer in Chicago, told a workshop that the new law is the biggest obstacle she has faced in trying to organize

workers into the union.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who has been fighting for the right to live and work in the United States for a decade, participated in the workshop, relaying his experiences under the new law.

Rich Stuart is a member of ACTWU Local 319T at Highland Yarn Mills in High Point, North Carolina. Also contributing to the article were ACTWU members Ellie Beth Brady from Morgantown, West Virginia, and Markie Wilson from Portland, Oregon.

Philippine mine union leader meets with U.S. coal miners

BY PAT NIXON

SHEFFIELD, England — During a June 19 visit to the national headquarters of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) here, a delegation of U.S. unionists was introduced to Susan Cueva, a representative of the May 1 Movement (KMU) in the Philippines.

Cueva said the KMU has more than 600,000 members. It is the largest and most militant union federation in that country.

Cueva, who is an organizer for the KMU-affiliated Miners Union of the Philippines, talked to our delegation, most of whom are women coal miners, about conditions in the gold and copper mines in northern Luzon Province.

Two of the five mines in that area are organized by the KMU. Miners there are the highest-paid, receiving about \$3 a day.

Gold miners are x-rayed everyday when they leave the mine. Brushing aside the danger caused by radiation exposure, the company claims the X rays cut down gold thefts.

Workers live in small villages near the mines. Housing is crowded with no toilets or running water. Very little education is provided, and Cueva said many miners are illiterate.

Health care is inadequate. A doctor visits the local clinic once a week. Cueva explained that the miners make jokes about the situation because they are always given aspirin, regardless of the problems they have. An average of one miner a month is killed on the job at each mine.

The rivers have been polluted by the mining companies, and drinking water is brought into the area, but only three times a week. Recently workers struck when no fresh water was delivered for three weeks. Five miners were fired in retaliation, but

the workers stuck together and won both the fresh water and reinstatement of the five.

Cueva said there are 65,000 miners in the Philippines. Miners' wives have to work to augment their families' income. Many are exploited through a homework system that forces them to sew or make plastic flowers for very little money.

We were inspired by the example of Cueva's international solidarity. She attended the 100th Yorkshire Miners' Gala the next day. She also gave the women miners greetings to take to the June 26-28 Coal Employment Project (CEP) conference in Birmingham, Alabama.

The greetings, read to the CEP meeting said in part, "Our mineworkers feel a strong common bond with the mineworkers of the U.S. who are fighting the same multinational exploitation.

"We applaud your fight against racism, sexism, and multinational imperialism in South Africa and other parts of the world. We feel proud to join you in an expression of international solidarity and extend an invitation for you to visit us and witness our struggle in the Philippines."

Pat Nixon works as an operator at the Chevron oil refinery in El Segundo, California, and is a member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 1-547.

Labor news in the Militant

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

Lessons of Grenada are focus of Trinidad event

BY NELS J'ANTHONY

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — The lessons of the Grenada revolution, including of its overturn in October 1983, were the focus of an important discussion at a forum held here in the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union hall.

The June 25 meeting, entitled "The Caribbean After October '83," was part of a series organized by the First Caribbean Peoples International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival held here June 21-July 5. Speaking at the forum were Dennis Thomas, a representative of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) from Grenada, and David Abdullah, an executive member of the OWTU.

Ian Belgrave from the executive committee of the bookfair chaired the meeting and opened with a review of the history of the Grenada revolution and the role of Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada until he was murdered on October 19, 1983.

Belgrave said that those weeks were "perhaps the most agonizing moments in Caribbean history." He stressed the need for discussion and evaluation of the lessons of Grenada.

The forum provided an opportunity for such a discussion. More than 200 people attended, representing labor organizations in many Caribbean countries and diverse political views. Many were participants in the Fifth Trade Union Conference on Unity and Solidarity of the Caribbean Workers held in Trinidad June 22-24.

MBPM representative Thomas described the destruction of gains made by the Grenada revolution. He pointed to the MBPM as the organization that is fighting against the recolonization of Grenada. The MBPM, he said, is also fighting to make sure "all attempts to discredit and destroy the name of Maurice Bishop and the October 19 martyrs are not effective."

'Destroyed from within'

Abdullah of the OWTU stressed that, "the revolution was destroyed from within, not by the invasion as some would still like to make us believe. The revolution was destroyed Oct. 19, 1983, with the murder of Maurice Bishop, Jackie Creft, and the other martyrs."

Abdullah identified Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard as the head of the counterrevolution in Grenada. He defended Bishop as a leader who sought to institutionalize political power in the hands of the Grenadian people.

"Clearly, in the process of building a revolution," Abdullah said, "one has to ensure that the party clearly reflects the interests of the people and is not able to divorce itself from them, as a large section of the party in Grenada was able to do in 1983 as evidenced by the Coard clique and its actions."

The discussion following these initial presentations revealed a breadth of viewpoints on the events in Grenada.

Clive Nuñez, a former leader of the transportation workers' union in Trinidad, argued that the CIA and other U.S. government agencies played a decisive role in organizing the overthrow of the Bishop-led government. "There was definite infiltration of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement [and] in the study group that Coard had," Nuñez stated. He said that Coard was used by the CIA and then discarded when he had served its purpose.

Responding to these remarks, John LaRose, onetime general secretary of the West Indian Independence Party, pointed out that the tsarist secret police had penetrated the Bolshevik Party in Russia before October 1917, but that didn't "prevent a revolution from taking place . . . and that at the same time does not establish a counter-revolution."

Cheddi Jagan, a leader of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) in Guyana, contended that the downfall of the Grenada revolution was a product of Bernard Coard's theoretical mistakes. The New Jewel Movement, when it was first started in the early 1970s, was a petty bourgeois revolutionary democratic party, just as the PPP was in Guyana in the 1950s, Jagan said. "Coard brought in, through the youth movement, the Marxist elements," he

stated. According to Jagan, Coard and his supporters "began organizing the New Jewel Movement, transforming it rather, into a Marxist-Leninist party with very rigid discipline."

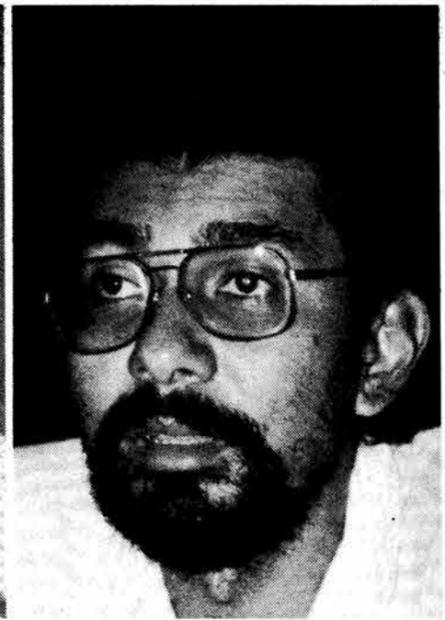
Where Coard went wrong, Jagan proposed, is not realizing that a Marxist-Leninist party was not needed in Grenada, since Bishop was taking revolutionary positions. "It was not necessary at that point in time to organize the communist party," Jagan stated, ". . . and that is where the mistake was made."

Bishop set example

Lucien Perutin of the People's Union for the Liberation of Guadeloupe, pointed to the example Bishop set in the fight for national liberation. Perhaps Maurice Bishop didn't say "every time, 'I am Marxist-Leninist,'" Perutin said, "but I think he was very intelligent to try to find a way to develop the revolution in a small country at this moment."

Mac Warren of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States stated that the Coard clique's murder of Bishop and other leaders of the revolution made it impossible to wage an effective defense of Grenada against the criminal U.S. invasion.

Differing with Cheddi Jagan, Warren said that he didn't think that the actions of Coard and his supporters could be characterized just as "mistakes." The Coard fac-



Militant photos by Sam Manuel

Dennis Thomas of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (left) and David Abdullah of Trinidadian oil workers' union defended the record and memory of Bishop and other assassinated leaders of the revolution.

tion was conscious of what it was doing, and its counterrevolutionary course ended up destroying the revolution.

Maurice Bishop was a communist, a Marxist leader of Grenada's working people, Warren said. "Read Bishop's speeches and look at the Coardites' actions and you tell me which one is communist," Warren said.

"I think a communist party was necessary in Grenada," Warren explained, "and

I think Bishop had the idea he was starting to build one." But that party was taken over by a Stalinist faction led by Coard, who "used the party to take over the army. They used the army to overthrow the revolution."

At the end of the meeting, Belgrave summarized the discussion. It was, he said, "a debate that is long overdue and that has to go on if the mistakes and fundamental errors of the experience of Grenada are not to be made again."

Vote for Sinn Féin shows Irish party strong

BY MARK LICHTMAN

The June 11 elections in Britain, which resulted in a third term for Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, included the election of members of parliament from the British-occupied colony of Northern Ireland.

These were the first elections to the British parliament since the 1985 agreement between the British government and the government of the Republic of Ireland (the 26 southern counties of Ireland, which became formally independent of Britain in 1921). The pact upheld continued British rule in Northern Ireland.

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, was reelected to parliament, defeating J.G. Hendron of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) by more than 2,000 votes. Sinn Féin candidates drew more than 83,000 votes altogether.

Sinn Féin fights for a united, independent Ireland free of British occupation and economic domination. The SDLP accepts British rule and competes with Sinn Féin for the support of the oppressed nationalist population of the north.

The elections also resulted in the defeat of Enoch Powell, an ultrarightist supporter of British rule in Northern Ireland, by SDLP candidate E.K. McGrady.

The *Militant* recently interviewed Martha McClelland about the election results. McClelland is a leader of Sinn Féin and the Irish Women's Study Group in the Northern Ireland city of Derry. A former political prisoner in Northern Ireland, she was in New York as part of a U.S. tour.

"Sinn Féin held its own and dashed the hopes of the British government. The elections did not show any dropping off of support for Sinn Féin in the wake of the 1985 pact. People rejected the myth that the Hillsborough Pact can lead to British withdrawal and permanent peace in Ireland."

Sinn Féin presented its own peace proposals in the campaign.

"Our peace plan," McClelland said, "called for recognition that the north of Ireland is no longer a part of the United Kingdom. The British military forces and administration would remain only as long as it takes to arrange their permanent withdrawal by a definite date."

"We propose the holding of a constitutional conference based on free elections throughout Ireland, including representatives of unions, women's organizations, churches, and other groups to discuss a future government of a united Ireland."

The election was a tough fight, McClelland explained. "We entered this election battle facing opposition from all the allies of the British and Free State governments,

including the Catholic hierarchy," she explained. "The Social Democratic and Labour Party got open support against us from London, Washington, and Dublin, including a large amount of money from the National Endowment for Democracy, a U.S. government operation."

The drive to defeat Adams was backed up by violence, McClelland said. "During the election campaign, there were numerous attacks on Sinn Féin election workers. Alex Maskey, Sinn Féin chairperson in Belfast, and campaign worker Brendan Davidson were shot."

She said that repression has steadily increased in Northern Ireland since the agreement was signed. "Since that time, more than 1,200 families have been driven from their homes with petrol bombs thrown into their windows and other violence. The death squads linked to both the British Forces and the loyalist organizations [groups backing British rule] have become more active." She cited the example of

eight Irish Republican Army fighters who were recently entrapped and executed by British forces in Loughgal.

House raids, beatings during interrogation, arrests, and torture are at new highs, she said. She described the fight that has been waged to hold funerals for some victims of repression.

"When Larry Marley was killed by a death squad, the Royal Ulster Constabulary [local police force backing British rule] and British army delayed his funeral for six days and refused to allow his family to bury him because there would be a tricolor [the Irish flag] on the coffin. When the authorities were forced to back down, thousands lined the route of the funeral. Finally, the people's resistance has won the right to bury our dead in peace."

McClelland urged U.S. working people to join the international protests against the British occupation forces' use of strip-searches to humiliate women political prisoners in Northern Ireland.

New International
A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

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BY STEVE CLARK

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an article by **Steve Clark**

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Visit to a small farm in Yorkshire, England

Farmers upset over production quotas

BY NORTON SANDLER

KNOTTINGLEY, England — Turning around in the midst of pushing sheep through a pen, Marjorie Swales was quite surprised to see three people peering at her from behind the fence. After a quick double take, Swales recognized Dot Ryan as one of the unexpected visitors.

Ryan is an activist in Women Against Pit Closures, an organization that carries out activity in solidarity with Britain's National Union of Mineworkers.

The rolling hills of the Yorkshire countryside are covered with farmland. The area is also one of Britain's main coal-mining regions and it is common to see crops extending to the boundaries of the mines.

During a recent visit to the Castleford Women's Centre, U.S. rail worker Joe Swanson and I mentioned to Ryan that we were interested in visiting a farm. The next afternoon Ryan drove us around Yorkshire eventually stopping at the Swales' home. A teenager directed us to the field where her parents and brother were shearing sheep.

Marjorie Swales invited us to climb the fence and take a look at the operation. She and her husband Peter were pushing their 125 sheep through the pen. Their son Paul was assisting the two men who had been hired to do the clipping.

After watching for 20 minutes or so, Swanson and I began talking to the Swales.

Sheep are not the mainstay of their farm, which has been in the family for over 30 years. They have over 300 acres cultivated in wheat and oilseed rape, a plant grown for producing cooking oil and perfumes.

Until a few years ago they concentrated on dairy farming and also had a few hogs. Peter says the farm is doing better since they began growing crops. "We've had a few good years," he said. "Wheat was selling for £100 a ton (\$163) three years ago, now it's selling for £120 (\$196). Some people want to limit the amount of nitrogen we put down, but we're going for the high yields. We're looking to get four tons an acre," he explained.

"Me and my son do it all," he said, "during the busy months we work until midnight. We don't mind the hard work, we know there will be a break later. The sheep keep us busy when other things slow down. Most farmers in this valley don't hire anybody," he added.

The Swales had two mortgages on the

land. One is paid off, the other nearly completed.

Peter is a member of the National Farmers Union (NFU). He explained that most NFU members generally back the Conservative Party.

In spite of the recent good years, the Swales expressed some reservations about the future.

Britain is a member of the European Economic Community (EEC). The Common Market administered by the EEC sets agriculture production quotas, and many farmers are being told to curtail their output.

John MacGregor, Britain's minister of agriculture, recently said, "I would be doing our farmers no service if I were to kid them that we in the Council of Ministers will be able to avoid coming to terms with the harsh realities of agriculture surpluses and overspending."

Noting that many people around the world are starving, Marjorie said, "I think it's a shame that land has to have quotas."

"Some farmers are being told to grow trees on the land or turn their farms into golf courses," Peter explained.

They also noted that land values had fallen \$815 an acre over the past year.

"The machinery people are beginning to feel the pinch, some have sales 40 percent



Militant/Norton Sandler

Marjorie Swales readying sheep for shearing. The Swales have had "a few good years" but expressed doubts about future for Britain's small farmers.

lower than before," added Peter.

"Grain used to be shipped by train," he said, "now it's almost always by lorry [truck]."

Rail worker Swanson said Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's campaign to resell large portions of the British rail system to

private owners may well lead to even less rail service in parts of the country. "I don't know if privatizing everything is so good," Peter replied.

The Swales emphasized that they want to remain farmers. "It's a good life," Marjorie said, "I wouldn't want to leave it."

Women help win New Mexico coal strike

BY NORTON SANDLER

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "I sincerely believe that if it hadn't been for the ladies being out there with their support, and the kids being out there with their support, P&M could have actually won the strike."

Ted Twite was making these comments to 35 people who crammed into a room during the Coal Employment Project conference here to listen to a special presentation on the recent strike at the Pittsburg and Midway coal mine. The P&M operation is on the Navajo Reservation near Gallup, New Mexico. The Coal Employment Project (CEP) fights to get women jobs in the coal industry.

Twite is pit chairman of United Mine Workers (UMWA) Local 1332. Also participating in the June 27 presentation were

Eileen Lopez, Eloise Watchman, and Lorraine Gleason. Lopez is also a member of Local 1332. Gleason and Watchman are leaders of Local 1332's Women Auxiliary. The three women are Navajos; Twite is a white miner.

The hard-fought 75-day P&M strike began February 20.

"The first few nights of the strike a couple of hundred men were out there," Watchman said. Then the picket lines kept getting smaller. "I guess everybody figured, 'What am I doing here?'"

It was at this point that Local 1332 President Phillip Henio began encouraging the wives of strikers to begin attending meetings.

"We were concerned with feeding the men on the picket line," Watchman said, and, "the meetings were also used to explain the reasons for the strike to make it really known to the ladies what Article 2 was all about."

Preferential hiring

Article 2 of the UMWA's proposed contract settlement pertained to job security for UMWA members at the P&M mine. P&M leases land on the reservation on both sides of Highway 264. Most of the mining is done on the north side. Twite said the coal on that side will be completely mined out within a few years. The union wanted guarantees that laid-off UMWA members would get first preference for hiring at any new mines P&M opens in the area.

Most P&M miners are Navajo. A handful are from other Indian tribes, and a few are either Chicano or white. Navajo law takes precedence over other contracts within the boundaries of the Navajo Nation. And the tribe has mandated preferential hiring of Navajos.

The union and the women's auxiliary helped explain that the UMWA defends the Navajo Preference Act and countered the company's lies that implementation of Article 2 would not violate tribal law.

As the issues became clearer, the women's auxiliary began to take on a bigger role in the strike. In addition to providing every shift of picketers with a hot meal, the women began to participate in the picket lines and a number were arrested during the strike.

"On Sundays the guys would have meetings and the women would go out there. Let me tell you when the company saw

women out there they hated us," Watchman said.

Kids come out

"When the kids came out with us, it even made it worse for the company. They said in court that they didn't want kids and women out there on the highway, we were a nuisance to the public, we were eyesores for the public. All of a sudden they were concerned that one of the kids might get hit by a vehicle. They came up with all kinds of crazy excuses," she explained.

The women also played an important role in explaining that P&M's parent company, Chevron Oil Co., was "pulling the strings" during the strike. A delegation of women traveled to Denver to picket Chevron's offices there.

Twite said P&M issued an ultimatum to the strikers, "If we didn't return to work on Monday, April 27, everybody would be fired."

On April 25 a member of Navajo Tribal Council Chairman Peter MacDonald's office issued a statement applauding P&M's decision to reopen the mine. This angered the miners who had been appealing to the tribal council for support.

"On Monday morning they had possibly 65 people cross the line," Twite said. "On Tuesday they probably had 80 that went in. They didn't have a real big increase on Wednesday. That's when the ladies and all our Navajo brothers and sisters formed up and 400 people marched on the chairman's [MacDonald's] office there in nearby Window Rock, Arizona, and got the tribe involved."

The tribal council asked P&M to return to the negotiations and the strike was settled a few days later. P&M agreed to add 3,500 acres to the boundaries of the mine.

Sandra Moronez, who participated in a recent strike at the FMC mine in Kemmerer, Wyoming, told the meeting that the fight waged by UMWA members and their supporters in New Mexico and Arizona had a big impact on getting the coal companies to settle other strikes in the West this spring.

UMWA organizer Charlie Tipton urged Coal Employment Project Conference participants "to stand at the bath houses and take up a collection" for Local 1332 members Roscoe Scott and Francis Barney who were suspended for six months at the end of the strike.

Contributions for Scott and Barney can be sent to Phillip Henio, President of United Mine Workers of America Local 1332, Navajo, New Mexico 87328.

Young socialists will boost subscription renewal drive

BY JIM WHITE

The Young Socialist Alliance, a nationwide socialist youth organization with members in more than 70 cities, has decided to make the *Militant* renewal drive one of its major activities this summer. This will add considerable clout to the effort to win a maximum number of long-term readers for the paper.

Greg McCartan, a national leader of the YSA, explained why. "The renewal drive offers the YSA an opportunity to increase the number of readers among young people who have begun to look at the paper as a political tool. And of course, the YSA has a lot to gain. Since the best way to get a renewal is to go back to subscribers where they live, work, or go to school, that's what we are organizing to do.

"When we talk to young people who have been reading the *Militant* for several months," he said, "we not only want to get them to renew. We want to get them to join the YSA."

Circulating the *Militant* was a focus of the YSA's national convention in May. The report on the convention in the July-August issue of the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly publication, quoted James Winfield's report on "Summer Tasks and Perspectives": "The *Militant* is the YSA's newspaper — it helps clarify what's going on week by week." He added

that the paper is part of the YSA's "arsenal to get out the truth about workers' struggles, Cuba, Nicaragua, and socialism."

The added boost from the YSA will be welcome in the drive. Last week was slow, partly because of the mail around the July 4th holiday weekend. We received 32 renewals, which is a little off the pace of about 50 per week we had been receiving.

A reader from Eugene, Oregon, renewed and sent us a note, in which he raised a common concern. He writes, "Your international stories are sensational. Sorry I can't afford a whole year's subscription right now, but please send me three more months. Also, I don't want to miss one week of the *Militant*, so if this is processed too late, please send me the back issues I will have missed."

We were asked similar questions this week by readers in Texas and West Virginia. The answer is that we keep an adequate supply of the paper to refill orders for our distributors, and orders for missing or back issues. Copies of the paper are available for the current and previous calendar year. Right now, all of 1986 and 1987 are available as back issues. Longer than that, the newsprint deteriorates. The only good copies of the paper are in bound volumes and on microfilm.

If you renew, we will gladly supply any issue you miss, if you request it.

Facts about how AIDS is transmitted

Response to questions from 'Militant' readers

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Reprinted in the box on this page are excerpts from two letters the *Militant* has received commenting on an article and an editorial on AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) in the June 19 issue.

The points raised by readers Bruce Marcus and Mohammed Oliver are right at the heart of the political debate and discussion on what should be done about AIDS and those who contract it.

Who gets AIDS and why

Both readers write that the *Militant* seriously downplays the risk of contracting AIDS through vaginal intercourse. This is a key question of fact.

The *Militant's* opposition to mandatory testing and quarantining, and our proposals for what the government should be doing about AIDS, hinge on the facts about how difficult it is to transmit the disease and the fact that it is highly concentrated among gay men and impoverished intravenous drug users.

I wrote in the June 19 *Militant* that "because the AIDS virus is fragile, it dies quickly outside the body. It can only be transmitted through infected blood and semen being brought into direct contact with the bloodstream."

"This is quite different than the mode of transmission of the microorganisms that cause venereal diseases like gonorrhea and syphilis. Those organisms can thrive in any bodily fluid and can enter the body through mucous membranes. . . .

"But there is no substantial evidence that the AIDS virus is passed through any other bodily fluids — vaginal secretions, saliva, tears, or mucus; only semen and blood. Thus the oft-repeated statement that AIDS is passed through 'sexual intercourse' or 'sexual contact,' or 'exchange of body fluids' is misleading and, therefore, false. It is only passed through certain kinds of sexual activity and certain body fluids."

The pattern of AIDS transmission in the United States bears this out: the overwhelming majority of those who have contracted AIDS are gay men or intravenous drug users or both. They contracted it, by and large, as a result of sharing needles without first sterilizing them or through anal intercourse.

Yes, AIDS can be transmitted through vaginal intercourse, as I indicated in my article. It's a lot more difficult, however, to spread it that way than through anal intercourse. Marcus is right when he writes that I based my arguments on anatomy — fewer blood vessels near the surface of the vagina as compared to the rectum mean a much lower risk of infected blood or semen entering the bloodstream during vaginal intercourse than during anal intercourse.

Why impoverished drug users hard hit

Marcus questions my contention that "not all those who shoot drugs are equally at risk [of contracting AIDS], however. It's only impoverished drug users — a high percentage of whom are Black and Latino — who share needles. Middle-class and ruling-class drug addicts aren't likely to have to use someone else's dirty needle."

Marcus is right — it's not only impoverished drug users who pass needles among each other without first cleaning

them. But while there may be some more well-off people who get their kicks by sharing dirty needles, it's a fact that the overwhelming majority of the drug addicts who contract AIDS come from the poorer layers of society.

Most of the 200,000 drug addicts in New York City — half of whom are thought to be infected with the AIDS virus — come from the working class, not the middle class or ruling class. Among these people, it is an epidemic.

In the racist United States, anything that hits the working class disproportionately hard is going to afflict Blacks and Latinos especially, since they are overwhelmingly working class. And AIDS is no exception.

Blacks and Latinos make up 38 percent of the AIDS cases that have been diagnosed nationally; 80 percent of the children born with AIDS are Black or Latino; and the majority of women with AIDS are Black or Latino.

It is precisely because the main victims of this disease are gays and poor people that the government does nothing about it. As the *Militant* editorial explained:

"The cynical call for free needles for IV drug users as the way to slow down the spread of AIDS assumes that nothing can be done about drug addiction among the poorest layers of society. Ruling-class politicians and movie stars can go to Betty Ford's fancy rehab center; addicts in Harlem get a couple of free needles — if they're lucky."

The *Militant* calls for taking the profits out of the drug trade by decriminalizing possession of drugs and drug paraphernalia as part of a massive, government-funded rehabilitation program.

The condom campaign

Oliver writes that what the *Militant* editorial had to say about condoms could be taken to mean that we don't think they serve any purpose in slowing down the spread of AIDS.

Here's what the editorial said:

"The other proposals to deal with AIDS [in addition to mandatory testing] — abstain from sex; only engage in 'socially acceptable' kinds of sex; everyone use condoms all the time — are similar to the mandatory-testing proposals in that they all attempt to create the atmosphere that AIDS is a disease that is spreading in epidemic proportions among the entire population. If that were true, however, people like Reagan would be showing a lot more concern about doing something about it."

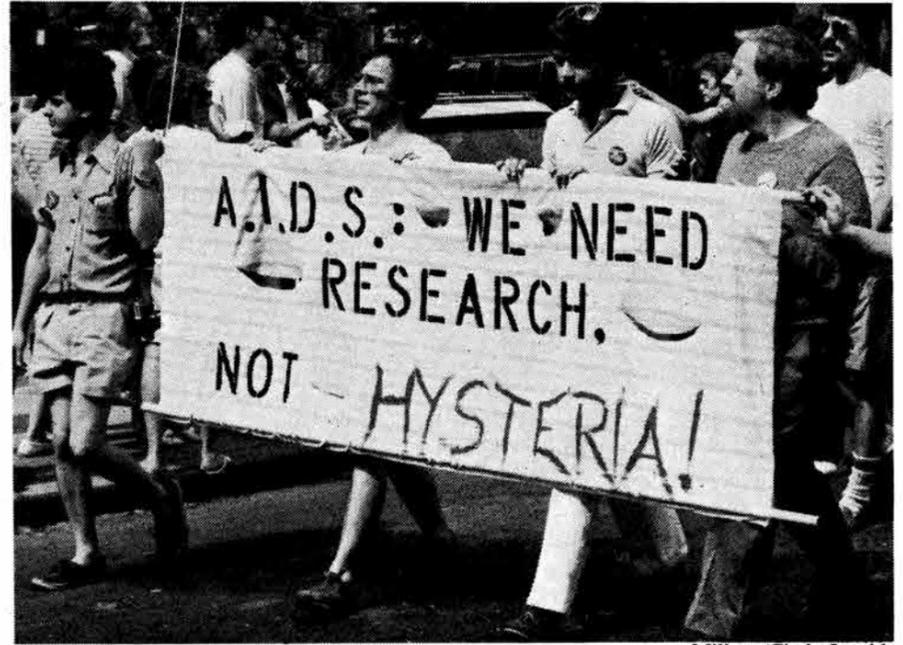
"All the talk about condoms does serve a purpose — and a reactionary one at that — in relation to AIDS. It covers up the fact that the ruling families of this country refuse to take any serious measures to slow down the spread of AIDS because they aren't concerned about saving the lives of a bunch of gays, drug addicts, and prostitutes."

I agree with Oliver that "some of the talk about condom use in relation to helping to prevent HIV [human immunodeficiency virus, which causes AIDS] infection is right on target." The example he cites of the educational campaign waged by gay men's groups is an excellent example of what needs to be done on a much larger scale.

A campaign to get out the truth about AIDS and to fight for measures to aid those most victimized must be done as part of an effort to combat prejudice against gays and those addicted to drugs. Prejudice has been utilized by the ruling class to win acceptance for treating AIDS as a crime and those who are infected as criminals (see article in July 10 *Militant* on "Why gov't treats AIDS like a crime").

The political content of virtually all the ads, literature, and government statements I've seen pushing general use of condoms as the solution is reactionary: AIDS is "really" only a problem if people who aren't gay or drug addicts start to get it.

But as I explained in the *Militant* last week, "We must tell the truth that everyone who gets AIDS is a human being and deserves to be treated as such — whether they're gay, addicted to drugs, or prostitutes, or whether they are Black or Latino."



New York City demonstration, 1983.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Two letters to 'Militant'

Margaret Jayko's article on AIDS (*Militant* June 19) provides useful information to answer the reactionary hysteria being whipped up around the "mandatory testing" campaign.

Together with the accompanying editorial, it helps debunk the myths and lies being shouted from virtually every newspaper headline and by politicians of both parties.

Some points in the article, however, are not correct or are open to possible serious misinterpretation.

The article categorically asserts that only "impoverished drug users . . . share needles" and explains that therefore transmission of AIDS is not a significant risk to other IV drug users.

It is unlikely that hard evidence can be obtained for this statement. While the spread of the disease through the sharing of contaminated needles may be more prevalent among impoverished drug users, the fact is that drug users from all social layers and classes share needles during drug use.

Researchers from the National Academy of Sciences trying to ascertain the spread of AIDS through contaminated needles reported great difficulties in obtaining accurate information due to the very illegality of drug use itself.

Most importantly, the article *seriously underestimates* the spread of AIDS due to heterosexual, vaginal intercourse.

Its arguments based on anatomy and its assertion that "most doctors and researchers agree that the chances of women passing AIDS to a man during sexual intercourse are very small indeed" are not widely documented and are contradicted by the National Academy of Sciences 1986 study.

According to that study, "HIV can be transmitted during heterosexual intercourse . . . 21 of 57 (37 percent) of persons who were long-term heterosexual partners of AIDS or ARC [AIDS-related complex] patients but had no other AIDS risk factors had confirmed antibodies to HIV. . . . All these studies suggest that vaginal intercourse was a route of infection. Such findings document the existence of male-to-female and female-to-male transmission."

Since probably as many men are bisexual as exclusively homosexual and have homosexual relations infrequently and heterosexual relations — often in a marriage — frequently, the possibilities for broad transmission of AIDS outside of the current high-risk groups are very real.

The *Militant* article and editorial were right on the mark in pointing out that AIDS can't be transmitted through ordinary day-to-day contact and in sounding

the alarm about the widespread discrimination inherent in the "mandatory testing" scam.

But in the process of this much needed clarification, more than a little bit of overstatement and oversimplification crept in.

Bruce Marcus
New York, N.Y.

The *Militant* takes a good stand in speaking out against the reactionary plan to submit prison inmates and immigrants to mandatory testing for antibodies to human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is the bug responsible for acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

Unfortunately, in blasting this reactionary campaign of repression aimed at covering up the government's refusal to adequately combat AIDS, the *Militant* blows off its nose to spite its face.

In her article "Fact vs. myth: how AIDS is transmitted," Margaret Jayko leaves *Militant* readers with the mistaken notion that because the risk of HIV infection through most heterosexual intercourse is slim, it's virtually nonexistent.

In the same issue (June 19), the paper's editorial on the subject goes even further, calling "all the talk about condoms" reactionary.

This statement is patently false — as are most absolutes. Some of the talk about condom use in relation to helping to prevent HIV infection is right on target.

I don't dispute that it's more difficult to transmit HIV during vaginal intercourse than it is during anal intercourse; however, such transmission *does* occur.

Clearly, regular use of condoms markedly reduces the incidence of HIV transmission. But, as Jayko and the *Militant* editorial explain, not everyone is likely to have sexual intercourse with someone infected with HIV.

An educational campaign about the need to regularly use condoms should be mainly directed at gay men, IV drug users (which includes most prostitutes), prostitutes who are not IV drug users, and the communities of the working class and oppressed nationalities — especially among the youth of these communities.

Although it's true that the ruling class is using the campaign to get people to use condoms to cover up its refusal to really fight AIDS, that's no reason to imply that there's no basis for using them.

Mohammed Oliver
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

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Héctor Marroquín: the story of 1

An undocumented worker's struggle for the legal right to live in

BY HARRY RING

It will be 10 years this fall. I was in the San Antonio, Texas, headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party when a phone call came from the SWP branch in Houston. A member of the party there was in jail in Eagle Pass, a border town in the Rio Grande Valley.

He had been arrested by an Immigration cop while returning from a visit to Mexico. The identity papers he was carrying, indicating U.S. citizenship, were found to be false.

He was jailed, held incommunicado for several days, and then brought before a judge who gave him a three-month sentence. Then they let him make a phone call.

His name was Héctor Marroquín. A Mexican student activist, Héctor had fled to the United States in 1974 when the Mexican police leveled the frame-up charge that he had been involved in a murder at the University of Nueva León in Monterrey.

When he was arrested at Eagle Pass, Héctor had been living and working in this country as an undocumented immigrant for three years. But in the clutches of the Immigration Service, it didn't look like Héctor was long for the United States.

But now, a decade later, I sat with Héctor in the *Militant* editorial office discussing his ongoing fight to remain here and, in some detail, his personal history, beginning in his home town of Matamoros.

But first, Héctor's current status. Within hours after his phone call from jail, the SWP had a lawyer on the way to Eagle Pass. La Raza Unida Party of Texas also provided a lawyer.

Sought political asylum

An application was promptly filed for political asylum on the grounds that he had a well-founded fear that if returned to Mexico he faced torture or death at the hands of the police.

The fight to keep Héctor here was under way. Initially it was under the auspices of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, and then the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Héctor has tirelessly stumped the country, and his fight has won significant public support.

Because he is an avowed socialist, the Immigration and Naturalization Service — *la migra* — stubbornly opposed his asylum claim. Héctor's request was finally rejected by the courts.

With that, he applied for permanent residence on the basis that he had become married to a U.S. citizen.

Ordinarily, such an application would be a matter of routine. But Héctor has been waiting four years for a reply.

Then Héctor applied for "amnesty" under the new immigration law. That application is now being processed. Meanwhile, in a major gain, he was granted temporary legal residence and a Social Security card in May of this year.

Listening to Héctor's account of his early life you wouldn't guess that one day he would be fighting for the right to live in the United States, even though he was born close enough to the border "to throw a rock across."

The third oldest of 10 children, Héctor lived in Matamoros until he was 16. Matamoros is just across the Rio Grande from Brownsville, Texas, and, when Héctor lived there, had a population of about 200,000.

'Maquiladoras'

At that time, the *maquiladoras* were first being established in Matamoros. Under a U.S.-Mexican agreement, these are Mexican border-town plants where goods made in the United States are assembled and shipped back duty free. The Mexican workers earned as little as \$2 a day.

Matamoros had all the problems of an underdeveloped area. Poverty, high unemployment. Shopping and visiting across the border, Héctor recalled, the higher

U.S. living standard was readily apparent.

And it was apparent with the U.S. tourists who came to Matamoros for the products of Mexican artisans, which can be bought so cheaply with U.S. dollars.

"You couldn't help but resent them. They seemed so much better off," Héctor said.

Héctor got to see the tourists up close. When he was 9 or 10, his father insisted that he and his older brother put in time selling gum and shining shoes. The few pesos they earned didn't weigh that much in the balance. But, his father insisted, they had to learn about earning a living.

Héctor's father was a strong influence and example. He worked at the busy border crossing as a customs official, calculating and collecting import duties.

In those days, before the catastrophic drop in the value of the peso, many Mexicans in border areas shopped in the United States. Returning with their purchases, payoffs to custom officials were a matter of routine. And, where contraband was involved, the ante went up.

But Héctor's father didn't get rich in customs. "He wouldn't accept bribes," Héctor said. "He considered it an insult to his integrity."

"He had three brothers who were customs officials," Héctor added. "They were all well to do."

His father had other strong convictions. He didn't go to church and didn't favor his family going. "He was a believer," Héctor

was a government pension of less than \$50 a month. With a big family it was impossible for his mother to hold a job.

His uncles contributed a little. "It was a small amount," Héctor said. "I resented this. I knew they were in a position to provide help. I felt it was unjustified."

While continuing in school, Héctor and his older brother and sister all found work.

Héctor became an auto mechanic's helper, working 10 hours a day after school and earning about \$4 a week. Then he switched to becoming a carpenter's helper, but the wages remained the same.

Along with school and the job, the older children had to pitch in to help their mother at home. "It was rough," Héctor said. "You were always tired. And you didn't develop like the other kids."

For his mother the situation was even rougher.

"At one point we considered dropping out of school so we could work more hours, make more. But she wouldn't agree with that. She insisted that all of us go to school."

His mother was born in Baja California, on the west coast of Mexico. Her parents were Indians who had migrated there from Chile.

Two years after his father's death, a new family difficulty added to Héctor's developing awareness of injustice. His mother had another child. Héctor's uncles were righteously indignant, condemning

ital. Bursts of machine-gun fire killed more than a hundred students and wounded uncounted more.

"This had a profound impact on my life," Héctor said. "We not only had to live in these conditions, but when people protested, and organized to demand our rights, this was the way the government responded."

When Héctor was 16 and in his last year in intermediary school he took a step up the economic ladder. A visiting encyclopedia salesman met him and was impressed. He got Héctor a job as a salesman.

"I was by far the youngest of the salespeople," Héctor said. "I must admit, I was a good salesperson. I think people were impressed — a 16-year-old with an avocado-green suit and a tie, with a briefcase and this professorial presentation — all of which you're trained to do."

On to college

The money Héctor was able to save selling encyclopedias made the family decision that he go on to college realistic. Héctor enrolled at the university in Monterrey. This was a big new turning point in his life.

He entered the school of economics, thinking he would learn how the system works and, with that, be in a better position to help change it, a utopian notion he soon became disabused of.

But Héctor learned a lot. Being in Monterrey, a major industrial city of 2 million, was in itself a big learning experience.

He found an inexpensive rooming house in a poor working-class neighborhood. It was a few blocks from a big smelting plant. The husband of the house worked there and would talk about life in the factory.

"And just seeing the thousands of workers coming in and out of the plants made the working class more real," Héctor said.

His first year there were a lot of student protests at the campus. There were demands for freeing the student political prisoners jailed after the Mexico City massacre and demands around other student issues.

The students appealed to the workers in the city for support, and they gave it. And there were strikes at the plants that the students pitched in to help.

"We participated in picket lines, helped make banners, wrote leaflets. The solidarity worked both ways," Héctor said.

"I think my experiences in Monterrey, after my childhood experiences, gave me the beginnings of class consciousness," Héctor reflected. "I began to more consciously take the side of the working people."

A good student

With the continuing encyclopedia sales providing a flexible schedule, he was able to participate actively in the student struggles and still get good grades.

In 1969, while the student movement in Mexico City was largely repressed, it was still active in Monterrey and other cities.

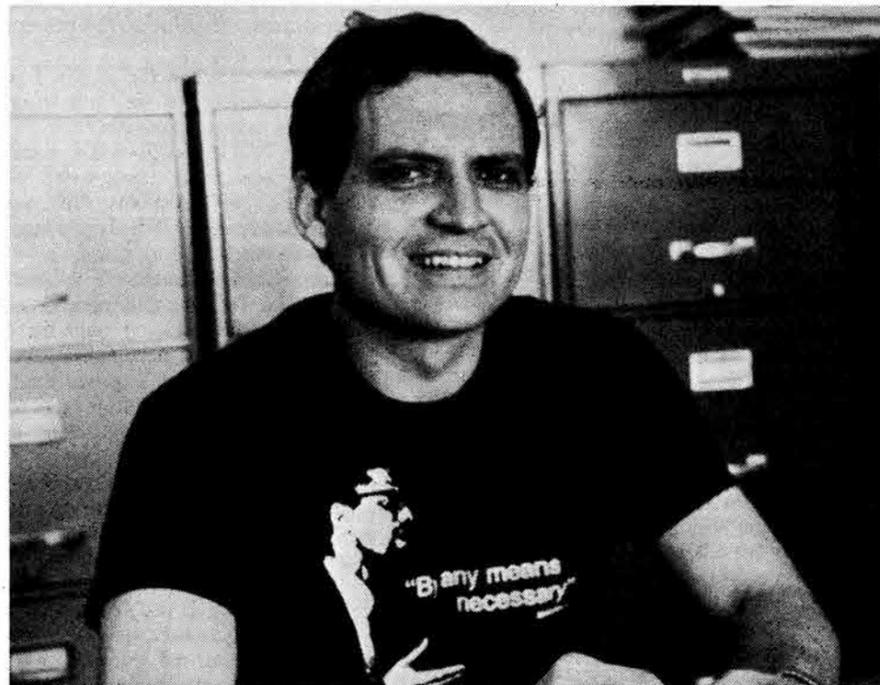
Students were becoming very frustrated with what they were being taught and the way the universities were run.

"This was true everywhere, and especially in the school of economics," Héctor said, "After the first year it was very clear that we were being trained to serve the interests of the rich. We were not being trained to change the social conditions."

The demand for a different concept of a university had spread internationally during that time and it was strong in Mexico.

The students wanted what they called an "autonomous" university," Héctor explained. "It was a demand for the democratization of the university, a university controlled by the students and faculty, independent of business and the state. A university, the way we saw it, that would be committed to a program aimed at social and economic problems."

An important factor in the thinking of students, he added, was what they were learning about the Cuban revolution. At the economics school, for instance, they received a number of Cuban publications, in-



Héctor Marroquín

Militant/Harry Ring

explained. "But he said the church was corrupt."

He taught the children more. As a young man at the end of the World War II, he had immigrated to Chicago and worked laying railroad track.

He was on the job about three years and then returned home.

He wanted to marry and raise a family. But he was determined that his family would be Mexican.

"He said he didn't mind the work, and the pay wasn't bad," Héctor said. "But he had some real bad experiences with racist discrimination. His experiences with the foremen, with the bosses, were degrading."

"He didn't want any of us to be born in the United States," Héctor continued.

"We were all born in a hospital a half mile from the border. He still had his green card and we could have been born in the United States and been citizens. But he made a conscious decision that we would all be Mexicans."

When Héctor was 12, tragedy struck. His father was killed in a car accident.

Meager pension

On top of the deep loss, the family was plunged into economic hardship. There

her behavior and cutting off the modest assistance they had given.

'Our brother'

"But my attitude," Héctor emphasized, "and my brothers and sisters, was to see this newborn baby as our brother — which he is — and to have solidarity with our mother."

"The way I looked at it was that she was young and had a right to do what she wanted with her life, to look for another companion if she wished to. That was her perfect right."

At the same time big events were also shaping Héctor's view of the world.

In 1967, when he was about 14, there came the news of the assassination of Che Guevara by Bolivian troops and the CIA.

Che had a deep influence on the youth of Mexico and all of Latin America. "To us, he was an example of revolutionary commitment, self-sacrifice," Héctor said. "Today I still consider him one of the great revolutionary leaders."

And, in 1968, at a time when a worldwide youth radicalization left a strong imprint on Mexico, there came the savage troop assault on student demonstrators at the University of Mexico in the cap-

his fight the U.S.

cluding the Communist Party paper *Granma* and the magazine *Bohemia*.

'A different way'

"They were the most demanded items in the library," Héctor said. "There you got a glimpse of a different way of organizing society and economic life.

"You could see planning being done in the interest of the people — the building of homes, schools, hospitals. That was a different world, a different way of doing things."

Héctor began a real study of economics, turning to the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

To this day he has a cherished copy of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*.

In a police attack on protesters, a gas grenade was fired into the school library. Later, cleaning up the debris, the copy of *Capital* was tossed on a rubbish heap. Héctor retrieved it and studied it.

"The first chapter was hard," he said. "It took me a long time but I went through the volume."

He added, "You know it still smells of tear gas. It never went away completely."

Meanwhile, the government was on the offensive against the students. In January 1972 Héctor suffered a new traumatic experience. His roommate and close friend, Jesús Rivera, was murdered by the cops.

There had been a bank holdup in Mon-

"We've been able to win the support and solidarity of literally tens of thousands of working people . . ."

terrey that was credited to urban guerrillas. This was used as the pretext for a stepped-up witch-hunt. The police came to an apartment of two teachers where the suspects were supposedly hiding. Rivera was visiting them when the police arrived and ordered them out. As he emerged, he was cut down by gunfire.

By chance, Héctor was playing football with friends nearby. They heard the gunfire and then the ambulance sirens. They ran to see what was happening.

"When I got there, Jesús was on the sidewalk, bleeding but obviously still alive. They just let him bleed to death."

Mass protest

The students held a funeral march for Rivera, with some 5,000 participating. They tried to march to police headquarters for a protest there, but it was repressed by the police who used tear gas.

The police followed up with systematic victimizations of student activists. There were frame-ups, beatings, and torture. People were kidnapped and disappeared. The movement declined.

Several students who had been arrested and tortured told Héctor the police had questioned them specifically about him.

Two years went by. Despite the atmosphere of repression, there was political discussion and debate, arguments about how to move forward.

Then one day in January 1974, Héctor turned on the radio and learned that the librarian at his school had been assassinated. Two days later, Héctor's picture, along with those of three other students, appeared in the papers with the police assertion that they had been involved in the slaying.

"It was a straight frame-up," Héctor said. "The librarian was killed in the presence of a number of students. They saw the killing. No one ever came forward and said it was me, or the other students accused by the cops."

Determined to clear himself of the charge, Héctor consulted with several lawyers. They agreed he would never get a fair trial. The likelihood they said, was that



Left, Mexican immigrants in west Texas. Right, undocumented workers arrested by immigration cops in Florida. Héctor Marroquín: "The fact is you come here as an immigrant, and you join the ranks of the working people of this country. I would like to see the words 'illegal' and 'alien' erased from the language. I believe in the world working class — beyond any borders."

he would be jailed and tortured to extract a "confession."

Héctor decided not to stick around. He went to Baja California where he stayed several months. Then he read in the papers that a professor at the university had been found dead, a victim of torture. Bones had been broken, fingernails extracted.

"That was no ordinary killing," Héctor said. "All the evidence pointed to the police."

He added, "That's when I decided to leave Mexico."

Across the border

He went to the home of his friend María. They decided to get married and that she would go with him. They crossed the border and went to Houston.

How did they arrange all of this? "Friends from Matamoros," Héctor replied simply. "Matamoros was one of the multiplicity of underground railroad stops Mexican workers have built over the decades."

In Houston, friends helped them get an apartment and Héctor found a job.

He started out without any ID, just an assumed name and a concocted Social Security number.

No papers meant employers would pay him even less than the customary low wages drawn by the undocumented.

His first job was as a bartender's assistant in a busy disco. He worked 10 hours a day and the wage was \$1.80 an hour, straight time.

He and his undocumented coworkers had to tolerate racist insults from some of the customers, "especially after they had a few drinks."

"At the beginning it bothered me a whole lot," Héctor said. "I wasn't used to it."

He decided to get a different job. He became a busboy in a plush French restaurant patronized by oil executives and other well-heeled types.

The pay was better, but "it was still very oppressive," Héctor recalled. "These people expected a lot of attention. They felt they could yell at you, demand what they wanted. You had to put up with a lot."

Smash up

Then came a devastating accident. A couple they had become friends with offered to take Héctor and María to the beach in their new car.

They got into a bad collision. The driver and María escaped with bruises. The driver's wife was killed. Héctor suffered a broken leg, a fractured pelvis and a punctured lung.

Separated from the others, he was taken to a hospital emergency room where they cut off his clothes and stopped the bleeding.

"While they were doing this," Héctor recalled, "others were asking my name, my Social Security number, for my papers. I told them I was a citizen, but they didn't believe it."

From the emergency room they wheeled him into a corridor and left him there.

Finally, from his table in the corridor,

Héctor got someone to call a friend who came down quickly and signed papers taking responsibility for Héctor's bill.

Apparently that entitled him to some attention, but not much. Héctor was assigned to a prison ward.

"That was okay," Héctor says. "For the most part the prisoner patients were real nice people — mostly Chicanos and Blacks."

Héctor's leg was put in a cast and he was left to heal. When they discharged him he was on crutches with his leg still in the cast.

Relatives pitch in

Relatives of María in Chicago offered to help out and Héctor and his companion went there. "They had a very little house and they shared it with us," Héctor recalled appreciatively. "Later they went back to Mexico. I think they were undocumented too."

By then Héctor had obtained a set of papers. After a period, he went to a hospital to have the cast removed.

They X-rayed his leg and removed the cast. The leg, they found, had been completely broken and the cast had done no good. He had needed surgery from the outset to join the bone back together. By then, the Chicago doctors feared, the damage was such that they might have to amputate. Fortunately this wasn't so. Surgery was possible and finally the leg healed.

The doctors told him he could sue the Houston hospital for damages. Héctor smiled. In his situation he knew he had no case.

During all of this, Héctor and María had a son, Andrés. But María decided that she

"I no longer have any hesitation about where I belong. More and more immigrants feel that we're part of the U.S. working class . . ."

couldn't cope with the life of an undocumented immigrant, and she and Andrés returned to Mexico. "We remained friends," Héctor said.

Héctor went back to Houston where the job situation was better. This time, he decided, he would find a factory job. And he did, at an aluminum plant employing about 400 workers, mainly Blacks and Chicanos. It was nonunion. Héctor started out at the minimum wage, but the boss apparently realized he was a good worker. When Héctor said he was quitting, he raised it to \$4.75 an hour.

The work was hard, assembling screens on a fast-moving assembly line. But Héctor liked it. "This was my first experience as an industrial worker," he said. "It made me feel comfortable. These were the kind of

people I had known in Monterrey. But this was from the inside."

The speedup

There were pressures on the job. Several other undocumented workers on the line were in a frenzy to hold the job. They kept pushing up production. Héctor and others tried to persuade them to slow down.

The boss would complain, "You can do better, the other guy does better." Héctor responded, "Yes, but he's crazy."

Héctor lined up another, better job. He got hired by a big Coca-Cola bottling and distributing plant, working in a department that repaired trucks and painted the Coke colors and logos on new ones.

While working there, Héctor was able to participate in a successful Teamster union organizing drive at the plant.

Meanwhile, he had become involved with the Socialist Workers Party.

Before the car accident and their move to Chicago, Héctor and his companion had discovered the party. She was watching TV one day and called out excitedly, "Look, there's a socialist on! I didn't know there were any here."

It was Pedro Vázquez, then the SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, speaking in Spanish and English — and including the address of the party bookstore.

Héctor and María went to the bookstore, bought literature, and enjoyed some political discussion with the people there.

A new way

On his return from Chicago, Héctor decided, "I was going to give up the life of an undocumented worker, the way I had been living it. Living in fear, not doing anything. It was inhuman. I decided to put everything on the line and become fully active."

He began attending forums, engaging in discussion. He participated regularly in the Saturday morning sale of the *Militant*.

Héctor still remembers what an important day it was for him when he was voted into membership. And with an appreciative chuckle, he adds, "Nobody asked me for papers."

He quickly assumed responsibilities in the organization, first as *Militant* sales director, then as bookstore director.

Then, he decided to make a weekend visit to Mexico. He wanted to talk with a lawyer he knew to see if it was now possible to clear himself of the accusations against him. And he visited his former wife and his son.

Héctor never did see the lawyer, who was unable to keep the appointment.

And coming back across the border, he was nabbed by the migra agent at Eagle Pass.

When he was finally permitted a phone call and contacted the SWP, the fight began to prevent his deportation.

The events of the 10 years since then added a lot to Héctor's political education.

One thing he learned from documents obtained under the Freedom of Information

Continued on Page 13

Behind antigovernment protests in Panama

Continued from front page under the U.S. boot, these are issues that arouse strong reactions.

A Yankee base

U.S. domination goes back to the earliest days of Panama's existence.

Just two weeks after Panama declared its independence from Colombia in 1903, the new government signed a treaty with Washington for the construction of a canal across the isthmus.

The Panamanian government granted Washington "the use, occupation, and control" of the 10-mile-wide zone of land that includes the canal "in perpetuity." It also accorded Washington a right to maintain "public order" in Panama City, Colón, and other parts of the country, and to build military bases and station troops in the zone.

Since then, Washington has used its absolute control of the Canal Zone to further its domination over the country as a whole.

U.S. corporations and banks flocked to Panama, many of them benefiting from tax breaks and other concessions. U.S. investments in Panama now figure in the billions of dollars.

A series of subservient governments were placed in power. Presidential candidates not favored by Washington were forced out by threats of direct U.S. military intervention (a point to keep in mind when U.S. officials today demand "free elections" in Panama).

The Canal Zone itself was transformed into one big complex of U.S. military bases. It is the headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, which coordinates all U.S. military and intelligence activities in Latin America.

1977 treaties

Popular opposition to this U.S. domination has built up over many decades.

Demonstrations in the 1930s forced a revision of the original canal treaty, removing Washington's right to militarily intervene outside the Canal Zone.

More demonstrations were held in the 1950s and '60s, challenging U.S. control over the Canal Zone itself. In 1964 some 20 Panamanians were murdered when U.S. troops fired on a demonstration.

In 1968 Gen. Omar Torrijos seized power. His regime pressed Washington for concessions over the canal. Huge demonstrations were held, with the government's support, to protest the U.S. presence.

Following protracted negotiations, a series of treaties was signed in 1977 between Torrijos and then U.S. President James Carter, replacing the original 1903 treaty. In them, the U.S. government



1959 demonstration against U.S. occupation of Panama Canal, one of many actions that eventually forced Washington to agree to return canal to Panamanian sovereignty. U.S. authorities are now promoting right-wing protests in hopes of undermining that agreement.

pledged to return the Canal Zone to Panamanian sovereignty on Dec. 31, 1999. They also provided for the evacuation of the U.S. military bases at the same time.

Although most of the U.S. ruling class viewed the treaty as a necessary concession, designed to head off a mounting popular explosion in Panama, important sectors attacked the treaty as a "sellout."

Many conservative politicians, including Ronald Reagan, campaigned against signing a treaty. During his 1976 bid for the Republican presidential nomination, for example, he declared, "When it comes to the canal, we bought it, we paid for it, it's ours, and we should tell Torrijos and company that we are going to keep it."

After coming into office in 1981, Reagan stated that he would abide by the treaty, which was already an established fact. But it is now clear that the government — and this includes the Democratic majority in Congress, as well as the Republican administration — is not entirely reconciled to giving up control of the canal or of the U.S. bases there.

For more than a year now, U.S. interference in Panamanian politics has taken the form of a campaign to oust Gen. Manuel Noriega, who succeeded Torrijos as de facto head of state two years after Torrijos died in a 1981 plane crash.

Noriega was targeted because his gov-

ernment vowed to adhere to the canal treaties, maintained cordial relations with Cuba, and played a key role in the Contadora negotiations aimed at ending Washington's contra war against Nicaragua.

The drive against Noriega was prefabricated in a secret, Nov. 1, memo circulated within the U.S. Army's Southern Command. As the June 21, 1987, *Miami Herald* reported, the memo "said that under an evolving foreign policy concept called Systematic Change, the United States could 'modify or remove' unwanted 'elements' in a given country. The memo cited Panama as a testing ground."

In mid-1986 a U.S. Senate committee and major big-business papers like the *New York Times* opened a slander campaign against Noriega, fed by officials of the State Department, Pentagon, and various intelligence agencies. They accused Noriega of being a major drug dealer, of ordering the murder of a political opponent, of rigging the 1984 elections, and of providing intelligence information to Cuba.

Cuban President Fidel Castro, who denied any intelligence dealings between Cuba and Noriega, called this U.S. campaign a "dirty war against Panama." It was designed, Castro said, to provoke instability that could then be used by Washington as an excuse for not complying with the canal treaties.

Reactionaries mobilize

In early June of this year, Col. Roberto Díaz Herrera was ousted as the Panamanian military's chief of staff. He then echoed most of the earlier U.S. accusations against Noriega, and added a few of his own (such as a claim that Noriega had assassinated Torrijos). Díaz Herrera also said he was receiving psychic messages from an Indian guru.

Brushing aside serious questions about Díaz Herrera's credibility, domestic opponents of the government seized on his charges to launch a series of business shutdowns, street demonstrations, boycotts, pot-banging protests, and other actions to press their demand for Noriega's ouster.

The National Civic Crusade, the main coalition that has organized the protests, is dominated by the Chamber of Commerce, Catholic church hierarchy, and associations of doctors, dentists, life insurance brokers, real estate dealers, and other professionals and businessmen.

Few workers heeded the group's strike call. Ricardo Monterrey of the Workers' Confederation of the Republic of Panama declared, "There is not a single laborer in the civil clubs; there are only the managers, the executives who fire us. But today they call on us to strike. . . . We are not going to let ourselves be fooled."

Many of Panama's Blacks, who make up a large proportion of the working class, sarcastically refer to the opposition forces as the *rabiblancos*, the "white tails."

U.S. threats

With only limited support inside Panama itself, the opposition has looked to Wash-

ington for more weighty backing.

U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis has been especially active in meeting with opposition figures and criticizing the government's steps to contain the unrest.

Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, gave a June 30 speech in which he called on Panama's military leaders to "remove their institution from politics," that is, hand over power to the bourgeois opposition parties. One of Abrams' aides was more blunt, stating that the speech was intended to send a signal that Washington considered Noriega "an obstacle."

On June 26 the U.S. Senate adopted, 84 to 2, a resolution that called for Noriega's ouster. Senators Edward Kennedy and Alfonse D'Amato were key proponents of this resolution. An amendment introduced by senators Christopher Dodd and Daniel Evans that would have reiterated Senate support for the 1977 canal treaties was defeated.

Based on discussions with a range of officials from the State Department, Pentagon, National Security Council, and Congress, the June 21 *Miami Herald* reported that one of the "scenarios" for Panama being worked out in Washington proposes "that if Panama is not adequately prepared or lacks a fully functioning democracy, the United States may have to reconsider handing over the canal to Panama at the scheduled time on grounds that chaos could disrupt the smooth operation of the canal."

Panamanian officials report that Washington has also made informal proposals for keeping military units in Panama after Dec. 31, 1999.

The 10,000 U.S. troops now stationed in the Canal Zone have been put on alert, and more troops have been sent there, without the permission of the Panamanian government and in violation of the 1977 treaties.

In response to these increasingly serious threats, Panama has received solidarity from other governments in Latin America, including those of Cuba and Nicaragua. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega visited Panama June 24, and four days later Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry called on "all governments of Latin America and the Caribbean to close ranks in defense of Panamanian sovereignty and independence."

Opponents of U.S. intervention have also been mobilizing in Panama. Virtually daily demonstrations have been held by students, trade unionists, and others to condemn Washington's efforts to oust the government.

And to express the Panamanian people's determination to prevent any renegeing on the canal treaties, demonstrators have taken up the popular slogan, "Not a step backward!"

Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' July issue: Cuban union leader speaks

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. *PM* is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The July issue features an interview with Jesús Antonio Escandell, secretary of international relations of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions.

Workers in every factory in Cuba are taking part in a "rectification process," a deep political discussion to solve problems of waste, inefficiency, and poor quality of goods.

Socialism can't be built only on the basis of economic mechanisms and incentives, Escandell explains. "Political consciousness is needed." He lays out what this new process means for Cuban workers and the role of the trade unions in it.

Perspectiva Mundial

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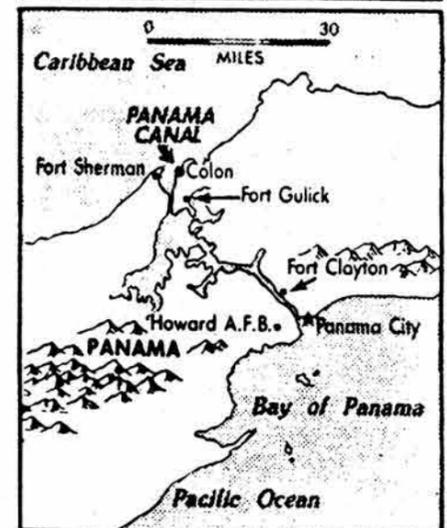


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Nicaraguan unionist on high turnover of factory workers

There has been a sharp decline in the standard of living of Nicaraguan workers due to the U.S.-sponsored contra war.

One result is that many leave factory jobs in hopes of making more money in what is known as the "informal sector." This generally refers to those who make their income as self-employed market vendors, cab drivers, launderers, seamstresses, or carpenters.

The rapid, high turnover of workers has disrupted production and undermined the development of a trained work force.

The problem is most serious in the textile, garment, and shoe industries, which employ 9,000 workers, 70 percent of them female.

To learn more about how Nicaragua's revolutionary government and union movement are trying to improve industrial working conditions and stabilize the work force, Roberto Kopec interviewed Donald Silva on June 8.

Silva is a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and head of its textile, garment, and shoe manufacturing division. The factories he refers to in the interview are all state-owned textile or garment plants.

The translation is by the Militant.

* * *

Kopec. What is the current rate of turnover of workers in the textile, garment, and shoe industries, and what causes this turnover?

Silva. In the second half of 1986, the average turnover rate was 40 percent.

In the first quarter of 1987, the situation got worse. However, we were able to partially slow down the rate of workers quitting thanks to the measures adopted [by the government] April 1.

These included an increase in wages, a policy of prioritizing basic consumer goods for the productive sector, and incentives for production, seniority, and working nights.

The war situation has caused a drop in production. The industrial sector suffers a deficit of hard currency for its imports. This has meant that factories are not operating at full capacity, and that the workers, even if they make great efforts, are not able to meet their production goals, which reduces their overall pay.

Furthermore, the informal sector has managed to undermine the consciousness of a layer of workers. We cannot say that everyone understands the role of the working class. Some sectors of the working class may engage in activities that do not correspond to the interests of the class as a whole.

Nevertheless, starting in April, our branch of industry began to see a small trend toward attracting back to the industry those skilled workers who left to join the informal sector, who left because of the country's economic problems.

We can report that at the Prosan factory at least 10 workers, skilled and with many years experience, have returned to work, convinced of their vital role in production for the economy and for society as a whole.

At the El Triunfo garment factory, seven women workers who had left have returned. At the Fanatex textile plant, 40 workers, long-time employees, returned.

This was accomplished through the work of union members who visited the workers in their homes to talk with them about their important role in production.

Kopec. Which workers are most likely to quit factory jobs?

Silva. Well, most of the people leaving are new workers. Few of the old workers leave. They love their factory, having perhaps been among its founders and having lived through countless problems in its history.

Kopec. Does the fact that some people are leaving the factories to become vendors or artisans mean, as some have claimed, that the working class is disappearing in

Nicaragua?

Silva. We can't be antiscientific and march against history. Here, experience has taught us that the working class tends to grow everyday, to gather strength, and to become capitalism's gravedigger.

Kopec. So in absolute numbers there are more workers today, say in textile, than before the 1979 revolution?

Silva. There are more workers now than before the revolution's triumph. I used to work at Fanatex when there were only 900 workers there. Now there are 1,500. At the Texnica factory they used to employ 900 workers, whereas now they have 1,400.

Turnover is not a sign that the working class is disappearing. The machines always have workers operating them.

Everyday new workers are joining the working class. Young men being discharged from the army are entering the work force.

Kopec. What is the average wage for textile workers?

Silva. It is the lowest of all the [industrial] branches. Women working in textile are paid an average of 54,600 córdobas a month.

The President's Office on Women put out a study in May on the problems of women textile workers. The study says that at Fanatex, only 15 percent of the women are at the top of the wage scale for production workers, while 30 percent of the men are.

We cannot have women's wages be so low in such an important branch of industry.

The problem of turnover also has to do with the question of child care. When we've asked workers, "Well, why are you quitting?" they tell us that it's because of their children. Sometimes they don't have anybody to look after them. A baby-sitter may charge 20,000 córdobas a month, which the workers can't afford.

Since last year we've tried to solve this problem. We now have a child-care center for 300 children at Fanatex. With the child-care center, turnover has decreased a little bit, and productivity has increased.

A year ago we also established a child-care center at the Cotexma plant, and on July 17 we will inaugurate a center for the children of people working in five factories along the Northern Highway [the main industrial belt].

Kopec. How many textile workers have joined economic brigades [volunteer groups of employees who work overtime to increase production]?

Silva. Currently there are 1,500 workers in economic brigades throughout this branch, 70 percent of them women.

Kopec. How is participation in such brigades encouraged?

Silva. On the one hand, there is the moral incentive of being a vanguard worker, of being recognized by fellow workers, by society as a whole.

On the other hand, we are working heavily with material incentives. The vanguard workers of the economic brigades are guaranteed clothing and shoes, not only for themselves, but for their families as well.

Also, in every workplace we are giving the best workers other incentives. Let's say a certain worker is in the vanguard in production and needs sheeting material for his roof. Well, we'll provide it for free.

We have also acquired some basic grains such as rice and beans, as well as sugar, so we can give five pounds of each to the best workers.

Along with the material incentives we don't forget the moral incentive, because otherwise we can fall into an error.

In fact, we tell workers that the moral incentive a Nicaraguan worker should strive for is to become a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Nicaraguan garment plant. Union leader Donald Silva explained that U.S.-run war is cause of workers leaving factories to seek more lucrative jobs. Problem is most serious in textile, garment, and shoe industries.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

South Koreans demand release of prisoners

The South Korean government's reluctance to release all political prisoners and its slowness in implementing other democratic concessions have spurred continued protests there.

The government claims there are just 1,150 political prisoners in the country, but human rights activists put the number at 1,850. So far, only a few hundred have been set free.

On July 3, some 20,000 students rallied at Yonsei University in Seoul. Speakers expressed deep skepticism of the regime's intentions and its willingness to carry out promised reforms. Some condemned the U.S. domination of South Korea. "The United States treats Korea like dirt," one proclaimed.

The same day, Roh Tae Woo, chairman of the governing Democratic Justice Party, met with a group of women whose relatives are political prisoners. When he refused to give a firm commitment to free the prisoners, the women responded angrily, scuffling with government officials.

Outside, other women demonstrators were attacked by riot police after they protested the relatively light sentences meted out to several policemen convicted of killing a student activist in January.

Just a few hours after these protests, at midnight, Lee Han Yol, a 21-year-old student from Yonsei University, died in a hospital of head wounds he received from police. This brought new student demonstrations at the campus.

Protests have also taken place in Kwangju, the southern city that has long been a center of antigovernment opposition. Student demonstrators were attacked by riot police there July 3, and several dozen student leaders were arrested.

Protests in Chile hit murders of 12 activists

Students, human rights activists, church figures, and representatives of opposition political parties have protested or questioned the killing in mid-June of 12 alleged guerrillas by Chile's political police, the CNI.

The nine men and three women were shot down in five separate incidents. According to the regime, which accused them of being members of the under-

ground Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, they were killed in armed encounters.

But lawyers for human rights groups cited physical evidence indicating that at least some of the victims did not fire any weapons, and that they were shot at close range. The opposition Christian Democratic Party labeled the regime's account "obscure and contradictory."

Funerals for the murdered activists drew thousands of participants, and student protests erupted in Santiago, Valparaiso, and Concepción.

14 die in Guatemala from U.S. defoliation

At least 14 Guatemalans have died from drinking contaminated river water, it was reported June 19. The deaths occurred in parts of the countryside that have been sprayed by toxic defoliants from U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency planes.

Some Guatemalan press reports indicate the defoliant used is glyphosate, a highly toxic chemical that is banned in the United States. A television report indicated that napalm was also used, starting a huge forest fire that has already destroyed 1,500 square kilometers of rain-forest.

Although the Guatemalan government claims the spraying is intended to eliminate poppy and marijuana crops, as well as the medfly, the areas affected are those where guerrilla groups have been active.

Peasant groups, coffee growers, the national university, and the Environmental Commission of the Guatemalan Congress have demanded a halt to the spraying.

Okinawans demand closing of U.S. bases

More than 18,000 demonstrators turned out in Okinawa June 21 to protest the presence of U.S. military bases on the island, which is governed by Japan. The demonstrators formed a human chain around the Kadena U.S. air base, and released 10,000 balloons proclaiming, "No More Bases" and "Peace."

The action was sponsored by Okinawa labor unions and was supported by the 4.5 million-member General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and the Japanese Socialist Party.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Oakland (East Bay) Socialist Summer School.

Sat., July 18, 3-5 p.m. "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop."

Sat., July 25, 3-5 p.m. "What Causes War — How To Fight It."

All classes translated to Spanish and held at 3808 E 14th St. Donation: eight classes, \$6; single class, \$1. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (415) 261-3014 or 658-8898.

FLORIDA

Miami

Socialist Summer School. Classes on the "Workers' and Farmers' Government, a Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship." Every Sunday at 4:30 p.m. Repeated on Wednesday at 8 p.m. Translation to Spanish and Creole. 137 NE 54th St. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Labor Movement in El Salvador: an Eyewitness Report and Slideshow. Speaker: Ernest Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 702. Visited El Salvador and Nicaragua on Postal Workers for Peace tour. Translation to Spanish. Tue., July 14, 7 p.m. 132 Cone NW. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Cuba: the Unfolding Revolution.

Class: "The Cuban Road to Socialism." Speaker: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 25, 3 p.m.

Forum: "A Celebration of the Cuban Revolution." Speaker: Duane Stilwell, chairperson Chicago Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. Cuban-style dinner, 5 p.m.

Both events at 3455 S Michigan Ave. Translation to Spanish. Donations: class, \$1.50; forum, \$2; dinner \$2.50. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Educational Weekend.

"Issues in the 'Baby M' Case." Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 18, 7 p.m.

"The Propaganda War Against Women's Rights." Two classes based on the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. Speaker: Pat Grogan. Sun., July 19. Class 1, 11 a.m.-1 p.m.; Class 2, 3-4 p.m.

All events at 2105 Forest Ave. Donations: \$2 each class, \$5 for weekend. Sponsors: Des Moines, Iowa; Austin, Minnesota; and Omaha,

Nebraska, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Socialist Summer School. Learn about the origins and development of revolutionary working-class politics.

"Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." Two classes on Frederick Engels' pamphlet. Class 1: Sat., July 18, 1:30 p.m.; Class 2: Sun., July 19, 1:30 p.m.

"Lenin's Unfinished Fight: the Future of the Soviet Union." Speaker: Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m.

"Renewal or Death." A class on a recent speech by Fidel Castro. Sat., July 25, 1:30 p.m.

"Celebration of the Cuban Revolution." Speakers: Rena Cacoulios, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Cuba; Lenore Foersta, instructor at Maryland Institute College of Art, twice visited Cuba. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m.

All events at 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations requested. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Nicaragua Work Brigades: What They Are and How You Can Join One. Speakers: former *brigadistas*. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Citywide rally for Unity Against Spying and Disruption on Black Liberation. Mon., July 13, 7 p.m. Brown Memorial Baptist Church. Gates and Washington Ave. ("A" train to Clinton and Washington). Sponsor: New York 8+ Defense Committee Against Fascism.

Manhattan

Will There Be a Ninth Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution? Will Reagan's Policies Prevail? Speakers: Michael Ratner, Center for Constitutional Rights; Elisabeth Linder, mother of Ben Linder. Fri., July 17, 7:30 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W. 4th St. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

Celebrate the Eighth Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Sat., July 18, 8 p.m.-2 a.m. Hospital Employees Local 1199, 310 W. 43rd St. Donation: \$7. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

Cuba: A Historic Turning Point. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, member of Socialist Workers Party Political Committee, reported for *Militant* on Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party and congress of the Union of Young Communists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 24. Reception, 7 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Classes on Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Sun., July 25, 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! The Role of the

Rallies to defend democratic rights against government spying

Birmingham, Ala.

Sun., July 12, 4 p.m. 16th Street Baptist Church, 1530 6th Ave. N. Donation: \$3. For more information call (205) 323-3079 or 933-6124.

Miami

Thurs., July 16, 7:30 p.m. Reception, 6:30 p.m. Haitian Activities Center, 28 NE 54th St. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Donation requested. For more information call (305) 573-7681.

Kansas City, Mo.

Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m. Reception, 6:30 p.m. St. Mark's Church, 1101 Euclid. Donation: \$3. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

Phoenix

Sun., July 19, 4-6 p.m. Reception, 3-4 p.m. Valley Garden Center, 1809 15th Ave. (one block north of McDowell). Translation to Spanish. For more information call (602) 279-4585.

All events sponsored by Political Rights Defense Fund.

U.S. Government in the Iran-Iraq War. Speakers to be announced. Sun., July 19, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Celebrate the 28th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Program of speakers. Sun., July 26, 7 p.m. 2219 E. Market St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Socialist Summer School. Three classes on *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels. Sundays at 2 p.m. on July 12, 19, and 26. 2521 Market Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Socialist Educational Weekend.

Forum: "Cuba, Eyewitness Report." Presentation and slideshow by Cathy Sedwick, participant in recent Venceremos Brigade to Cuba. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. Dinner, 6 p.m. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

Two classes: "The Cuban Rectification Process: A Turning Point in the Revolution." Speaker: Cathy Sedwick. Sat., July 25, 4 p.m.

"The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop." Speaker: Janet Post, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1005. Sun., July 26, 11 a.m.

All events at 2732 NE Union. Translation to Spanish. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

Socialist Summer School. Two seven-week class series. "Marxist Philosophy." Readings from Frederick Engels' *Anti-Duhring*. Every Wednesday at 6 p.m. through August.

"Basic Marxist Economic Theory." Readings: Karl Marx's *Wage-Labor and Capital* and *Value, Price, and Profit*, and Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Every Sunday at 2 p.m. through August 2.

All events at 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$3 per class series. Sponsors: SWP and YSA. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

From Western United States to Britain: Coal Miners Fight Back. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, member of United Mine Workers Local 1197, recently returned from tour of U.S. miners to Britain and from conference of the Coal Em-

ployment Project. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 402 N. Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Socialist Summer School. A series of six classes on the foundations of communist politics. Open to both English- and Spanish-speaking participants. Classes every Sunday at 11 a.m. and Thursday at 7 p.m. through Aug. 6.

Classes held at 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$1.50 per class. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Summer School. Two series of classes.

Series on Stalinism. Sundays at 2 p.m. on July 12, 19, 26, and Aug. 2. Readings from the *Revolution Betrayed, In Defense of Marxism, Our Power Is That of the Working People, and New International No. 6*.

Series on the fundamentals of Marxism. Thursdays at 6:30 p.m. and Saturdays at 1:30 p.m. on July 11, 16, 18, 23, 25, 30, Aug. 1, and Aug. 6. Readings from *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Wage-Labor and Capital, Value, Price and Profit, and the Wages System*.

Translation to Spanish. All classes at 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class or \$5 for both series. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 723-5330.

Eight Years of the Nicaraguan Revolution: What the Government Doesn't Want You to See. A panel of *brigadistas* to Nicaragua discuss their experiences there. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainer Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

No to Nuclear Waste Dump in Oceana! Speakers: Andrew Maier, Save Our Mountain; Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Sun., July 19, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The *Militant's* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

INDIANA: Muncie: YSA, c/o Scott Shafroth, 1125 W. Marsh St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 282-2996.

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

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, 4264 Oxford Ave. #4, Zip: 70808. Tel: (504) 766-0510. **New Orleans:** YSA, c/o Ray Medina, 730 Peniston St. Zip: 70115. Tel: (504) 899-5094.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

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

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Northfield:** YSA, c/o Heiko Koester and Pat Rombero, Carlton College. Zip: 55057. Tel: (507) 663-4000, ext. 4570 or 4563. **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) 753-0224. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: SWP, YSA, 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. **Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 650, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. Rome:** YSA, c/o Cosmos Andoloro, 7172 Rickmeyer Rd. Zip: 13440. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o

Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip: 16412. Tel: (814) 398-2574. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **Lubbock:** YSA, c/o Amy Waugh, 2202 22nd St., Apt. B. Zip: 79411.

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.

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.

Would that it were so — If you watched those news scenes of South Korean cops gassing,



Harry Ring

punching, and kicking demonstrators, you might be interested in the official police figures, 6,305 riot police injured; compared with 146 protesters.

Kill 'em now so they don't die later — Garrett Hardin, an assert-

edly renowned ecologist and biologist and a proponent of the Malthus theory that food supplies can't keep up with population, opines, "Since Ethiopia has far too many people for its resources, if you give food and save lives . . . you increase suffering and ultimately increase the loss of life."

Something to be proud of — What with that indictment for palming off cars used by company brass as new, we assume Chrysler will go heavy on that Lee Iacocca commercial, "The pride is back!" They could show some of the banged-up cars that were so skillfully touched up you couldn't see the bent frame.

USA, 1987 — Fernando Cano, an immigrant worker from Guatemala, is suing an Oregon farm operator for \$150,000 in damages. He charged supervisors carried guns to keep workers from leaving, and that he was assaulted and forced back on the job. He's suing under a little-used antipeonage statute.

Love at first sight — Somehow it seems reasonable that the in-flight magazine of union-busting Eastern Airlines would feature a glowing salute to the 50th anniversary of the union-busting Hormel Co.'s Spam. Or that Democratic Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd scarfs down Spam on white with mayo three times a week.

Now here's a deal — When the pope visits the Detroit area this fall, GM will donate 100 new Pontiacs for use by the papal delegation. The cars, which will feature white paint and maroon interiors, will then be turned over to dealers.

Bon appetit! — "In the 1980s, choosing what to have for dinner in the fish store is a game of Russian roulette." — Report by environmentalists on the contamination of New England-area seafood by massive discharges of sewage and waste.

March of American culture — President Reagan plans to appoint Bill Blass and Betsy Bloomingdale to the President's Commit-

tee on the Arts and Humanities. Blass is Nancy's favorite dress designer and Bloomingdale is a tight family friend.

Ho, ho! — "These days you don't dare call it an affair." — Presidential aspirant Alexander Haig on why he calls contragate a "brouhaha."

That's a relief — We felt a little uneasy that we didn't reach for our checkbook when Oral Roberts announced that if he didn't raise that \$8 million by the deadline, God would call him home. But now he discloses that regardless of when he leaves, he'll return with Jesus.

Story of Héctor Marroquín's fight to live in U.S.

Continued from Page 9

Act was that the FBI and CIA had a file on him while he lived in Mexico!

The FBI began keeping tabs on Héctor when he was a 15-year-old high school student in Matamoros. According to the files, he was deemed to be "procommunist."

"I was surprised," Héctor admits. "It worried me and it made me angry to see such a violation of Mexican sovereignty."

"The role of U.S. big business is evident in Mexico," he added. "You see it in all the signs advertising U.S. companies. And in politics you learn something of the extent to which U.S. business and banking interests dominate many Mexican companies."

"And you knew of the CIA operations in Mexico. The attack on the students in Mexico City by the army in 1968, that was done in collaboration with the CIA."

"But I didn't realize the FBI was operating there too. It makes you angry."

Discussing his fight to remain here, Héctor said, "It's been 10 years of constant

struggle with la migra, 10 years in which we've been able to win the support and solidarity of literally tens of thousands of working people, of Blacks and Latinos, both individuals and organizations."

It's this broad support, he says, that has made the ongoing fight possible. Today, an important factor, he adds, is the decision won last August by the SWP in its suit against the federal government.

Judge Thomas Griesa's decision, barring illegal victimization of the organization and its members, extends to immigrant members. The court decision notes the Immigration Service declaration that it does not consider membership in the SWP a basis for seeking someone's deportation.

"That makes it more difficult for them to move against me," Héctor observed.

A new mood

Also, he added, there is the growing change in the attitude of immigrants.

"There's more of a sense of self-confidence," he said. "Immigrants are coming to the realization that we have rights and we have to fight for these rights."

Forty years ago, his father resolved he wanted no part of this country. Today, Héctor is fighting for his right to stay here. Why?

"I understand how my father felt," Héctor responded. "In his time there was little real possibility to fight back, to organize to do it. Today you can do that. One reason for this, in my opinion, is the tremendous victory won by the Black people in destroying Jim Crow segregation. I think that victory gave a big impetus to all working people, including immigrants."

"I was forced to come here," he continued, "forced by the political oppression in my country, an oppression in which the FBI and CIA has a real role."

"When I came I didn't have a clear idea how long I was going to stay, and actually I had in mind eventually being able to go back."

"But the fact is you come here as an im-

migrant and you join the ranks of the working people of this country.

"Though I had hesitations at the beginning, I no longer have any hesitation about where I belong. More and more immigrants feel this way, that we're part of the U.S. working class."

"It took us a long time to overcome the 'alien' syndrome, the 'illegal alien' syndrome."

"That's the kind of thinking they want to instill in immigrant workers so they can exploit us, and drive us back when they feel like it. Well, we're part of this working class, and we're here to fight the rulers of this country, along with the rest of our class."

He leaned forward and emphasized: "We have as much right as they — the rulers — to be here."

Héctor concluded: "I would like to see the word 'illegal' and the word 'alien' erased from the language. I believe in the world working class — beyond any borders. We are part of one and the same family."

Meat-packers protest Spam shindig

BY PHIL NORRIS

AUSTIN, Minn. — On the July 4 weekend, the Austin United Support Group sponsored a series of dinners and rallies and a tent city, protesting Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s 50th anniversary celebration of its product, Spam.

The support group backs efforts by 850 meat-packers, former members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9, to regain their jobs. They were not allowed to return to work as part of a settlement ending the 1985-86 strike at Hormel's meat-packing plant here.

The Spam celebration was organized as part of this city's July 4th events. In weeks leading up to the events, the company and its political servants in Austin tried to demonstrate that the area is united again behind Hormel. They also tried to smear the support group as violent.

Support group leader Barbara Collette explained that backers of the fired meat-packers were denied permission to have a float in the parade.

About 150 attended the support group's July 3 rally. Two hundred attended its rally the next day.

Behind the rally platform, support group members worked on a red, white, and blue decked float. Signs on the float read, "Uncle Sam, not Uncle Spam."

On July 4, the support group also held a press conference at the house of veteran meat-packer John "Skinny" Weis. His yard was made into a cemetery, with 850 crosses on it symbolizing the former P-9 strikers.

As part of the support group's effort to have Hormel products boycotted, the press was presented with a leaflet pointing out the unhealthy ingredients in Spam.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
July 15, 1977

The Jan. 17, 1977 *New York Times* pointed to these Panamanian assets:

- It is a major banking center, with more than 70 foreign banks holding deposits of more than \$99 billion.
- It has a huge copper deposit in Chiriquí Province.
- The eastern half of the country, which is rich in forest resources, is being opened up for the first time.
- Per capita figures on foreign investment and U.S. aid show Panama in first place internationally.

The spectacular figures on U.S. investment and aid were in large part the result of Washington's special relationship with Panama.

The canal alone, the *New York Times* reported in a Feb. 14 editorial, "reduces the delivery price of American exports and imports by \$1.5 billion a year and yields toll revenues of \$150 million a year, out of which the United States pays Panama \$2.3 million. . . ."

In addition, American military savings resulting from use of the facility average \$200 million a year.

About 83 percent of the products exported by Panama in 1968 went to the United States. Sixty percent of all capital in Panamanian companies comes from U.S. sources.

the Socialist Workers Party, analyzed the countermovements toward the left and right that are beginning to produce a deeper polarization of political trends in the United States. The main channels of radicalism today center around the antiwar movement, the struggle for civil rights, defense of the Cuban revolution, and opposition to the anticommunist witch-hunt, he said.

Dobbs pointed out that the fears generated by the threat of nuclear war are giving new characteristics to the peace movement. There is a shift from individual conscientious objection to broader patterns of collective antiwar action. There is greater support for unilateral disarmament by the United States and more discussion of the need for a radical reconstruction of society. Such slogans as "Let the people vote on nuclear tests" can help direct the growing mistrust of the war-makers toward consideration of class methods of antiwar struggle.

The leftward trends find their counterparts in a resurgence of ultrarightist activity on the campuses and within the population.

"Our party has the duty to alert the working people to the dangers represented by these forces which feed upon the crisis of American imperialism," said Dobbs.

The default of the union leadership presents a tremendous educational task to the socialist vanguard, Dobbs concluded. "The long period of labor passivity has sowed doubts among the younger generation that the workers can meet the revolutionary needs of our time.

These circumstances make it necessary for our party to bridge the gap in historical consciousness by teaching the oncoming generation the class-struggle record of the American workers, by helping to develop left wings in the unions, and linking students with the young workers in their struggles. This is essential to train a vigorous new socialist leadership for the next wave of mass radicalization."

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance invite you to a Socialist Educational & Active Workers Conference

Oberlin, Ohio
August 8-13

Unionists, students, and activists in the antiwar, anti-apartheid, farm, Black- and women's-rights struggles, and international fighters will be attending. Participants will discuss political situation facing working people in the U.S. and internationally. Conference will feature classes, special programs, and workshops. Translation to Spanish and French provided.

For more information contact the nearest SWP branch or YSA chapter listed on page 12.



THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
July 16, 1962 Price 10c

In a report on the current political situation, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of

Guilt in the boxcar murders

A half dozen of the young Mexicans who suffocated to death in a U.S. boxcar were from the town of Pabellón de Arteaga. There a mother of one spoke out angrily and sharply.

"Maybe," she told a U.S. radio reporter, "this will make people in the United States see the poverty and suffering we have here."

For too long, she added, undocumented workers have been treated "as animals" in the United States.

She posed the question: "If they're going to use them as workers, why are they forced to go there in this manner?"

Her question goes to the heart of who is responsible for the boxcar murders.

U.S. officials say they are hunting for a Mexican immigrant smuggler who reportedly locked the 18 in the sealed boxcar. Presumably, if they find him, he will be charged with responsibility for the deaths.

That will help shield the real killer.

Criminal responsibility in this case rests squarely with the U.S. government. The 18 deaths are the fruit of an immigration policy that is racist and anti-working class.

That policy was further codified in the new immigration law, which aims to stamp "illegal" on undocumented workers as indelibly as ranchers brand cattle.

For generations, Mexicans in desperate need of jobs

have been compelled to cross the border "illegally" because U.S. policy won't permit more than a handful to enter legally.

This is designed to ensure a pool of workers who are compelled to take the hardest, dirtiest jobs at the lowest pay because they are legally vulnerable.

And in the process of making their way to such jobs, the undocumented must contend with the abuse of the immigration cops, and risk their very lives.

"We want to be treated as human beings," the mother in Pabellón de Arteaga declared.

That's reasonable enough. To meet their simple demand requires scrapping an immigration policy that has just claimed hundreds of lives, most recently the 18 in the boxcar.

One of the 18 had written a poem, found in a notebook in the boxcar. Entitled *El Illegal* — the Illegal — it ends with a tribute to a return trip to Mexico. The last stanza read:

"How beautiful is the United States.

Illinois, California and Tennessee.

But over in my country,

A piece of the sky belongs to me.

Goodbye, Laredo, Westlaco and San Antonio.

Houston and Dallas are in my song.

Goodbye, El Paso. I am back, Chamizal.

Your friend, the illegal, has returned."

New exposure of N. Y. cop spying

Recent revelations confirm that the New York police have continued illegal surveillance of Black activists despite a 1986 agreement that supposedly set oversight "guidelines" for secret probes of political and civil rights organizations and individual activists.

Cops have been taping, photographing, and videotaping Black community figures at meetings and demonstrations. They operated under the direction of a "Black desk" in the secret Intelligence Division. This was disclosed by *New York Newsday* July 1.

Earlier it was revealed that the same police unit had been making tapes of a popular talk show on a Black radio station on which many prominent Black figures voiced their views.

According to the paper, files have been accumulated on 200 Black activists, including such figures as Calvin Butts, pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church.

Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward responded to the radio-monitoring revelation by ordering it halted while a check was made to determine if it violated the 1986 guidelines.

Supported by Mayor Edward Koch, Ward responded to the secret files exposure with a cover story. He asserted that the only ones tabbed for surveillance were the "New York 8."

The eight are Black activists who had been prosecuted by the federal government on conspiracy charges involving asserted bank robbery plans.

In August of 1985, they were found not guilty of these charges. Six were convicted of alleged illegal gun possession and two for possession of false IDs. They were sentenced to probation and community service.

With that, the eight promptly resumed their activity in the fight against racism and, just as promptly, the police snoopers went to work.

A police official told reporters the surveillance of the eight was "a criminal investigation." (Under the

guidelines, only criminal probes are supposedly permitted.)

Without offering a shred of evidence, the cop added, "These people are very violent."

Meanwhile, a federal official responsible for supervising probation for the eight said the New York police had not informed him of any planned crimes by the eight.

Commissioner Ward said that the surveillance of the eight had been approved by a court-created panel, as required by the guidelines.

For the police snoopers, going after the eight opened the door for broader targets.

Files were opened on prominent figures, it was explained, not to keep tabs on them but merely to have a record of meetings or activities at which any of the eight might be present.

In other words, according to the cops, it might not be legal to secretly videotape a Black leader speaking at a rally. But, if one of the eight were in the audience it would meet the guidelines.

The guidelines were the product of a suit brought against the police by the Black Panther Party and other victims of illegal cop spying, infiltration, and provocation.

In an out-of-court settlement, it was agreed in September 1986 that a panel would be created, including two cops and a retired judge, to oversee secret police activity. The cops are supposed to get the panel's permission to investigate groups or individuals, show that criminal activity is involved, and respect constitutional rights.

Some of the plaintiffs have now asked for legal review of whether the agreement has been violated.

Meanwhile, it's clear that with or without the guidelines, the cops are determined to continue their illegal efforts to curb the movement against racism. In order to advance that movement, a strong fight against their dirty tricks is essential.

Defend meat-packer leaders!

A scurrilous lawsuit has been filed in a federal district court against two leaders of the 1985-86 Hormel meat-packers' strike in Austin, Minnesota.

United Food and Commercial Workers union official Joseph Hansen is charging Jim Guyette and Kathy Buck with driving the Austin UFCW local into financial insolvency and with misappropriating pension-fund monies during the strike.

Hansen was appointed trustee of Local P-9 when it was placed in receivership by the UFCW tops in the midst of its militant strike. The suit demands that the two repay thousands of dollars to the trustee local.

Guyette and Buck, who were removed as P-9 officers when the trusteeship was imposed, have explained that retired meat-packers always received their pension checks and denied that the funds were misused.

This latest attack is consistent with the policy employed by UFCW officials since the beginning of the Hormel fight. They publicly attacked the strike, tried to prevent contributions from union locals around the country from reaching the embattled P-9 membership, and eventually negotiated a sweetheart contract with Hormel that denied jobs to 850 of the strikers.

Meat-packers throughout the Midwest are putting up stiff resistance to the takeback demands of the packing-house bosses. There are currently nearly 7,000 meat-packers on strike at Iowa Beef Processors, John Morrell & Co., and Patrick Cudahy plants. Recently 700 unionists at Swift Independent packing plants in Worthington, Minnesota, and St. Joseph, Missouri, were able to beat back most of that employer's takeback demands without a strike.

And workers at the ConAgra/Armour plant in Mason City, Iowa, voted to be organized by the UFCW. That is the largest UFCW organizing victory in a packing plant since 1979.

As these struggles against the packinghouse bosses develop, more and more workers inevitably come to the conclusion that the UFCW officialdom's collaboration with the employers is an obstacle to their fight. Hansen's lawsuit is designed to send a warning to UFCW members inclined to challenge these policies.

The UFCW top officialdom's use of the courts to try to bankrupt Guyette and Buck and prevent them from being able to hold union office again is an attack on all meat-packers, and all other unionists, and should be protested throughout the labor movement.

What muddleheads don't explain about the LaRouchites

BY DOUG JENNESS

There are some matters that journalists and news commentators seem to be incapable of handling except in the most muddleheaded fashion. One is Lyndon LaRouche and the organization he leads, the National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC).

Last week a federal grand jury in Boston indicted LaRouche on charges of conspiring to block an investigation of a credit card fraud by his supporters. Thirteen

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

people linked to LaRouche had been indicted on credit card fraud and other criminal counts last year.

Reporting LaRouche's indictment, *New York Times* reporter Matthew Wald stated, "It marks a major milestone in a political saga that began more than a decade ago on the far left of American politics, switched abruptly to the extreme right, and now lies in an area that is difficult to characterize in traditional terms."

I'm not singling out Wald for special fire. He's just a run-of-the-mill scribbler for the boss press whose apparent bafflement by the LaRouche phenomenon is fairly typical.

Moreover, I've noticed over the past couple of years that Wald's formulation in regard to LaRouche — "difficult to characterize in traditional terms" — appears in most of the *Times* coverage on LaRouche regardless of who signs the article. If the writer doesn't put it in, an editor does.

Far from being undefinable in traditional terms, there is precisely a traditional term to define the LaRouchites: fascist. I don't use this characterization light-mindedly or as an epithet. But the positions and actions of the LaRouchites clearly identify them as such.

The LaRouchites have established a pattern of physical intimidation and violent and provocative behavior. They have used goon-squad attacks on working-class political vanguard organizations; and threatening phone calls, verbal abuse, and harassing lawsuits are the NDPC's stock-in-trade.

The LaRouchite outfit has disassociated itself from previous fascist movements in other countries, and has attempted to wrap itself in its own homespun American cloak. Nonetheless, the fascist character of its demagoguery is striking.

First, is the conspiracy axis of the LaRouchite propaganda. According to their litany, drug dealers, terrorists (according to LaRouche, primarily instigated by Moscow), and big bankers have ganged up internationally to create the conditions for exorbitant interest rates, unemployment, famines, massive drug addiction, and other social afflictions. Opposition to this conspiracy is the framework in which the NDPC presents its demagogic solutions to the problems of what they refer to as "the unrepresented majority, the forgotten majority."

They talk about forging an "alliance" of industrial capitalists, farmers, and workers — that is the "productive sectors" — to take on the bankers. The aim of this "producers' front," is to make the "American system" — that is, capitalism — work, to be more productive.

This radical demagoguery covers up the key social relation in U.S. capitalist society — the exploitation of wage labor by capital. Even if LaRouche's notion that the banks should get off the backs of "productive capital" were realized, this would not do away with the exploitation of the working class and its need to fight to advance its economic, social, and political interests.

A lot more could be said about the LaRouchites' nostrums, but I want to conclude by briefly taking up another question: Why has Washington launched a crackdown on LaRouche and his followers at this time? They are scarcely a threat to the capitalist parties.

The reason for the concern about the LaRouchites is that they expose the ugly face of a tendency that exists in the mainstream of capitalist politics, in what is considered to be "legitimate" politics, in this country.

The NDPC grabs hold of right-wing and reactionary positions and attitudes that are held both by some Democrats and some Republicans and takes them one or two steps to the right.

When President Reagan bombed Libyan cities in April 1986, the NDPC called for bombing Libyan oilfields and declaring "total war on terrorism." When conservative William Buckley proposed tattooing AIDS "suspects," the LaRouchites pressed for rounding up the "suspects" and placing them in detention centers.

More than other small fascist outfits today, the LaRouchites have succeeded in attracting public attention — even more than their relatively small numbers might indicate they could. They have carved out a small niche in the mainstream of electoral politics, as was demonstrated last year when two of their members won the Democratic Party nomination for lieutenant governor and secretary of state in Illinois, as well as the Democratic nomination for several congressional seats in other states. This has served to increase the embarrassment in ruling circles regarding the LaRouchites, and stepped up the government's resolve to deal them some blows.

San Francisco airport workers back rights fight

BY RICH LESNIK

Supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) in International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 1781 scored a major advance recently in their campaign to spread the word about the

UNION TALK

Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against illegal government spying.

Lodge 1781 represents more than 8,000 mechanics, baggage handlers, cleaners, and food service workers at the San Francisco airport. Most of us work for United Airlines.

We began the campaign by having discussions with coworkers at United's giant maintenance base here.

Then, in May, arrangements were made for PRDF West Coast labor spokesperson Greg Nelson to speak before the union executive board.

Although they didn't make an immediate recommendation to endorse the case, the board invited Nelson to address the regular membership meeting in June.

District 141 of the IAM, which represents United employees nationwide, is currently involved in negotiations

with the airline. The negotiations are deadlocked, which has led to an increase in attendance at 1781 union meetings. Spirited discussions have taken place, with many workers wanting to know what's going on with the negotiations.

Nelson's brief presentation went over the history of the SWP-YSA lawsuit against Attorney General Edwin Meese, the FBI, and other government cop agencies. He explained that last August Federal Judge Thomas Griesa had found government spying on the two organizations to be in violation of the Constitution and ordered the government to pay damages. It is fighting to overturn the decision.

Nelson also stressed the importance of the unions being involved in politics. A necessary part of that involvement, he said, is defense of political rights.

He was greeted with applause, and a serious discussion ensued. One unionist asked what concrete steps Meese had taken to have the decision reversed. Nelson said 11 government agencies had submitted affidavits in an attempt to beat back the judge's order prohibiting use of the illegally obtained files.

Nelson said support for the PRDF in the labor movement is crucial to countering the government's drive to weaken or overturn the decision.

A motion to endorse the PRDF and to contribute \$250

was passed by a substantial majority. Scores of union members approached the PRDF table after the meeting, and 20 became sponsors.

The PRDF case and the fight for democratic rights was a hot topic on the job the next day. Five more workers signed up as PRDF endorsers.

Later in the month, Nelson spoke to 150 workers on second shift. He thanked the local for its support and invited those present to attend an upcoming PRDF rally.

After the meeting, dozens of rally leaflets and packets explaining the case were distributed. A couple more workers became sponsors, and four booklets containing Judge Griesa's decision were sold.

A few days later a mechanic at the maintenance base talked to a PRDF supporter about the case. He was angered over the CIA's long record of dirty tricks, the internments in Northern Ireland, the war in Vietnam, and the murder of Ben Linder.

"Do you know what you are?" the mechanic said to the PRDF backer. "You're a militant, like there used to be a lot of around here 10, 15 years back. It's great to see that again."

Rich Lesnik is a member of IAM Local Lodge 1781 at the San Francisco airport.

LETTERS

'Baby M'

The July 3 article on the 'Baby M' case should win the Jesse Helms award for illogic and irresponsibility.

Mary Beth Whitehead understood the contract, and it was legally binding. She was not forced to sign it by a "capitalist court" or any form of capitalism.

The article says William Stern's biological ties mean nothing, but Whitehead's for some reason do.

It says that there is a "double standard" because Whitehead was asked personal questions, and William Stern was not. Whitehead's lawyer had every opportunity to ask William and Elizabeth Stern personal questions.

The article also stated that teenage mothers are poor not because they are mothers, but that capitalism is wholly responsible. Capitalism is only partly responsible. If they had not gotten pregnant, or if they had aborted, or if they had put the baby up for adoption, they could get a high school diploma and get a good job. Thus, young women have three options to delay motherhood, and socialism is not necessary to solve this particular problem.

Dan Robrish
Bethesda, Maryland

Antiwar conference

Last month I attended a Student Conference on Central America and the Draft along with 125 others. Three-quarters of the participants were high school students from the metro-Detroit area. The event was organized by a group of antiwar activists from a high school in Birmingham, Michigan.

The major focus of two panel discussions and most of the classes was the war in Central America. The biggest debates were around the issue of aid to the contras.

A couple of right-wingers had been invited as speakers, but the vast majority of the participants were opposed to the U.S. war in Nicaragua. This attitude was seen in a reactionary class given by one of the two speakers on "U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America." About 30 students and other peace activists continually heckled and contradicted the speaker, who had only one supporter in the room.

Conference participants saw the gathering as a step toward uniting and broadening a number of antiwar student groups that have sprung up at area high schools. These groups are now in contact with each other and will probably work together on future events.

Students from one high school met a week after the conference to talk about summer activities. They discussed helping to build a local

demonstration this fall against apartheid and the war in Central America. Other students are considering doing the same.

Naomi Craine
Detroit, Michigan

Medical aid

Members of 36 organizations that are part of the National Central America Health Rights Network came to New York from around the country to discuss prospects for continuing medical aid to Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. The network's fourth annual convention was held at Columbia University Teachers College June 12-14.

International representatives also participated. Dr. Violeta Delgado of COPROSAL spoke to the plenary. The group is comprised of Salvadoran health-care professionals whose main emphasis is on the training of medical personnel and the delivery of medical supplies to their country. COPROSAL will be conducting a nationwide tour of the United States in the next year. Its primary focus will be addressing the trade union movement.

Zelmira García of the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington and Magda Enríquez, an ambassador at-large of Nicaragua, emphasized that the goal of the movement in the United States must be to prevent any future invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. troops.

Zoilo Torres, associate editor of the United Auto Workers District 65 newspaper, and Paul Filson, an international representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, headed a workshop on the role of the U.S. labor movement in Central America.

Art Walters
New York, New York

Sensational

Your international stories are sensational.

Sorry I can't afford a whole year subscription right now, but please send me three more months. Also, I don't want to miss one week of the *Militant* so if this is processed too late, please send me the back issues I will have missed.

S.M.
Eugene, Oregon

Nicaragua

Thanks to the *Militant* for the continuing coverage on Nicaragua.

I returned from Nicaragua after a three-month stay with even more respect for the Nicaraguan people than before I visited their country.



H. Payne

I also got to meet Ben Linder, and grew to know him enough that his murder was a personal blow to me.

The eighth anniversary of the July 19 revolution is quickly approaching and political freedom is alive and well despite the CIA-contra terrorist attacks. Maybe the younger revolutionary party of the Sandinista National Liberation Front could be an inspiration to the Cuban Communist Party by showing that other political parties are okay: dissent does not mean disloyalty.

Fidel must realize that not allowing other parties like Trotskyists is not the best way to move to people's democracy in Cuba or anywhere.

Jack Bresee
Brooklyn, New York

Eastern workers

An important protest against Eastern Airlines' union-busting drive was held in Miami June 23. More than 3,000 Eastern workers, members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 702, marched in front of the airline's corporate headquarters during lunch break. Some 200 workers from other unions in the area participated with us.

The majority of the IAM marchers wore red T-shirts in a show of unity. "Red T-shirt days" have become a tradition at the Eastern maintenance facility here in Miami. Mechanics, cleaners, and other IAM members wear the shirts as a show of defiance against company harassment, which includes giving out poor-performance letters, days off without pay, and firings. On the day

before the march, shop stewards had come around to our work areas to tell us all to don our red shirts.

Marchers were in high spirits and happy to explain why they were taking part in the demonstration. A Black woman who works for Southern Bell explained, "We have been losing enough over the past few years. We make all their profits, and we demand some justice."

At a news conference held after the march, Charlie Bryan, president of IAM District 100 that represents Eastern workers all over the country, along with other labor officials from various unions in the Miami area, announced that a large "Jobs With Justice" rally would take place July 29 at the Miami Beach Convention Center. The event will be attended by trade unionists from all over south Florida. Officials stated that the purpose of the rally was to let it be known that there must be an end to worker abuse.

Zena McFadden
Miami, Florida

Point blank

I am a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections. I do not have much contact with the outside world except what I can read in old newspapers people have thrown away.

I would like to request a subscription to the *Militant*. I have read several issues and find them most interesting because of the fact that they have spoken point blank in articles of national and worldwide views.

The articles are clear and show

how normal, everyday people are being treated.

A prisoner
Houston, Texas

Revolution

The revolutionary program of Washington, Madison, and Jefferson, in effect, proclaimed that never again shall this country be subservient to a foreign power. After the encampment at Valley Forge, we learned that the desire to chart our own destiny could prevail over the greatest navy deployed in the colonial world. Against incredible odds, we overthrew the yoke of British imperialism.

Since overthrowing the repressive Somoza dictatorship and achieving its independence, the Nicaragua of today has no death squads, the death penalty has been abolished, and a democratic court system has been established. Contrast such basic human rights objectives to the right-wing police states Reagan so passionately defends in places such as Chile, El Salvador, South Africa, and South Korea.

The Nicaraguan dream of today is the same as the American dream of yesterday: not to dominate, expand, or conquer, but merely to aspire to justice and independence.

Doug Owen
Hawthorne, California

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.

U.S. cities deepen ties to Nicaragua 350 attend 'Sister Cities' conference in Seattle

BY ILONA GERSH

SEATTLE — Across the United States there are now 57 city governments with official ties to cities in Nicaragua. And 30 more cities are in the process of formalizing such ties of solidarity.

Some 350 representatives from 70 projects sponsored by these sister cities gathered here June 26-28 for the second annual conference of the U.S.-Nicaragua Sister Cities Association. The participants came from 32 states.

Sister-city associations are involved in a wide range of projects to provide material aid to Nicaragua. Some raise funds to construct schools or provide pencils and textbooks. Others are building support and funding for medical centers and supplies.

In the past several years, U.S. sister cities have sent thousands of tons of material aid worth millions of dollars to Nicaraguan cities and villages.

Twenty-six Nicaraguan government leaders and representatives of mass organizations attended the conference.

Monica Baltodano, vice-minister of the Ministry of the Presidency, addressed the opening and closing sessions, as well as a public event on June 27. She reported on the progress made in Nicaragua since the overturn of Anastasio Somoza's regime in 1979. Before the triumph of the revolution, unemployment was 32 percent; today it is 6 percent, she pointed out. The infant mortality rate has dropped from 121 to 61 per 1,000 births. More than 5 million acres of land has been given to more than 100,000 peasant families. In 1982 there were 2,681 schools and 172 health centers; now there are 5,073 schools and 491 health centers.

New Miami magazine will serve as a forum on Cuba

BY NANCY COLE

MIAMI — A well-attended news conference here June 30 announced the rebirth of *Areito*, a magazine "to contribute to the pluralization of the political process in our Cuban communities."

Areito was first published in Miami in 1974, but right-wing threats and pressures soon forced its move to New York, where it appeared until 1985.

This time, declared its new editor Andrés Gómez, "we're here to stay. We're not going to leave Miami again. We will publish here!"

In his statement to the news conference, Gómez said, "Our magazine will serve primarily as a forum where individuals from all political persuasions, the right, the center, and the left, will be able to present their points of view. We are convinced that this is the only way we can solve the problems affecting us all and achieve a much needed political development."

"The ultra-conservative sector in our community," he said, "has been able to stifle the changes that ought to occur naturally when a new generation gains political power and begins to voice its opinions. To fight against this state of affairs we have sought out younger people in our community and have made them part of our efforts."

Gómez added, "We have been accused of being the fringe in our community. But we're not the fringe. We are a minority which voices sensible solutions. This magazine shows we are legitimate members of this community."

Although *Areito* is not affiliated with the Antonio Maceo Brigade — the group of Cubans and Cuban-Americans who favor normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba — Gómez was one of its founding mem-



Militant/Jim Levitt

May 10 memorial march in Seattle for Ben Linder, U.S. volunteer murdered by contras. Many Seattle government and community officials addressed Sister Cities meeting. Seattle is sister city to Managua.

"These achievements," she said, "have been accomplished by our people at their own expense, but with the aid of those like you from many countries. It is these achievements that the people are defending with their lives."

The U.S.-backed contra aggression has made everyday life and progress for the Nicaraguan people very difficult, Bal-

todano explained. "To fight the contras, we have had to mobilize a lot of people, and spend a lot of money for gas, food, boots, and uniforms for the troops."

"Medical equipment, pencils, supplies, are all needed, but most of all your solidarity," she told conference participants at the public rally. "Come tour our small country. We know the people of North America are not Yankees, but friends. We think that this has been the greatest achievement of the sister-city program: the coming together of people." She went on to say, "You have shown us your solidarity. For us Ben Linder will always express this fraternity with us."

Philadelphia cops attack rights

BY JEANNETTE TRACY

PHILADELPHIA — The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the Pledge of Resistance have filed a lawsuit here in U.S. district court against the denial of their rights to freedom of speech and assembly during the official celebration of the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution.

The two groups, which oppose U.S. foreign policy in Central America, were joined by other organizations in filing the suit June 29 against the City of Philadelphia; Chief of Police Kevin Tucker; We the People, 200, Inc., the organization sponsoring the official bicentennial of the Constitution ceremonies in this city; and other city and federal officials.

The lawsuit stems from incidents that occurred on May 25 when CISPES, the Pledge, and others organized a peaceful protest of U.S. policy in Central America during the opening program of the Bicentennial Celebration of Free Speech. Vice-president George Bush was the featured speaker.

The 300 demonstrators were prevented by police from entering Independence Mall, which was open to other members of the public. Protesters were confined within barricades, signs were removed, and several protesters were manhandled by the cops.

When individuals wearing political buttons or carrying signs attempted to enter the mall they were told they would not be allowed in unless they removed all protest signs. Four people were arrested.

The lawsuit also follows on the heels of

"The sister-city relationships have allowed us to know each other people to people," Baltodano said. "These relationships should also strengthen your understanding of Nicaragua and your commitment to us. The people of these cities in Nicaragua are flesh and blood like you, fighting for freedom and justice. Our people are workers, humble peasants. They deserve to live in peace."

"Our people are defeating the contras," she added. "The job of fighting to prevent an invasion by U.S. armed forces must be yours in the United States." She urged activists to build a broad antiwar movement here to prevent further escalation of the U.S. war drive.

Mayor speaks

Government and community figures from Seattle addressed the conference, including Mayor Charles Royer; Ricardo Sanchez of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King County; Roberto Maestas, president of the Seattle-Managua Sister City Association; and Harold Belmont of the Suquamish Tribe. Dennis Banks, of the American Indian Movement (AIM) also addressed the conference, announcing his plans to accept an invitation to tour Nicaragua next fall.

Elisabeth Linder — whose son, Ben Linder, was murdered in Nicaragua April 28 by U.S.-directed contras — also spoke. An announcement at the closing session of the conference urged all those participating to help raise \$200,000 for a fund to finish the hydroelectric plant Linder was working on when he was killed.

Also announced was Nicaragua Network's emergency campaign to protest the June 23 House of Representatives vote to restrict U.S. travel to Nicaragua.

Baltodano announced the Nicaraguan government will be hosting next year's sister-cities conference, to be held in Managua.

revelations that Philadelphia police, FBI, and other cop agencies are infiltrating local peace groups in a program to prevent "terrorism" at the bicentennial events July 16 and a planned visit by President Reagan on September 17.

Police Chief Tucker has admitted that up to 25 cops have infiltrated local groups or engaged in other illegal surveillance. These include such alleged "terrorist" organizations as the Pledge of Resistance, Unitarian Society of Germantown, and CISPES.

When questioned about this, Tucker responded, "My view is that I have a responsibility to We the People to prevent situations from occurring. Everything we have done is within the law and appropriate."

Mayor Wilson Goode also endorsed the cop spy tactics. "It is the police department's job to insure that they have proper intelligence about violent behavior on the part of any group. There is a delicate balance between whether or not a group is passive or whether or not it is a violent group."

None of the groups targeted have ever engaged in violent behavior, proposed violent behavior, or in any way been a party to violent behavior; but this has not stopped city officials and the cops from branding them as potential "terrorists." Even the editors of two big-business papers here, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Daily News*, have criticized the cops and city officials for overstepping their bounds.

Local peace groups here have pledged to continue their activities, including plans for the July 16 march and demonstration.