# THEMILITANT

SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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VOL. 51/NO. 37

**OCTOBER 9, 1987** 

# Nicaragua urges contras to quit U.S.-run war

BY HARVEY MCARTHUR

LAS MANOS, Nicaragua-Honduras border — Thousands of people thronged this mountain border crossing point as the Nicaraguan and Honduran governments held a Family Reunification Day September 26. The gathering aimed at uniting families that had been separated by the U.S.-run contra war, and promoting Nicaragua's amnesty program for contras who give up their arms.

Hundreds of trucks, buses, and cars lined the highway leading to Las Manos on the Nicaraguan side of the border. From there, people walked across the border to seek out relatives in the crowd waiting in Honduran territory.

Diego Rodríguez came looking for a brother who is a contra fighter. "I think I can convince him to return," he said.

Margarita Rivas hoped to find her son, who had been taken to Honduras by a relative five years ago. He was only 15 years old at the time. "I just hope he comes home now," she said.

Santos Méndez, a peasant from Ocotal, had come looking for a relative who left Nicaragua to avoid the draft. "Sure, I think he'll come back," Méndez said. "Look, he's over there under that tree talking to his mother right now.'

Long lines formed around loudspeaker stations set up on the Nicaraguan side of the border to broadcast messages to the

"Oscar Romero, your mother is waiting at the Red Cross sound truck," was a typi-

"Salvador Pérez, your brother William is waiting at the Radio Peace building,"

Honduran and Nicaraguan soldiers wandered back and forth across the border, fraternizing. Nicaraguan army and Ministry of the Interior officials stood at the edge of Honduran territory, ready to answer questions about the amnesty.

Ivan Kaufmann, a member of the Regional Reconciliation Commission based in Estelí, told the Militant that Nicaragua had streamlined the process for anyone



Contra mercenary and family at base in Honduras. Opening border for family reunification purposes has helped spur more contras defeated in U.S.-organized war to accept amnesty and return home to Nicaragua.

"It takes only two or three minutes to register with immigration, right here at the border or in the Red Cross building. Then you go home," he said. "There is no interrogation and no contact with the army or security forces.'

Kaufmann's commission is one of many organized throughout Nicaragua as part of implementing the Guatemala accords, which were signed by the presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. The commissions work to convince members of the U.S.-

backed contras to stop fighting and return home under the amnesty program.

The five-person Estelí commission includes a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, a lawyer, the head of the local Red Cross, and Kaufmann, a prominent merchant. None are members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front or any other political party.

Kaufmann said that the September 26 encounter had been organized on less than 48 hours notice. The commission used Continued on Page 13

# Pentagon readies strikes on Iran

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Pentagon is threatening to carry out more attacks against Iranian shipping in the Persian Gulf. The threat came as the regime of Iraq's President Saddam Hussein continued its daily air strikes on shipping bound to and from Iran and on targets in-

"The Navy was considering preemptive strikes on Iranian ships suspected of carrying mines," the September 29 New York Times reported after mines were said to have been found in a major shipping lane off the coast of the United Arab Emirates.

The source of the mines is unknown. Washington's practice has been to attribute actions or threats against shipping in the gulf to Iran, except for those Iraqi officials publicly accept responsibility for.

Washington has built up an armada of more than two dozen warships in the gulf. European imperialist allies have sent 35 ships to the region to back up the U.S. op-

The U.S. government's threats against Iran escalated rapidly after the U.S. attack on the Iran Ajr, in which five seamen were killed. "We're fully prepared," Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger declared on the deck of a U.S. warship in the gulf September 25, "to take the same kind of decisive and strong action.'

He called on Middle Eastern regimes to "break off relations and isolate" Iran. Echoing Reagan's war propaganda about Iran, he stressed "what a danger Iran is to the civilized world."

Washington needs, he said September 27, "a totally different kind of government in Iran. No one can deal with the irrational, fanatical government they have now."

Washington and its European allies claim their military intervention is aimed at protecting shipping in the gulf. But they have done nothing to prevent attacks on shipping bound to and from Iran by Iraqi

Their actual goal is to prevent the Iraq-Iran war, which began with Iraq's invasion of Iran in 1980, from ending in a victory

On September 26 the U.S. Navy blew up and sank the Iran Ajr, the ship that was attacked without warning and then hijacked by U.S. forces in the gulf September 21.

The Iranian government described the scuttling of the ship as "an act of piracy." An Iranian official charged the ship was destroyed to eliminate evidence that it was a merchant vessel carrying nonmilitary cargo. Washington claims the ship was car-

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# Socialist wins right to enter Canada

BY HARRY RING

MONTREAL — In a significant victory for the right to travel, Mac Warren returned here September 24 and was passed through customs without interference from Canadian immigration officials.

# **Protests urged** on victimization

NEW YORK - Protests against the exclusion of socialist leader Mac Warren from Canada, and U.S. complicity with his victimization, are urgently needed.

Messages of protest, from individuals and organizations, should be directed to William von Raab, U.S. Commissioner of Customs, 1301 Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20229; and Benoit Bouchard, Minister of Immigration, House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.

Copies of protests - and contributions to help defray the cost of this fight — should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Five days earlier, the Socialist Workers Party leader and veteran Black rights activist had been denied entry into Canada. In custody, he was subjected to racist and political abuse, culminating in a degrading strip search.

The Canadian government is now trying to cover up what was done to Warren and to smear him in the process.

In a radio interview September 28, Gilles Patenaude, chief immigration officer at Dorval International Airport, claimed that Canada's privacy act, which is supposed to insure individual rights, prevented him from disclosing why Warren had been turned back at the airport.

He added, "Mr. Warren knows quite well why he was refused entry into Canada. . . . He knows. He should tell you."

The innuendo is clear enough — Warren has something sinister to conceal.

That doesn't square very well with Warren's demand for a full public airing of what happened.

At the same time, Patenaude dropped a claim, which had been made earlier to Warren's Canadian attorney, that there had been no strip search. Patenaude chose instead to pass the buck to Canadian customs, whose agents had subjected Warren

Patenaude's assertion that the privacy act prevented him from saying why Warren was barred contradicts an earlier, equally false claim that Warren had insisted on leaving Canada because he didn't like the way he was being treated.

The government's current story poses an obvious question: If Warren was denied entry for reasons so serious that they can't

Continued on Page 2

# Six-story mural in Manhattan will promote Pathfinder books

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — Work will soon begin on a new promotional project for Pathfinder Press that will be an artistic and political landmark in Manhattan. One of the largest murals in the United States is being painted on the south wall of the Pathfinder building at 410 West Street. The mural will cover the entire six stories.

Pathfinder is a significant international publisher of books and pamphlets relating to the struggles of working people

On October 7 crews from one of the top

scaffolding companies in New York City will begin erecting an enormous scaffold along the wall, which will allow artists from across the United States and around the world to begin painting.

"For nearly six decades, Pathfinder and its predecessors have published books and pamphlets of interest to working-class fighters," explained Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder. "Our aim is to get out the truth for and about the struggles of working people in this country and around the

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# Socialist wins right to enter Canada

Continued from front page

be divulged, why then was he permitted to enter Canada without question five days

On his initial trip, September 19, the socialist leader had been held in custody for more than five hours and had his baggage searched by Canadian and U.S. customs agents a total of five times.

His personal, political material was read by agents who arrogantly brushed aside his protests. The abusive treatment ended with the strip search.

On his return visit here, Warren was accompanied by John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, and Stuart Russell, a Canadian immigration and civil rights attorney.

Canadian officials and the media had been notified in advance of Warren's return

At the custom's counter, asked the purpose of his stay, Warren said that it was to meet with groups and individuals to protest against what had been done to him on his previous visit.

The customs clerk waved him through. As Warren entered the airport lobby he was greeted with a burst of applause from a group of concerned Canadians who had come to greet him. Reporters were there

Among those waiting to meet Warren was Gérald McKenzie, president of the League for Rights and Civil Liberties, a major Quebec civil liberties organization.

McKenzie told reporters that Canadians had the right to hear the views of people from other countries, including socialists. Barring people because of their politics, he said, "is a threat to civil liberties in Canada."

He said that his organization was particularly concerned about this because current front-page revelations have bared the fact that Canadian intelligence operatives have infiltrated unions and other organiza-

# Next week's 'Militant' will feature Fidel Castro speech

The next issue of the International Socialist Review, a magazine supplement to the Militant, will be reprinting the speech Cuban President Fidel Castro gave on July 26 this year in Havana Province. July 26, 1953, was the date that the revolutionary forces led by Castro attacked the Moncada barracks, launching the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

In the talk, Castro reviewed the accomplishments to date of the historic "rectification" process taking place in Cuba today. This involves a concerted effort by Cuban Communist Party leaders to more directly involve the workers and peasants in taking over the administration and leadership of the Cuban economy and state.

And, McKenzie added, "There are too many links between the Canadian intelligence services and the United States intelligence services.'

Warren told reporters, "I'm here to reaffirm my right to travel and the rights of others to travel freely to Canada.'

Warren added: "Whether I was singled out for this treatment because I'm Black, because I'm a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, or both, these actions by the Canadian and United States governments are an intolerable violation of the right to

Responding to a radio interviewer who asked if perhaps he was the victim of an inexperienced immigration agent, Warren said: "Inexperienced? No, I don't think so. The way he treated me, he has a lot of experience in treating people like me. I think there are many more victims and I think they should speak up."

Attorney Russell pointed to the current moves to clamp down on the entry of nonwhite immigrants and political refugees into Canada, charging that Warren had been the victim of a "racist and antidemocratic attitude" on the part of the Canadian government.

John Studer said the Political Rights Defense Fund was also seriously concerned about the U.S. Customs Service's complicity in the matter. He said Leonard Boudin, the civil liberties lawyer who represents the SWP, has written to the head of U.S. customs seeking a full explanation.

In Canada, Warren and Studer met with groups and individuals in Montreal and the capital, Ottawa, to map out steps to ensure that Warren, and others, would not be subjected to a repetition of his experience.

Among those they conferred with was Dan Heap, a New Democratic Party member of Parliament and the party's "shadow minister" on immigration issues. The NDP is Canada's labor party.

Canadian supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund are planning another visit by Warren, with two public meetings slated - one in Montreal the weekend of October 16, the other in Toronto the following weekend.

The Canadian media has begun to report what happened to Warren. The radio inter-

Militant/Harry Ring

Gérald McKenzie

view with Patenaude, the immigration official, was in response to one the station had done with Warren previously.

The issue was also featured in the French-language daily, Le Devoir. Its story was headlined, "An American Socialist Accuses Ottawa of Racism."

# Attack on socialist leader protested

MONTREAL — A number of important organizations and prominent individuals in Canada protested the exclusion of Mac Warren by Canadian immigration officials.

One such message came from Pierre Paquette, president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. He said the council "would be very happy to meet with you during your visit this week," adding, "This will be a good opportunity to exchange views on the problems concerning civil liberties in our two countries."

Also from Quebec, Dan Philip, president of the National Black Coalition of Canada, wrote:

'We are outraged at the treatment you received from the Canadian immigration at your arrival at Dorval Airport. . . .

"As an American citizen, you no doubt know what we as Black citizens have to endure under white authority.

"We hope your arrival on this occasion will be treated with the respect it de-

Warren Allmand, a Quebec-area Liberal member of Parliament and cabinet member in the administration of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, wrote confirming "That I will be pleased to see you in my office at the House of Commons . . . to discuss your difficulties with the Department of Immigration.'

Joe Pantalone, a member of the Toronto City Council, wired, "Join in protest of your exclusion from Canada. Would like to invite and meet you in Toronto." Pantalone is a member of the New Democratic Party.

Another message came from Gisueppe

Sciortino, executive committee member of the New Democratic Party in Quebec.

Head of the party's Commission of Cultural Communities, Sciortino wrote:

"In the name of the New Democratic Party of Quebec, I cordially invite you to come meet with our party activists in Montreal.

'We consider it essential to promote exchanges of views among activists throughout North America for the purpose of tightening the bonds that unite us and developing new forms of solidarity. Looking forward to meeting you."

Norman Penner, a noted historian and professor of political science at York University, wired:

"I join with many Canadians in protesting against the unprecedented and insulting behavior of the Canadian immigration authorities in refusing you admission to this country. I am very anxious to hear from you a firsthand account and therefore invite you to Toronto at your earliest convenience."

# Staff changes at 'Militant'

The Militant has recently made some changes in its staff that we want to call to readers' attention. Beginning with this issue, staff writer Norton Sandler is replacing Malik Miah as circulation director. Sandler has been a staff member for two years and will continue writing for the

Miah, who was editor before becoming circulation director in August 1986, is moving to San Francisco to help build the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance there.

Ernest Harsch has also left the staff. He was on the staff of the news magazine Intercontinental Press for many years and became part of the Militant staff last year when IP merged with the Militant.

In September, Susan LaMont joined the staff. Previously, LaMont worked in Chrysler's Twinsburg stamping plant near Cleveland. During a layoff from the auto plant last spring, she was part of the Militant reporting and subscription team that traveled through the western coalfields reporting on miners' strikes.

Sam Manuel joined the writing staff in May. He had been the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party branch in San Francisco. Manuel has recently taken assignments for the Militant in Zimbabwe, Angola, New Caledonia, Australia, the Philippines, and Trinidad and Tobago. This month he is going to Burkina Faso to cover a pan-African conference against apartheid.

We are also making a change in our bureau in Managua, Nicaragua. Larry Seigle is replacing Cindy Jaquith as bureau director. Seigle, a former Militant editor, recently has helped edit several Pathfinder books on Cuba. The bureau also includes Harvey McArthur and Roberto Kopec.

Jaquith, who has been in Managua since August 1985, will be returning to the Militant staff in New York.

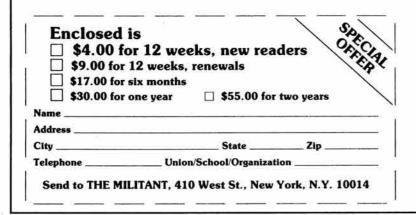
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"It brings us clear and accurate information about the most important questions affecting workers and all the oppressed classes.

"I urge you to subscribe to it."

—Yvonne Meléndez





Yvonne Meléndez, defendant in Hartford frame-up case against 16 supporters of Puerto Rican independence

# The Militant

Closing news date: September 30, 1987

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Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office,

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POST-MASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: send £25 check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 37, Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW 2040, Australia.

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Militant/Harvey McArthur

Vice-minister of Interior Luis Carrión (left) with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. Carrión said U.S. congressional vote against contra aid would be decisive factor in success of accords.

# Sandinistas recruit, prepare intense work in new situation

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NANDAIME, Nicaragua — The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) accepted into full membership 404 new members from Nicaragua's Region IV during a September 18 mass rally here

This was one of several recent rallies in the countryside in which hundreds of new members have been inducted into the

Federico López, FSLN coordinator in southwest Nicaragua's Region IV, and Bayardo Arce of the FSLN's National Directorate presided over the rally.

Many of the new FSLN recruits were working men and women, young and old. A spirited crowd, including 4,000 Sandinista Front members, participated in the

Arce's speech centered on the significance of the Guatemala accords for the Nicaraguan revolution. These accords, signed by all five Central American presidents on August 7, effectively call for an end to all U.S. aid to the contra mercenaries attacking Nicaragua. They also commit each Central American government to lift all restrictions on civil liberties.

Arce stressed that Nicaragua signed the accords out of a position of strength, not weakness. "It was the daily combat of the people's soldiers and the capacity of all Nicaraguans to resist the economic difficulties the [U.S.] aggression has brought us, that made possible the signing of the accords," he said.

"Had we not been strong," he added, "had Reagan and his mercenaries defeated us militarily or had we succumbed to the economic and material difficulties, they would be asking us to sign our surrender."

Nicaragua signed the accords, said Arce, because they provide for "a peace that accepts that in Nicaragua there is, and will be, a revolution."

Landlords and capitalists whose properties were nationalized should expect no concessions, he warned: "Not one inch of land now in the hands of the peasants will be returned; not one single lot of land in the hands of the workers will be returned; not one single company run by the workers will be returned; not one single union, not one single association will be dissolved."

Arce also explained that those who have the most to gain from lifting Nicaragua's restrictions on civil liberties are the workers and peasants themselves. They too lost rights - not just opponents of the revolution — when the state of emergency was reimposed here in 1985 due to the war.

"Just as we had to sacrifice, leaving our schools, our jobs, and our farms so we could go to the war front; just as we had to sacrifice by restricting our consumption of food and fuel so that our fighters may be well supplied; likewise we've had to restrict our full enjoyment of democracy and limit our freedom of speech, our freedom of movement, and our possibility to demonstrate," he explained.

With the restoration of these rights, Arce said, working people should make full use of them to defend their interests. At the same time, he said, the Sandinistas will have "to adjust the dynamic of our revolutionary work, change our style, and change our functioning as a vanguard," in order to better guarantee these rights.

Addressing the FSLN members at the rally, Arce stressed the added responsibility they all now have in this coming period of intense political debate. Each and every member must clearly know and understand the FSLN's political program, he said, and be able to explain it to the masses.

"The Sandinistas will keep on defending everything we've already gained," he said.

# Nicaraguan leader: 'Peace accord a blow against effort to overthrow revolution'

BY HARVEY MCARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua Guatemala accords have clearly been the strongest blow against the U.S. administration's attempts to overthrow [Nicaragua's] revolutionary government by means of war," said Luis Carrión, first vice-minister of the interior and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

Carrión answered questions about the accords and Nicaragua's efforts to end the U.S.-organized contra war when he spoke at a September 16 meeting with foreign journalists here.

Nicaragua is the only country to take major steps to implement the accords since they were signed by all five Central American presidents August 7.

It has organized some 100 local peace commissions to convince contra members to lay down their arms and return home under an amnesty program begun in 1983. On August 25 the government appointed Nicaragua's National Reconciliation Commission, headed by pro-contra Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, to verify compliance with the accords.

Nicaragua also authorized the return of three Catholic priests who were expelled for pro-contra activity, the pardon and release of all citizens of other Central American countries imprisoned for contra activities, and the reopening of the right-wing daily La Prensa.

"Reagan has been left without one credible argument to sustain his aggression," Carrión told reporters here. "All he can say is that Nicaragua can't be trusted, but at this point, the facts speak louder than

"A vote against contra aid in the U.S. Congress would be a decisive factor in the success of the accords," Carrión said. "As long as the contras and certain Central American countries feel that the U.S. government has the possibility of continuing its commitment to the contras, they will be motivated to sabotage the accords.'

## Who gets amnesty?

Nicaragua's current amnesty law allows contras who give up their arms to return home without any punishment whatsoever. This law "meets the requirements of the Guatemala accords," Carrión said.

However, right-wing political parties, pro-U.S. businessmen, and the Catholic church hierarchy are demanding that the amnesty be extended to contras and exmembers of the Somoza dictatorship's National Guard imprisoned here. Some 4,000 contras and ex-guardsmen are serving sentences for crimes such as murder, rape, torture, and kidnapping.

The government cannot pardon and release imprisoned contras as long as the war continues, Carrión said. This would simply give them the chance to rejoin the mercenary forces and start fighting again.

Asked if this was a double standard, since contras who may be guilty of similar crimes receive amnesty if they turn themselves in, he answered that the current amnesty program must be seen from a "political, not a moral" perspective.

"A contra leader, who may have been responsible for enormous crimes, but who takes amnesty and abandons armed struggle, makes a concrete contribution to peace.'

On the other hand, a contra who refuses amnesty and keeps fighting "does not contribute to peace." When such contras are captured, they are tried and imprisoned.

Carrión said that the ex-guardsmen should not be included in any amnesty program since "they belong to a different conflict, one that was ended here with the July 19, 1979 revolution." Furthermore, "releasing those prisoners would once again open wounds in society that have begun to heal only with great difficulty."

#### Broadening political debate

"If the Guatemala accords allow us to win peace, they will create the possibility of the full exercise of all the rights and freedoms established in the [Nicaraguan] constitution, without restrictions of any kind," Carrión said. "Once the option of war, of armed counterrevolution is eliminated, I see no reason why we cannot get together with all the political forces within Nicaragua and have a normal coexistence."

The Nicaraguan government has called on all political parties and groups in the country, including amnestied contras, to participate in a national dialogue scheduled to begin October 5.

"This is an open call," Carrión said. "We start with the assumption that all these groups want to participate, although it could be that some won't want to.... We really wouldn't have excluded these groups [before]. They excluded themselves insofar as they were no more than the public representatives of the armed counterrevolution."

At the press briefing, a Washington Post reporter claimed that opposition parties were harassed and their members unfairly arrested by the police. She asked Carrión if the Ministry of the Interior planned "to change its procedures" as part of implementing the Guatemala accords.

"If, as has often occurred, some members of opposition parties are involved in subversion, terrorism, sabotage, and armed counterrevolution, they will be repressed as before," Carrión replied. "When [this happens], it is very convenient for these parties to claim that their members are being repressed for political reasons. There are even cases of parties recruiting people who have already been imprisoned, so they could say: my member so-and-so has been imprisoned.

"I think there is very little that we need to change in our system of vigilance. The parties have, and will have, very broad room to develop their political activities."

Reporters also asked what the end of the contra war would mean for the day-to-day work of the FSLN.

"If a sufficiently broad change in the situation occurs," Carrión replied, "the FSLN would have to redeploy its forces, its cadres, to carry out the struggle in this new arena. But that wouldn't mean that we would cease to be revolutionaries, that we would stop aspiring to consolidate and, in some cases, deepen the social and economic transformations that have occurred in this country as a result of the revolution.

"We [would] struggle in the political arena to advance these transformations, that is, by politically mobilizing a majority of the people."

# U.S. squeezes Costa Rica over peace plan

BY HARRY RING

In early September, Rep. Jack Kemp the right-wing New York Republican, led a delegation to Costa Rica to pressure the government there to back off from the Central American peace accords. The delegation was to have included contra honcho Adolfo Calero, who has been barred from Costa Rica. Kemp was informed that if Calero was on the plane, it would not be permitted to land. Calero stayed home.

The incident reflected the current difficulties of the Reagan administration.

Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez has played an important role in the development of the Central American peace plan that, if realized, spells the end of the contra war against Nicaragua.

For doing this, Costa Rica has been targeted for particularly brutal economic and political pressure. But, so far, Washington's arm-twisting has resulted in Costa Rica taking a posture of even greater independence from Washington's dictates, as suggested by the Kemp-Calero incident.

This is no small matter for Costa Rica, as evidenced in a dispatch from the capital 12 issue of the liberal weekly, the Nation.

According to the report by Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan, Washington has suspended all U.S. economic aid to Costa Rica. (The U.S. embassy in San José says economic and military aid allocated to Costa Rica for fiscal 1987 totalled \$187 million, some 24 percent of the tiny country's budget.)

According to U.S. congressional and Costa Rican sources, the total withheld has been \$140 million in the past six months.

In addition, Costa Rica has been singled out for particularly harsh import treatment. This includes restrictions and bans on Costa Rican flowers, apparel, and other items. This means, of course, a cut in badly needed dollar earnings.

Both private banking outfits and the World Bank have been enlisted in the

For the first time, Washington refused to okay a rescheduling of Costa Rica's foreign debts. This resulted in private banks rejecting a rescheduling proposal by Arias,

city of San José printed in the September thus making Costa Rica ineligible for further loans.

This in turn resulted in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank holding up new loan agreements with Costa Rica.

U.S. embassy officials in San José deny these moves are politically motivated. This obvious absurdity was refuted by Francis McNeil, the former ambassador. In July, discussing the restrictions on Costa Rican imports, he told a congressional committee, "It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that Costa Rica's 'less favored nation' treatment is a form of revenge for having the temerity to disagree with us about the contras."

Costa Rica may also be singled out for a red-baiting campaign. Kemp, cosponsor of a bill to provide the contras with another \$310 million, included in his delegation Howard Phillips of the Washington-based Conservative Caucus.

After the Kemp delegation met with Arias, Phillips told waiting reporters that by backing the regional peace plan, the Costa Rican president was "shilling for the communists.

# Selling at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota

BY DOUG JENNESS

AUSTIN, Minn. — In this column we generally point to examples of the progress we're making in getting the *Militant* into the hands of workers and how well they like the paper.

But in addition to friends, we also have enemies who would just as soon see the *Militant* disappear

"This is not an unusual way to sell papers," she pointed out. "In fact lots of dailies are sold this way in cities all over the country."

But after six weeks of eyeing Militant salespeople, the city cops ordered them to stop. "They told us standing in the street was against the law," Lynne Fain, a former member of UFCW Local

# SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

from the face of the earth and try to put obstacles in our way. Geo. A. Hormel & Co. clearly numbers among them.

Ever since *Militant* supporters began selling regularly at Hormel's flagship plant here, they have had to confront one hurdle after another.

Two workers who sell the paper here described these difficulties and the attempts to overcome them. Gale Shangold works on the boning line of Lea Foods, a turkey and red-meat processing plant in nearby Albert Lea, and is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local P-6. She explained that *Militant* supporters began selling outside the plant in April.

"We would stand in the middle of the intersection near the gate to the plant and approach cars as they stopped for stop signs," Shangold said. "We usually sold at both shifts once a week with total sales of 10 to 18 papers each week.

P-6, said. "When we met with police officials," she continued, "they could point to no statute that we had violated. They said we had violated the intent of the law and that was the way they were going to enforce it. So we have consulted lawyers in the area and are preparing to launch a legal challenge to this restriction of our constitutional rights."

Meanwhile, the Austin City Council has adopted an ordinance limiting the right to sell and distribute literature in the town. It is to be submitted to a referendum.

Hormel is the dominant force in this town and the biggest employer, Fain explained. "So there's no question who's behind these attacks on democratic rights. They don't want meat-packers in their plant reading about the struggles of meat-packers, paperworkers, and farm workers in other parts of the country, or what working people are doing in Cuba, Nicaragua, and South Africa," she added.

Meanwhile, Shangold noted, "We stand on the sidewalk at the same intersection outside the plant holding a big *Militant* sign. This has made it much more difficult to sell, and we have barely sold any that way. But by being there a lot of Hormel workers see us, and when we meet them in other places, they will sometimes buy a paper."

Shangold reported that she had sold a subscription to a Hormel worker in a trailer park near here, who told her he'd seen *Militant* sellers outside the plant and wondered what they were selling.

"We also meet Hormel workers at the K Mart and other shopping areas in town," Shangold said.

She pointed out that *Militant* supporters had also sold 20 copies of the paper to Hormel workers at a union election meeting in June.

Fain said *Militant* supporters were also beginning to sell at the Hormel Credit Union on payday. "A lot of workers from the plant go there to cash their checks. We've been having modest luck," she said. "At first the security cops tried to kick us off the sidewalk, but when we insisted on our right to sell there and the city cops wouldn't make us move, we established our right to be there."

One reason Hormel dislikes the *Militant* so much, Shangold explained, "is that it unambiguously supported meat-packers here when they went on strike in 1985–86. And the *Militant* helped take the facts of that struggle to workers

Militant Tom Jaax

Cops at gate of Hormel plant during 1985-86 strike

throughout the country."

The members of UFCW Local P-9, by taking over their union and waging an uncompromising fight against Hormel, set an important example for other workers. The strike, however, ended in defeat and some 850 workers have not been permitted to return to work.

"The workers in the plant are still confronting daily the same dangerous work conditions, indignities, and threats to wages that all meat-packers face," Fain said.

"Our aim," she continued, "is to sell the paper to meat-packers so we can get the truth about other struggles into their hands and to discuss with them what's happening in the plant. What are working conditions like since the strike? What discussions are taking place about what to do? What do the workers think about the fight in other meat-packing plants and other industries? And in other countries?"

"It's hard to go anywhere in this town without seeing the Hormel plant," Shangold said. "It's omnipresent. *Militant* supporters have to sell to people who work there. We'll keep finding ways to do it."

# Oregon public employees score strike victory

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

PORTLAND, Ore. — Oregon's largest state workers' union scored a victory September 24 when its one-week-old "rolling strike" beat back Gov. Neil Goldschmidt's takeback proposals. It was the first major strike won in Oregon in recent years.

Oregon Public Employees Union (OPEU) Local 503 of the Service Employ-

ees International Union organizes 13,000 out of 25,000 union state workers. OPEU members, who had been working under a wage freeze, are the lowest-paid state workers in this region of the country.

The Goldschmidt administration was forced to withdraw its demand that 10 percent of employees be exempted from seniority during layoffs and health-insur-

ance payments by workers be instituted for the first time.

Instead, health-insurance payments by the state will be increased by \$3 million, 5 to 15 percent pay equity raises will be extended to 60 new job classifications that have been underpaid in the past, and a wage increase of 4 percent over the two-year contract will be made retroactive to July.

Handmade signs outside the Portland strike office read: "Union victory 87" and "We did it: \$8.4 million more than the state's offer on the first day of the strike." When the settlement was announced, hundreds of OPEU members marched through the state Capitol in Salem shouting, "We won, we won."

The OPEU carried out what it called a "rolling strike," setting up picket lines at locations that changed every few days. At its high point at the end of the strike, more than 6,000 workers were off the job.

The strike first targeted state mental institutions and agencies on the Oregon coast. It then shifted to state agencies in the Willamette Valley, including many in Portland, Salem, and Eugene, as well as most state colleges and universities. The school walkouts included the University of Oregon, Oregon State University, and Portland State University.

At Dammasch State Mental Hospital south of Portland, in Wilsonville, several of 20 pickets at the main gate on the second day of the strike said the key issue for them was work overload. "There are 40 to 50 patients to three aids," one explained.

On September 18 several hundred OPEU members led by "flying squad" pickets emptied out of the downtown Portland state office building in the middle of their shift and marched to nearby Portland State University, where workers also walked out and joined them for a rally.

A clerical worker, one of many OPEU pickets handing out leaflets during registration at PSU, said that the faculty, who belong to another union, was considering a sympathy walkout.

OPEU workers at Dammasch Hospital, returning to their jobs September 21, marched in together chanting "Neil, Neil, not our friend. Give us a contract or we're out again."

That afternoon the state executive department announced it would lock out any mental institution employees who struck again after returning to work.

Goldschmidt canceled his scheduled September 22 keynote speech to the Oregon AFL-CIO convention set to meet in Seaside the following day. The OPEU had threatened to picket the convention center.

# Minnesota unionists hear Ben Linder's brother

BY WILL REISSNER

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn. — During a seven-day tour of Minnesota, John Linder spoke to meat-packers, members of the United Auto Workers, airline workers, and thousands of other people. Linder is the brother of Benjamin Linder, the U.S. volunteer worker who was murdered in Nicaragua last April by contra terrorists.

About \$8,000 was raised for the Benjamin Linder Memorial Fund, which seeks to raise \$200,000 to finance completion of the hydroelectric projects in northern Nicaragua that Linder, an engineer, was working on at the time of his murder.

He spoke at more than a dozen meetings, appeared on radio and television broadcasts, and was interviewed by local newspapers.

A proclamation by Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser welcomed Linder to the city and denounced the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua.

On September 15 Linder was one of more than 700 demonstrators who lined freeway entrances in downtown Minneapolis during evening rush hour. They carried signs opposing Washington's funding of the contras.

Later that night, 750 people greeted Linder with a standing ovation at a downtown church

A printed program distributed to the gathering included a message from Gov. Rudy Perpich, who criticized the "contra terror war against the people of Nicaragua."

John Linder described why his brother decided to work in Nicaragua. "Nicaragua

is a poor country, but there are others that are poorer," he said. Ben Linder chose to contribute his skills to Nicaragua because "it is a poor country where poor people are for the first time running things."

A meeting of nearly 100 people was sponsored by the St. Paul Trades and Labor Speakers Club, Minnesota Trade Unionists for Peace, and the Progressive Round Table.

Linder also addressed the International Association of Machinists local at Northwest Airlines. He spoke to a United Auto Workers local meeting in Rochester; meatpackers from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-6; and to workers in St. Cloud, Austin, and Eau Claire.

# Parents of killed volunteer speak in Chicago area

BY TOM CAMPION

HAMMOND, Ind. — "Since Nicaraguan peasants are given guns for self-defense against the contras, wouldn't there be a general uprising if people didn't support the Sandinistas?"

An elderly woman asked this question at a recent meeting here featuring David and Elisabeth Linder, the parents of Benjamin Linder.

The Linders spent five days in Chicago and northwest Indiana as part of the Benjamin Linder Peace Tour.

On September 10 they spoke to 75 people at Indiana University Northwest in Gary, and 70 people at a church here in Hammond.

A few right-wingers had organized to attend both meetings. They passed out literature supporting the contras and denouncing the peace tour as promoting communism and atheism. They admitted, on being asked, that none of them had ever been to Nicaragua.

David and Elisabeth Linder urged their audiences to go to Nicaragua to see the revolution for themselves.

The Linders were guests on an hour-long talk show on WLTH-AM, a Gary radio station oriented to the Black community. Interviews with them were also carried on three Chicago radio stations and a television show.

On September 13, 250 heard the Linders

at Loyola University in Chicago. They shared the platform with Sterling Plumpp, a poet and professor of Black studies at the University of Illinois in Chicago.

The meeting was opened by Ellen Finkelstein of tecNICA, which sends skilled volunteer workers to Nicaragua. She described being harassed by the FBI earlier this year, as were other tecNICA volun-

The following night 180 people heard the Linders at a synagogue in the Hyde Park section of Chicago. They also appeared at a September 12 "town meeting" on Central America organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

# Some areas push ahead on subscriptions

#### BY NORTON SANDLER

Though the campaign to win 6,000 new *Militant* subscribers by the end of November is behind schedule, several areas are ahead of schedule or right where they should be with eight weeks to go in the drive.

We thought readers would be interested in finding out what these areas are doing to boost the campaign.

In a telephone interview, Greensboro, North Carolina, drive coordinator Mike Fitzsimmons said supporters there discuss the contents of each issue of the *Militant* with their coworkers at textile and Steelworker-organized plants in the area. Ten subscriptions have been sold on the job in Greensboro.

Fitzsimmons said they have also found "a tremendous number of people talking politics on college campuses." Greensboro supporters have collected more than half their 67 subscriptions on campuses, including several campuses outside the city.

#### 'Better than we expected'

Willie Mae Reid said Houston supporters recently traveled to the University of Texas in Austin and to Pan American University in Edinburg in preparation for a tour by Young Socialist Alliance leader Francisco Picado. At both campuses, Reid said interest in the *Militant* "was even better than we expected."

Houston supporters have sold four subscriptions to their coworkers in oil refineries. In terms of selling subscriptions to coworkers, Reid said, "we've barely scratched the surface." Other areas also indicated that much more could be done to increase subscription sales among workers, including encouraging many who subscribed last spring to renew.

Militant salespeople in several cities said they are getting good results from the effort to regularize weekly plant-gate sales. In most cases, these sales are not yielding many subscriptions. But in Des Moines, Iowa, Bob Miller reports that a plant-gate team has sold six subscriptions since the beginning of the drive to meat-packers going in and out of the Swift Independent packinghouse. Des Moines supporters have also sold 20 subscriptions during visits to eight campuses.

Scott Ware said Cleveland supporters have sold 125 single copies of the *Militant* at mine portals in southern Ohio this past month.

Susan Auger and Janet Post in Portland, Oregon, said supporters there have had success introducing the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* to farm workers. They also plan to get the *Militant*'s coverage of the paperworkers' fight against concessions into the hands of paperworkers and woodworkers at plants outside of Portland.

At a recent Portland "Conference In the Spirit of Ben Linder," the U.S. volunteer murdered by the contras in Nicaragua, supporters from Seattle and Portland sold 40 copies of the *Militant*, 17 subscriptions, and six copies of the Marxist magazine New International.

Several people I spoke with emphasized that it takes more time and effort to sell a

Militant/James Khyne

Militant supporter discusses paper with coal miner in southern Illinois

subscription to the *Militant* than it does a single copy. They said if supporters discuss the contents of an issue before going out to distribute it, they find it's easier to convince people of what they will gain from becoming a regular reader.

#### National goal

Last week we sold 352 *Militant* subscriptions, well below the 565 a week we need to average to make the drive.

As the accompanying scoreboard indicates, goals from local areas do not yet add up to the national goal of 6,000. Several cities are discussing raising their goals to help boost the national effort. Other areas may also want to increase their goals.

To help get the drive on schedule, we are projecting two "target weeks." The first will be October 17–24; the second will be November 14–21.

In preparation for the target weeks, each area can organize more than the usual number of sales and make a special effort to get to outlying plant gates and campuses.

The October 17–24 mobilization can be combined with encouraging workers, farmers, and students to attend Socialist Publications Fund rallies that will be taking place around the country at the end of October and beginning of November.

# **Fall Sales Scoreboard**

		Milita subscription		Inte	New ernation	onal	M	specti undia ubscriptions	
Area	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	% Sold
Houston	160	121	76	50	0	0	40	9	23
Greensboro, N.C.	115	67	58	20	8	40	10	0	0
Cleveland	105	42	40	20	0	0	15	2	13
Des Moines, Iowa	110	42	38	35	0	0	15	1	7
Morgantown, w.va	92002	49	38	25	0	0	5	î	20
San Jose, calif.	75	26	35	*	0	*	50	18	36
San Diego	85	28	33	25	11	44	40	21	53
Baltimore	140	46	33	40	0	0	10	0	0
Portland, Ore.	80	26	33	40	16	40	30	1	3
Washington, D.C.	. 25	42	32	60	0	0	30	10	33
Oakland, cast.	150	48	32	100	0	0	50	8	16
Milwaukee	115	36	31	35	0	0	15	0	0
Seattle	300	93	31	50	13	26	50	20	40
Atlanta	120	37	31	35	15	43	20	5	25
San Francisco	180	52	29	50	0	0	70	29	41
Detroit	200	57	29	35	0	0	25	1	4
Kansas City	105	28	27	25	0	0	20	6	30
Boston	200	53	27	50	0	0	100	11	11
Austin, Minn.	85	21	25	10	0	0	15	1	7
Salt Lake City	150	35	23	25	2	8	25	5	20
Newark, NJ.	350	80	23	75	12	16	125	19	15
Birmingham, Ala.	3500,00	34	23	35	0	0	5	1	20
New York	600	133	22	350	166	47	150	62	41
Omaha, Neb.	70	15	21	20	0	0	10	6	60
Los Angeles	300	61	20	100	50	50	175	34	19
Twin Cities, Minn.	180	35	19	100	21	21	20	3	15
Phoenix	100	19	19	*	0	*	80	13	16
Philadelphia	150	27	18	50	0	0	50	2	4
Miami	120	21	18	40	0	0	40	3	8
Price, Uah	48	8 .	17	10	0	0	2	0	0
St. Louis	175	27	15	50	0	0	10	2	20
Annandale, N.Y.	20	3	15	19	-	12	2	1	:4
Chicago	225	26	12	*	0	*	75	2	3
Charleston, w va	125	14	11	20	0	0	0.50	1	-
Pittsburgh	175	16	9	*	0	*	10	1	10
Cincinnati	10	0	0	*	0	*	574	855	
Louisville, ky	5	0	0	*	0	*	- ,	-	-
Canada	:22	12	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Puerto Rico	2	10.00 #3	:=:	12	4	32	2	7	_
Other Internat'l	2 <del></del>	2		2 <del>4</del>	3 <del></del>	-	-	3	-
Totals	5,538	1,482	25%	1,580	314	16%	1,387	313	21%
Drive Goals	6,000			2,000		99	1,500		
Should Be Goal not adopted yet	V0821€181	2,502	42%	PARTITION .	834	42%	MPANDES	626	42%

# Fund needs your pledge now

#### BY FRED FELDMAN

The Fall Socialist Publications Fund is an ambitious effort to raise \$150,000 by November 24 to maintain and expand the *Militant*, the Spanish-language bimonthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Marxist political magazine *New International*, the Frenchlanguage *Nouvelle Internationale*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

A primary need now is to bring the level of pledges up to and beyond the \$150,000 mark. So far, 476 readers have pledged more than \$96,000. To reach the goal, hundreds more pledges are needed now from our readers.

The kinds of projects the publications fund will help make possible were highlighted by some recent events.

The current issue of New International has been selling rapidly and will soon be out of print. The magazine's in-depth articles on the Grenada revolution, the struggle of farmers against the exploitative rents and mortgages system, the current advances in the Cuban revolution, and the evolution of totalitarian-like political police operations by the U.S. government have proven attractive to hundreds of working people. A second printing is under way.

The Militant sent staff writer Susan LaMont to Jay, Maine. Her overview on the paperworkers' strike, which appeared in last week's issue, was the most complete and accurate portrayal of this struggle that has appeared in the U.S. media.

Militant reporter Harry Ring went to Montreal, Quebec, to report on socialist leader Mac Warren's attempt to reassert his right to travel to Canada, after being stripsearched and refused entry because of his race and political views.

And staff writer Sam Manuel is on his way to the African country of Burkina Faso to report on an anti-apartheid conference there.

Some 5,000 copies of a Pathfinder reprint of *The History of the Russian Revolution*, by Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Bolshevik Party, are now rolling off the press. This work — indispensable for anyone who wants to understand how the first workers' and farmers' government was established in October 1917 — has not been reprinted since 1980. To provide maximum durability, the binding will be sewn rather than glued.

34 (24

These trips and publishing projects cost thousands of dollars.

And all these vital activities of the socialist publications have one and only one source of financing. That's the workers, farmers, students and others who rely on the socialist publications for the truth about the struggles of working people.

That's why every reader should send in a pledge now to the Socialist Publications Fund.

Support the 1	Fall
Socialist	
<b>Publications</b>	150,0
1 ublications	140 000

At a rally August 14 we announced the launching of this fund, which has a goal of raising \$150,000 by Nov. 24.

Fund

Its purpose is to finance publication of the Militant, the monthly Perspectiva Mundial, the Marxist magazine New International, the Frenchlanguage Nouvelle Internationale, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

As of September 30, \$96,500 has been pledged and \$19,400 collected.

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Mail to Fall Socialist Publications Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Pa. paperworkers, on strike 3 months, demand scabs out

BY VALERIE JOHNSON

LOCK HAVEN, Pa. — "We don't feel you should be punished for making the company profitable," explained Ron Shearer, a media spokesperson for United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 here.

The Lock Haven paperworkers went on strike at International Paper Co. (IP) on June 20 after refusing to accept a concession contract.

Union member Willie Stout described the background to the current fight. The Lock Haven plant used to be owned by Hammermill Paper Co. In 1983 the company forced the workers to accept concessions on their medical coverage.

International Paper bought out Hammermill in 1986 for \$1.1 billion. Now IP wants to eliminate time-and-a-half pay for Sunday work and doubletime pay for holidays. The union is demanding that the company fire the scabs it has hired since the beginning of the strike and put Local 1787 members back to work.

There are about 360 scabs and management personnel working in the plant. This includes 26 union members who have crossed the picket line. The strikers refer to them as "superscabs." Many of the superscabs are relatives of management, Stout explained. "We're frontline warriors in the fight against corporate greed," he added

#### Violence against strikers

On August 22 some 3,000 unionists and supporters of the paperworkers attended a rally in Lock Haven. More than 100 state troopers in riot helmets were on hand. Police helicopters buzzed over the rally throughout the day.

Eighteen people were arrested, including five "brutal arrests," according to Stout. He described a situation in which people who were standing around were dragged to a cop van and beaten.

The violence escalated that evening when two shots were fired at a striker and his wife through their car window as they were driving down the road. The man who fired the shots owns a food service business that has been catering to the scabs. In spite of several witnesses, the cops took their time before arresting him on "reckless endangerment" charges.

"We get people arrested for spitting and screaming, and here's a guy they didn't even talk to for three days," said Stout. "Had it been a striker," he added, "they would have been charged with attempted homicide."

Paperworkers in Lock Haven have learned that involving the membership, family, and supporters is crucial to their fight. On Thursday nights some 300 strikers and their supporters meet. Discussion time is organized so everyone can say what's on their minds.

The union membership includes about 100 women who, according to Shearer, are active and among the most vocal union members. In addition, a Spouses Support Group handles a food and clothing bank. Particularly at the beginning of the strike, union members would visit the homes of other strikers to help clarify the issues in dispute and answer questions family members might have.

Two young workers on the picket line painted a picture of what the strike means to them. It took them two years to get off company probation and into the union. To get off probation employees are required to work 30 consecutive days, which the company deliberately prolongs. They described workers sleeping in the plant so they would be the first in line to be sure to get work. Both emphasized they would never work at IP without a union.

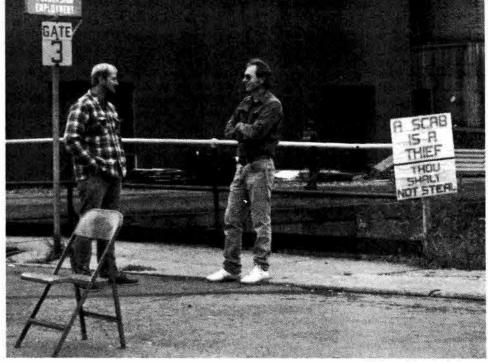
## Solidarity from Canadian workers

The striking local has received contributions from a number of different unions, including paperworkers in Canada. When Local 1787 first went on strike, the teachers' union donated \$1,000 to the strikers. Since then, area teachers have them-

selves been forced on strike and Local 1787 has in turn donated \$1,000 to them.

A key component of the strike has been communication between locals around the country involved in the fight with IP. Several union members from Lock Haven have traveled to Jay, Maine, to talk to United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 members there. A weekly conference call between locals in Mobile, Alabama; Lock Haven; Jay; and De Pere, Wisconsin; and the UPIU International helps coordinate the struggle.

Contributions can be sent to UPIU Local 1787, P.O. Box 773, Lock Haven, Pa. 17745.



Militant/Valerie Johnson

On picket duty at Lock Haven paper mill

# Oregon IP workers face takeback demand

BY JOHN CHARBONNET AND JIM MILLER

GARDINER, Ore. — Workers at International Paper's mill here on the southern Oregon coast passed a strike authorization vote by a substantial majority on September 23. So far, the 215 members of Local 101 of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers have stayed on the job.

The AWPPW organizes most paperworkers in the western states. The Gardiner plant is a liner board mill that produces material for cardboard boxes.

Next door to the paper mill in Gardiner, International Paper (IP) operates a sawmill where members of the International Woodworkers of America were recently forced to take a \$4-an-hour wage cut under the threat of having the plant shut down.

The AWPPW members here are facing the same takeback offensive that the giant paper company is carrying out nationwide at its paper mills.

Since Local 101's contract expired on March 15, IP has been on a campaign to pressure the workers into accepting its "best and final offer."

Doris Shinkle, Local 101 recording secretary, explained that IP would be "gutting our contract" with its demands. "The company sent out letters to our members," she pointed out, "to go around our bargaining board"

In these letters IP offered contract ratification bonuses ranging from \$500 to \$2,000 depending on a worker's job classification. IP was hoping that the bonuses, together with an offer of a 2 percent general wage increase in the first year of a two-year pact, would convince workers to accept a long list of takeback demands.

IP's concession demands include an end to premium pay on Sundays and holidays, mandatory work during the Christmas and July 4 holidays, "flexibility" in job assignments, and elimination of a "job analysis" program that allowed pay scales to be upgraded.

The company also wants to exclude machine tenders from the general wage increase and is trying to cut wages for new hires during their first four months on the job by more than \$2 an hour.

"This is a money-making mill for IP,"

Shinkle explained. "We set records all the time. All the paper companies are making money hand over fist."

She is a veteran of the local's successful 1984 strike, which lasted more than three months. "IP was not able to operate the plant effectively with scabs," Shinkle pointed out. At that time, the company was forced to withdraw its demands for mandatory holiday work and a cut in health insurance coverage.

Hoping to intimidate the workers, IP has obtained a special permit that allows it to put trailers outside the plant to house scabs during a strike.

Shinkle had just returned from a meeting of the AWPPW Oregon Council at which other locals had pledged support to Local 101.

James Thompson, AWPPW general vice-president, is heading up negotiations. In May, Thompson and another AWPPW representative met in Nashville, Tennessee, with officials of the United Paperworkers International Union to exchange information and discuss the UPIU's coordinated bargaining campaign against IP.

# 'Ambassadors' to get out truth on IP strike

Continued from back page

dampen the determination of the Jay unionists. Nor did they think it would set back their sisters and brothers on strike against IP in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, and De Pere, Wisconsin, as well as those locked out in Mobile, Alabama.

Many of the concession demands these locals are resisting, including work-rule changes that deal blows to seniority and increase the risk of accident, are already in place in Pine Bluff as a result of previous

By accepting more concessions, the Pine Bluff paperworkers now face worse conditions in a more isolated situation, Meserve told the *Militant*.

But the vote, Meserve said, "doesn't derail us in Jay. It just makes us plow on harder"

The locked out IP workers in Alabama just won a ruling entitling them to unemployment compensation and retroactive payments, which will average \$3,000 per striker. They have been out of work since March.

# More solidarity

Meserve was set to bring the Jay strike's message to the New England regional AFL-CIO council the next day.

He told the Jay workers he will address Local 201 of the International Union of Electronic Workers, which organizes General Electric's River Works plant in Lynn, Massachusetts.

The New England Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) voted to send the Jay strike fund \$2,000.

This deepening solidarity was prominent at the conclusion of the September 23 meeting as dozens of union guests were introduced to the crowd. They brought nearly \$5,000 in checks from area UPIU locals, Maine State Employees Association, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Maine ACTWU.

A standing ovation greeted Carla Hoag, who works in a chemical plant in Newark, New Jersey. Hoag is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-406. She read a letter signed by 50 coworkers — almost half the plant — demanding Maine Gov. John McKernan close the Jay IP mill for its massive dumping of pollutants in the Androscoggin River August 30.

For a few strikers, this was their first meeting, and it was a big boost to them and their coworkers who brought them out.

Only one union member has joined 23 "superscabs" — locals 14 and 246 members who've crossed the picket line — in the past several weeks, despite an intense effort by the company at creating a backto-work movement among highly paid skilled workers

An IP foreman whose son is a union stalwart took his retirement three weeks early because he told the crowd Wednesday night, he just "couldn't train one damn scab."

Because of IP propaganda, the supervisors "never expected that people would stick together like they are today," he said. The union members, despite company pressure, "have stuck together like instant glue," he went on. "IP workers should take a patent out on it and call it 'solidarity glue."

# 'Our secret'

"That's our secret, that's what keeps us together," one young woman striker said. "It's these weekly meetings where we clear everything up."

"I'm a union wife and proud of it," Betty

Lemay, whose husband is a member of the Firemen and Oilers, told the crowd. She was speaking, she said, because she sensed "frustration and anxiety," and the "pressures, emotional highs and lows" the strikers and their families are feeling.

To face these challenges, she urged strikers to rely on the union, to use its services, and "most importantly now," to reach every union member, "call them, get them to these meetings, to the picket lines, the union hall, to work in the food and clothing bank.

"We're going to win this. We're in this thing to the end," she said. "United we stand, united we'll stay!"

For more information on the Jay strike, contact: UPIU Local 14, Box 272, Jay, Maine 04239.

# Lessons from labor's history

**Teamster Rebellion** 192 pp. \$6.95.

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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

# How FBI began its 50-year career as political police

The following is an excerpt from "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation," by Larry Seigle, which appears in the current issue of *New International*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory.

The article describes the background to the suit brought in 1973 by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the U.S. attorney general, FBI, and other police agencies. The suit uncovered a decades-long campaign of spying and disruption against the socialist organizations.

In August 1986 federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI operations were unconstitutional, and ordered the government to pay \$264,000 in damages. On Aug. 17, 1987, he issued an injunction barring the FBI from using any information illegally obtained from the SWP and YSA.

This excerpt is from the section of Seigle's article explaining the origins of the FBI's assault on the SWP. It is copyright © by 408 Printing and Publishing and is reprinted by permission.

For several years after the First World War, the FBI had functioned as a political police force, carrying out the arrest or deportation of some 3,000 unionists and political activists in 1920 (the infamous "Palmer Raids"). But following widespread protests over these and other FBI actions, and with the decline of the postwar labor radicalization, the capitalist rulers decided against a federal secret police agency. They relied instead on city and state cops with well-established "bomb squads" and "radical units" and on state national guard units in cases of extreme necessity.

By the mid-1930s, however, a vast social movement was on the rise, with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) at the forefront. The relationship of forces was shifting in favor of working-class organizations. The bosses' old methods could no longer always be counted on. Communist perspectives did not come close to commanding majority support among working people, and in fact remained the views of a small minority, but the bosses were nonetheless concerned that progressive anticapitalist and anti-imperialist political positions advanced by class-struggle-minded union leaders were

winning a hearing among a substantial section of the ranks of labor. Especially in times of crisis, such as war, minority points of view defended by established and respected working-class fighters could rapidly gain support.

With this in mind, the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt expanded and centralized federal police power.

During and after the Watergate scandals of the mid-1970s, the immense scope of FBI disruption, spying, and provocations against the people of the United States came to light in an unprecedented way. But the origins of these operations are not — as most commentators place them — in the spread of McCarthyism in the 1950s or in Washington's attempts to disrupt the anti-Vietnam War movement and social protests of the 1960s.

#### On eve of war

The fact is that these FBI operations began on the eve of the Second World War. They were central to preparations by the U.S. capitalist rulers to lead the nation into another carnage to promote their interests against their imperialist rivals and against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America struggling for liberation from colonial domination. These operations were directed against the leadership — and potential leadership — of the two major social forces in the United States that threatened to interfere with the ability of the U.S. ruling families to accomplish their objectives: the labor unions and the Black movement. The government's aim was to isolate class-struggle leaders who could provide guidance to a broader movement that might develop.

World War II had begun in Europe in September 1939 — just a few weeks before the arrests of the Teamster leaders in Iowa and Nebraska. On September 1 Germany's armed forces invaded Poland. Two days later the British and French governments declared war on Germany. Washington proclaimed neutrality and would maintain this as its stated policy until Japanese naval air forces attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941. But official neutrality was a cover allowing the Roosevelt administration and Congress to take concrete steps toward entry into the war, while avoiding the nationwide public discussion that would



Auto workers sit-in at Flint, Michigan, General Motors plant during 1936–37 strike. Battles that led to founding of Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) were factor in President Roosevelt's move to authorize FBI operations against unions, Blacks, communists.

have been set off by a Senate debate over a proposed declaration of war.

The drive toward war necessitated an assault on working people at home and against democratic rights in general. Roosevelt gave FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover free rein to use the FBI against the labor movement and Black organizations.

This authorization for the FBI to assume the functions of a political police force was done without legislation, which would have had to be proposed and debated in Congress. It was accomplished instead by "executive order," a device that was rapidly assuming a major place in the operations of the government and would increasingly become a major mode of governing in the decades to come.

#### 'Subversive activity'

On Sept. 6, 1939, Roosevelt issued an executive order directing the FBI "to take charge of investigative work" in matters relating to "espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and violations of the neutrality laws." The key phrase was "subversive activities," and the most important decision was to include this slippery concept in the list of responsibilities given the FBI. While there were federal laws against espionage, sabotage, and violation of U.S. "neutrality," no law explained what "subversive activity" might consist of.

Two days later Roosevelt — again by executive decree — made a "finding" of the existence of a "national emergency." This allowed an increase in military spending without having to ask Congress for additional appropriations, thereby avoiding a sharpening public debate over the U.S. government's march toward war. Simultaneously, the president ordered an expansion of the FBI's forces. His objective, Roosevelt told a news conference, was to avoid a repetition of "some of the things that happened" during World War I:

"There was sabotage; there was a great deal of propaganda by both belligerents, and a good many definite plans laid in this country by foreign governments to try to sway American public opinion. . . . It is to guard against that, and against the spread by any foreign nation of propaganda in this country which would tend to be subversive — I believe that is the word — of our form of government."

Forty years later, in a Foley Square courtroom in New York City, top Justice Department officials would cite Roosevelt's words as providing legal authority — derived from the president's "inherent powers" under the U.S. Constitution — for the FBI's campaign of spying, disruption, and provocation against the Black movement, unions, and antiwar and women's liberation fighters and against communist organizations.

As the trial of the SWP lawsuit unfolded during the spring of 1981 in Judge Griesa's courtroom, it became increasingly clear that the case revolved around issues far deeper than particular FBI abuses. The historical evolution of the FBI is part of a broader phenomenon in the United States. Underlying the threat today to the rights of privacy and freedom of association is the arbitrary rule by an expanding federal executive power. This power carries out policies at home and abroad that it is less and less able to openly proclaim or mobilize

majority support for. It relies increasingly on covert methods to accomplish hidden or half-hidden objectives.

Among the government's chief witnesses at the trial in the SWP case was Robert Keuch, deputy assistant attorney general. At the time, Keuch was the third-ranking official in the Justice Department—one of those in the government who remain in place while other, more public, officials come and go with changes in administrations or other political shifts.

Keuch's task on the witness stand was to make the case that the FBI's operations against the party, which span the decades since the SWP's founding convention in 1938, were constitutional because they had been authorized by the president. According to Keuch, the president of the United States has the "inherent power" under the Constitution "to protect our government against those who would seek to change it by unlawful means." This executive power is the source of the legal authority for "intelligence investigations" such as the one against the SWP. The purpose of such "investigations," Keuch testified, is to enable government officials "to take steps to protect ourselves[!] and protect our form of government. .

According to Keuch, in 1939 President Roosevelt authorized the FBI to go after the SWP and other "subversives" because Roosevelt "wanted to know what were the activities and the aims and intentions of groups who potentially could be acting inimically to our form of government..." When asked to define what "acting inimically" meant and how it differed from committing crimes, Keuch replied:

"Well, of course there can be many actions taken to attempt to influence the policies of the United States, its actions, et cetera, that do not necessarily involve or constitute a violation of law. It could be an attempt, for example, to do away with the classification program [for secret government documents]. There could be agitation to do away with security programs totally. An intent to weaken the defenses of the United States. . . .

"There are simply ways that individuals and groups can act that may not necessarily constitute violations of the criminal statutes." (Emphasis added.)

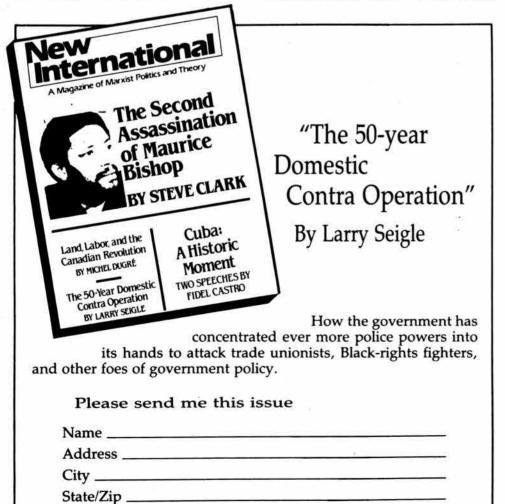
# Advocacy makes you target

In other words, advocating ideas and taking actions that are not illegal — even as defined by reactionary legislation — but are nonetheless considered inimical to the interests of those in power can make you the target of the political police.

When asked what Roosevelt had in mind when he used the term "subversive," Keuch responded that the president had been referring first and foremost to those "who were trying to influence public opinion to keep the United States out of war, to keep us neutral." Roosevelt was targeting those who were exercising their constitutional right of free speech to oppose government policies.

There is a term for this concept of the authority to use police power to suppress political dissent and debate within the population: totalitarianism.

Shining a spotlight on this genuinely totalitarian expansion of arbitrary rule by executive power, and laying bare its deep roots, has been one of the major accomplishments of the SWP case.



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New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Socialists discuss political situation, new a

# Chart course for organizing systematic effort to win youth to communism

#### **BY DOUG JENNESS**

AUSTIN, Minn. — Some 75 unionists and political activists from the Midwest gathered here September 6–7 to discuss the political situation today and new openings for workers and farmers.

The occasion was a meeting of the Iowa District of the Socialist Workers Party. The district includes SWP members in Des Moines, Iowa; Austin, Minnesota; and Omaha, Nebraska.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance from the area also participated, and socialist meat-packers from St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City, and the Twin Cities were invited as observers.

In addition, SWP and YSA members and activists from other cities attended two public presentations and a barbecue that were part of the weekend's activities.

One of the talks was on the historic changes currently taking place in Cuba. It was given by Mary-Alice Waters, a national leader of the SWP and an editor of New International, a Marxist political magazine published in New York. Waters has been to Cuba several times, most recently in April at the time of the Union of Young Communists convention.

A discussion was also organized on the significance of recent court rulings in the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI and federal cop agencies. It was kicked off with presentations by Tom Leonard, a Political Rights Defense Fund spokesperson from St. Louis, and Mac Warren, SWP Midwest regional field organizer.

The district convention heard and discussed two reports. Warren, on behalf of the district executive committee, reported on the prospects for winning new members to the revolutionary socialist movement and the challenge for SWP branches to turn outward to meet these opportunities. He particularly pointed to the importance of SWP members throughout the country organizing to win young people to the YSA, and YSA members to the SWP. He said these efforts should be made not only in cities where SWP branches are located, but in towns and campuses in the surrounding areas.

Estelle DeBates presented the district committee's evaluation of what the Des Moines, Austin, and Omaha branches have accomplished since the district organization was established last December. She reported that each of the branches has made progress in carrying out a wide range of activities, including *Militant* sales, setting up bookstores, and conducting public forums.

SWP members in these cities have also joined with others in protests against U.S. intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa.

To keep advancing this process, the conference concurred with a proposal to dissolve the district structure. Mac Warren, who had been the elected district organizer, will remain in the area as a Midwest regional field organizer.

#### Political framework

The framework for the entire weekend's reports, talks, and informal discussions was the political situation in the world and the United States

Only a few weeks earlier, most of the activists present had attended a Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, where the key elements of the political conjuncture were discussed by participants who came from across the country and around the world. Many of the themes of the Ohio conference were reflected in Austin in participants' remarks and in informal discussion.

One of the principal features of the current situation is the difficulty the capitalist rulers are having internationally and at home

This is highlighted by the peace accord signed by the presidents of five Central American countries in August. The pact registers a strikingly big shift in Nicaragua — the biggest since Anastasio Somoza's tyranny was overturned in 1979.

The accord is the fruit of Washington's failure to overturn the Nicaraguan government through the contra war or to get the Sandinistas to capitulate to U.S. dictates. This mercenary operation has turned into a fiasco for Washington.

Moreover, as the Nicaraguan government implements each of the provisions of the Guatemala agreement, the contra forces are increasingly demoralized. They are disintegrating as a military force.

By carrying out the provisions of the accord — including lifting wartime measures restricting speech, assembly, and the press — the Sandinistas have further exposed the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of Washington's policy.

At the same time, an entire new stage in the class struggle inside Nicaragua has opened up, presenting the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leaders with big opportunities and challenges.

As the procapitalist La Prensa and other anti-Sandinista voices begin to hammer away day after day with their reactionary political views, the struggle for political clarity will become paramount. The FSLN leaders are urging their supporters to prepare for a "political-ideological struggle." They are determined to minimize administrative measures, such as curtailing civil liberties. They are attempting to eliminate obstacles to advancing political education and organization of the working people in the city and countryside as the class struggle deepens in Nicaragua.

Many workers and farmers will develop greater self-confidence and political understanding through this process. Combined with continuing to push back the contra army and strengthening the military preparedness of Nicaragua, this course will encourage the most class-conscious sectors of working people and the most politically conscious forces in the FSLN itself.

#### Atlantic Coast was test run

Placing greater weight on political and ideological discussion, rather than administrative decrees, had its first test run on the Atlantic Coast, where a majority of Nicaragua's Black and Indian population lives. Its success there was decisive for moving forward now with this orientation in the entire country.

The contras had gained a foothold on the coast among the indigenous peoples. This was facilitated by government actions that were insensitive to the language and cultural needs and demands of the peoples in the area.

In a major turnabout, the Sandinistas moved to replace military and administrative methods of government with a bold political initiative — granting national autonomy to the indigenous peoples, urging a cease-fire, and politically winning support for these measures.

The strategic defeat of the contras and Nicaragua's prompt implementation of the Guatemala accords have also deepened the political crisis for the other Central American governments. This is particularly true in El Salvador where José Napoleón Duarte's regime is caught in a political crossfire.

On one hand it has failed to break the guerrilla movement led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and is rapidly losing its base among the labor and peasant organizations, which supported Duarte when he came to office in 1984.

On the other hand, right-wing military officers are pressing him to take harsher measures against the mounting protests.

The result is that Duarte's regime is becoming increasingly unstable.

#### **Gunboat diplomacy**

The defeat of the contras and the signing of the accords has opened the way to end the devastating war inside Nicaragua. But this does not mean that Washington is going to permit the country to live in peace. To the contrary it will continue a sabotage Nicaragua economically, isolate it politically and diplomatically, and try to assassinate its leaders and carry out other terrorist actions and provocations against it.

The rulers in Washington cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of this bastion of workers' and farmers' politic! power on the American continent and the example it sets for working people in other countries.

The recent attacks on Iranian ships by U.S. naval vessels in the Persian Gulf and the kidnapping of a Lebanese citizen in the Mediterranean are a somber reminder that Washington hasn't abandoned gunbort diplomacy. And that it will continue to use these kinds of methods to pressure governments, such as the one in Nicaragua, that refuse to bend their knee to Washington.

#### **Advances in Cuba**

At the same time that the capitalist rulers are having difficulties achieving their objectives internationally, advances in t... struggle to forge an international revolutionary leadership of the working class have been occurring.

These were discussed at the Austin conference. In her talk on Cuba, Waters related how the Cuban socialist revolution is advancing qualitatively, deepening its working-class and internationalist roo and mobilizing Cuba's working people to take new steps in conquering the leadership of their revolution.

The Cuban Communist Party leadership is attempting to combat a mistaken course, Waters said. Cuban leaders say they erred in thinking that an economic plan and People's Power, the country's system of elected representation, would automatically lead to socialism.

The Cubans are showing that only revolutionary men and women, communists, who have conquered a new political and social understanding, can lead the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Waters particularly pointed to the conscious renewal of and transition in to Cuban Communist Party's leadership bodies by increasing the proportion of workers on them. "This could only be done," she said, "by consciously confronting the legacy of race and sex divisions and stratifications within the working class inherited from imperialism." This experience has many rich lessons for communist fighers in other countries, including the United States, Waters noted.

# Employers' problems in U.S.

The framework of the discussions in Austin, also included some of the problems the U.S. employers are having at home.

A change in the scope of what the employing class has been able to get away with in their attacks on workers has emerged. They are running up against the limits of the methods they have been using to get concessions.

For more than a decade the employers have been on the offensive, forcing one concession after another out of workers. They slashed wages and benefits drast. cally and imposed more burdensome and hazardous working conditions in order to maintain their profit levels in the face of stiffening international competition.

As a result of this onslaught, workers have been in a rout. This situation is not the result of a severe recession, but is the bitter fruit of the dead-end policies of the unic officialdom, which has either accepted or put up only the most minimal resistance to the employers' demands.

The union officials' course has been to help keep the companies profitable or trade off higher wages and better job conditions



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Miners at Multi-ethnic Assembly on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast in April. Autonomy process that this assembly was part of was big factor in making possible Sandinista initiatives around peace accords.

# penings

for agreements that will supposedly save tne jobs of a small layer of high-seniority workers. The officials are incapable of seeing that the interests of workers in any union or industry can be advanced only by fighting for the interests of all working people.

#### No letup in antilabor offensive

There has been no letup in the employers' drive against workers. But there is mounting resistance to accepting takeback contracts. This has been shown, for example, in the struggles of meat-packers, paperworkers, and farm workers. And it is leading employers to try harsher measures against workers, particularly where the ions are weaker. They have begun, for example, herding scabs into plants to break strikes on a scale not seen for decades. And in the industrial town of Coshocton, Ohio, a small army of sheriff's deputies were used to attack a Labor Day rally in support of paperworkers there.

Methods such as these, which are going to be used more, escalate the stakes in class battles. They sharpen confrontations and risk sparking broader struggles of workers.

Some employers are probing with these tactics. But there is no broad agreement in the ruling class on when and at what pace to begin using the rougher methods against the working class that will be needed to drive forward the offensive in an attempt to wiew a rout of the workers.

#### Debate on Bork nomination

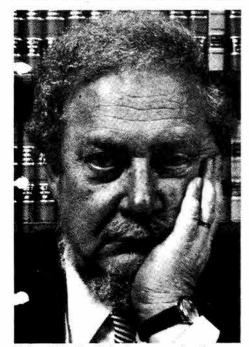
These tactical differences among the rulers in their offensive against working people are also reflected in the debate over Robert Bork's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.

When President Reagan proposed Bork last July he was attempting to take the political initiative after a series of setbacks to his administration, particularly in the wake of the Iran-contra arms scandal. His ultraright-wing supporters have especially suffered as a result of these blows, and the Bork nomination was designed to help put ome wind back in their sails.

But it's clear from the congressional hearings on the nomination that Reagan and his backers have lost the initiative. Bork's reactionary proposals to reverse the gains won by working people over the past three decades that have been codified in Supreme Court rulings have come under increasingly sharp attacks.

in the face of this fire, Bork has attempted to moderate his positions, but the real Bork is clearly revealed from his voluminous writings and rulings over the years. He is for dismantling the entire body of decisions that have been the result of victories won by the labor movement, civil rights movement, and women's rights fighters.

A national debate has emerged: for or against Bork. Those who are for him want to register their perspective of getting rid of the right to privacy, important civil rights



Robert Bork. Debate on nomination reflects differences on how fast to move against workers.



Young Socialist Alliance contingent in April 25 demonstration in San Francisco. YSA has grown in past year and has members in 75 cities. SWP members are getting out to towns and schools in their region to discuss politics with new members of the YSA.

legislation, and affirmative action for Blacks and women, of increasing the use of the death penalty, and of increasing the powers of the president.

Those opposed, which is the majority of people in the country, are for defending and strengthening the democratic rights that have been won as a result of struggle and incorporated into the law of the land through constitutional amendments, court rulings, and legislation.

#### Griesa vs. Bork

One of the central issues in the debate has been the right of privacy.

Republican Sen. Robert Packwood from Oregon, for example, told the Judiciary Committee, "I am convinced that Judge Bork feels so strongly opposed to the right of privacy that he will do everything possible to cut and trim, and eliminate if possible, the liberties the right of privacy protects."

This right is not explicitly referred to in the Constitution, but social struggles, particularly the civil rights movement, helped conquer this as a constitutional right.

One of the key legal conquests of this right came in 1958 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) did not have to release its membership lists to Alabama state authorities.

It also formed the basis for the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

In August 1986, federal Judge Thomas Griesa reaffirmed and extended this right of privacy when he ruled that the presence of government informers in the SWP and YSA violates the right of privacy of association and the privacy of the individual members of the two socialist groups.

This ruling came in the lawsuit the SWP and YSA brought against the attorney general, FBI, and other government agencies in 1973

At the Austin meeting, Warren and PRDF spokesperson Tom Leonard discussed the historic significance of the case and this ruling. They noted that in August of this year Griesa strengthened his 1986 decision with an injunction barring the FBI or other cop agencies from use of illegally obtained files, including SWP and YSA membership lists.

His ruling upholds the right of organizations and activities opposed by the government, including communist organizations, not to disclose the names of their members.

"The SWP-YSA case is right at the heart of the big political questions being debated in this country today," Warren pointed out. "That was shown by the Iran-contra hearings and whether the president has powers that stand above the law."

And it's shown again by the confrontation over the Bork nomination.

This debate takes place in congressional

hearings and the ruling class press - that is, in the framework of capitalist politics. Working people have no direct way of influencing this discussion or putting their stamp on it. But it does reflect in a distorted way that a big majority of working people oppose Bork and what he stands for.

Important democratic rights have been won that can't be reversed without provoking a big fight. And big sections of the ruling class believe the political price for such a frontal assault at this time would be too high. For the moment they try to find ways of chipping away at democratic rights.

If Bork's nomination is approved by Congress, it doesn't mean a big reversal of democratic rights is in the offing, but it will inspire and give greater confidence to the reactionary forces that want to open up a major offensive against them.

## Opportunities for SWP

The socialists who gathered in Austin discussed the effects on the SWP and YSA of the eight-year rout of the working class and the opportunities the break in that rout offers.

Warren pointed out in his report that in "the past decade the membership of the SWP has dropped by half. And while in the past year and a half the size has stayed about the same, we have no reason to expect it to go up right away. The beating the working class has been taking has taken its toll on the SWP, too.

What we should take note of, what is very important for us," he continued, "is that the YSA had a net growth in the last year for the first time in 10 years. Fortyfive percent of YSA members have been in for less than a year."

This growth, he said, also reflects a much wider geographical distribution of

"We are now faced with important opportunities — and a challenge," Warren said. "The biggest error we could make would be for the SWP to play a passive role in relation to this growth in the YSA. Or to stand on the sidelines cheering them on and wishing them well. We've had a tendency to do this," he noted.

# Shift is necessary

"The party," Warren explained, "will primarily grow through the YSA today. SWP members must make a shift and organize themselves to help win more people to the YSA, and especially win new YSA members to the party. The future of our movement as a whole is involved," he said.

"The size of the party may not increase much right away," Warren added. "That's not what I'm saying. But it will definitely get younger if we can politically win more YSA members to the SWP."

Warren cautioned that there isn't some big youth radicalization today, and winning people isn't going to be a rapid process. It requires hard work - organizing to do it and spending hours talking with young people about politics. And when people join the YSA, that doesn't mean the job of winning them to communism is over. To the contrary that's when the job really begins.

Moreover, a lot of young people don't join the YSA where it's most convenient, that is, where there are SWP branches.

"SWP members must get out to the towns, campuses, and high schools where new YSA members are and talk to them." he said. "This must be a collaborative effort with the YSA. SWP and YSA members should, where possible, go out together to surrounding areas.'

## Getting out into the region

Some steps in this direction have been taken. SWP members in St. Louis are visiting Illinois State University in Carbondale every weekend. They sell Militants during the day and help lead a class series in the evening.

SWP and YSA members from New York City have helped YSA members at the State University of New York at Albany and Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, set up public meetings on Nicaragua. Classes are being organized for YSA members at Bard.

The delegates in Austin responded very favorably to the national perspective Warren outlined and related some lessons from their own experiences.

Diane Shur from Omaha explained that if consistent educational work isn't organized many new YSA members will not be fully won to and politically integrated into, the socialist movement.

She recounted a case of SWP members in Omaha driving by a campus for months where there was a YSA member. They were on their way to have discussions with a union leader and prospective member of the SWP. "We never stopped to discuss with this student member of the YSA," Shur said. "And after a while he drifted away. It wasn't that we shouldn't have been talking to the unionist," she said, "but we should have talked to this student member, too. It was actually more important that we do so since he had already joined the YSA."

Jackie Floyd from Des Moines related a similar case. She said a student from Grinnell College in Iowa attended the YSA national convention in May and was interested in joining. "But we never got back to him," she said.

## **Turning outward**

Joe Bowman from Des Moines explained that what was being projected wasn't another task. "We're talking about winning new people to our movement," he

# Leader of Trinidad oil union: 'Grenada gave us confidence'

The following speech was given by Jerry Kangalee, education director for the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago. It was given as part of a panel on the fight against imperialism in Central America and the Caribbean held during the Socialist Educational and Active Workers Conference. The conference took place in Oberlin, Ohio, last August.

A theme of the talk was the lessons of the Grenada revolution, which opened on March 13, 1979, when an uprising ousted the dictatorial regime of Eric Gairy. The central leader of the revolution was Maurice Bishop, who became prime minister.

In October 1983, the revolutionary government was overthrown by a grouping headed by Bernard Coard. Bishop and other central leaders of the revolution were murdered, which set the stage for the U.S. invasion of the island and the setting up of a U.S.-dominated regime.

March 13, 1979, was an extremely important date in the history of the working-class people of the Caribbean region and particularly the history of the English-speaking people of the Caribbean.

The revolution in Grenada had tremen-

dous ramifications for the other islands. It gave us confidence that we too could become a militant part of the struggling people of the world who are convinced that we can defeat imperialism and build an alternative society free of exploitation and oppression.

March 13 also gave a boost to greater unity, a greater unity of purpose, and a greater integration. We in the Caribbean believe that although we are divided among many different islands, we are one people and share the same history and cultural expression.

Comrade Maurice Bishop was able to articulate in a very clear and precise fashion that aspiration for greater Caribbean unity.

Today you may hear that the misleaders of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, who actually united with Ronald Reagan to invade Grenada, are talking about a federation of Caribbean states. They want to make it easier for the United States to police the region. They want to form a unity where it can be easier to situate the interests of the United States in the region.

In 1982 in my country the oil industry, which controls the rest of the economy, went into a significant decline because of the maneuvers of the imperialists to break the unity of the OPEC [Organization of Pe-

troleum Exporting Countries] cartel. As the oil industry declined, the economy went into a tailspin. There has been a lot of economic devastation since and there have been major coordinated attempts on the part of the bosses to make the workers pay for the capitalist crisis.

Although the labor movement and the progressive movement in Trinidad are on the defensive today, over the last five years we have been able to mount tremendous fightback struggles that have been able to at least hold the line on some of the more vicious aspects of the assault by the bosses.

There have been major struggles against multinational corporations and the attempt of the state to impose an International Monetary Fund-type solution on our people.

#### French colonialism

But comrades, it is not enough for us to hold the line. What we need is to develop a path forward that can cause us to go on the offensive and to beat back the attacks of the oppressors; to beat back the schemes of the multinational corporations and their client states in the region.

French colonialism is very strong in the Caribbean. It refuses to allow the people of its colonies to exercise their right to self determination. In the Caribbean region the French have three colonies: Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane. These three colonies have been waging a very bitter struggle for the last 20 years in order to gain their independence.

In Guadeloupe there is a very strong nationalist movement that has gained the respect of the working people of Guadeloupe. If the people of the United States and the Caribbean and the world give solidarity and support to the struggles of the French colonies, that struggle will be significantly advanced.

The French have been able to turn the colony of Guyane [on the northeast coast of South America] into a military base. They have missile-tracking stations in that part of the world and they are using them to advance their assault on the peoples of the remaining French colonies and on those neocolonies where France still has a lot of influence.

It is not only in the Pacific that the French are refusing to recognize the realities of modern existence. It is also in the Caribbean. We would appreciate solidarity not only with our people in Trinidad and Jamaica, in Puerto Rico, in Santo Domingo, and Haiti, we would also appreciate if you would begin to pay some attention to the situation in Guadeloupe. Although it is not an American colony, imperialism is imperialism.

## Debt crisis

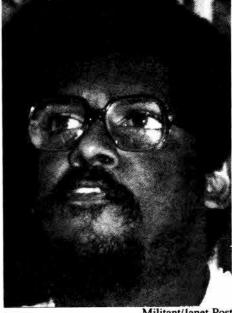
When the Grenada revolution was in full swing, Ronald Reagan decided that he would set up a counter model to Grenada. The model was Jamaica. Jamaica has received probably more aid from the United States than all the other islands combined. Jamaica has gotten a lot of favorable treatment from the International Monetary Fund.

Today, 42 percent of the Jamaican budget goes toward paying the interest on the massive debts that they have accumulated. You may be surprised to learn that the combined debt of the English-speaking Caribbean on a percentage basis is actually the highest in Latin America, including Mexico and Brazil.

The client states in the Caribbean region actually borrow money to supplement their budget. They borrow money to make up their deficits. The so-called American aid and the aid from the other imperialist countries has not been used in any way at all to the benefit of the working people of the Caribbean. It goes to the benefit of the American banks.

The IMF austerity measures have led to insurrections in Santo Domingo, to food riots and ongoing insurrections in Haiti, and have led to many insurrections in Jamaica and other islands of the Caribbean. In Trinidad we are fast heading toward the same situation.

In the future the struggles of the peoples



Militant/Janet Post

Jerry Kangalee, education director of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago, speaks at socialist conference.

throughout the region are going to be more and more closely integrated. That is the only way forward. We cannot sit in our little islands and try to fight on a narrow nationalist basis. What we have to do is link up those struggles so that we can tie down the beast in our region.

It is obvious that the American empire can no longer survive on the same basis which it survived in the 1950s and '60s. Vietnam has already happened, and you cannot wipe out history. Vietnam has occurred and has caused a fundamental change in the politics of the United States. It is obvious that the working class in the United States seems no longer prepared to give back the things that they have given back over the last five or six years. It is obvious that the workers of the United States are no longer prepared to be used as cannon fodder in Central America or in any other part of the world.

We, therefore, the peoples of the Caribbean and the peoples of the United States, can strengthen our bonds, can give each other solidarity, because we all need solidarity.

The best solidarity we can give to each other is not the solidarity of words, although that is important. The best solidarity we can give to each other is by organizing ourselves to take on and defeat imperialism in any part of the globe that we are placed.

We in the Caribbean hope that the links that we have begun to establish here in the United States can be strengthened and can become more solidified.

Looking at the situation that has developed with the victory of the revolution in Cuba, the growing victories taking place in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and the lessons that we have learned from the destruction of the Grenada revolution, we are absolutely convinced that we in the region and anti-imperialist fighters all over the world cannot under any circumstances be defeated.

# Frame-up judge to get 'freedom' award

## BY FRED FELDMAN

Federal appeals court Judge Irving Kaufman and former chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Warren Burger have been scheduled to receive the "Medal of Freedom" award from President Reagan on October 7

Burger earned his award with votes against abortion rights, affirmative action, gay rights, and other democratic liberties while on the court.

The announcement of the planned award to Kaufman drew a sharp protest from the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg case. Kaufman, the judge in the 1951 trial, helped frame up Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on espionage charges. He then sentenced them to death in the electric chair, claiming that they had put "into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb" and that they were responsible for the future deaths of "untold millions."

Kaufman's assertions, like the prosecution's case charging the Rosenbergs with giving the Soviet Union the "secret" of the atomic bomb, had no factual basis.

The Rosenbergs were electrocuted on June 19, 1953.



A 1983 demonstration in Grenada, before overthrow of revolutionary government, hails opening of housing project and protests U.S. threats against revolution.

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"The United States is not the guardian of freedom, but the perpetuator of the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the world as well as many of its own people."

This is from a 1964 speech by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, featured in PM's October issue. This speech, which voices Cuba's uncompromising internationalism, was given by Che at the United Nations as the representative of Cuba's revolutionary government. It will appear in a forthcoming book by Pathfinder Press.



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# Filipinos protest rightist attacks on labor, left

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

QUEZON CITY, Philippines — Thousands of demonstrators poured into a large traffic circle here September 21, blocking off the main route into Quezon City from neighboring Manila until the early evening.

Called by the Bayan Coalition to protest the resurgence of rightist attacks on workers and progressive organizations since the massive August 26 "people's strike," the



May 1 Movement labor federation leader Crispin Beltran addressed rally.

action's focus was condemnation of the September 20 slaying of its general secretary, Leandro Alejandro. Bayan is a massaction alliance pressing for land reform, the removal of U.S. military bases, and for democratic rights.

Prominent among the hundreds of banners and placards carried by demonstrators were ones that read, "Fight against fascism and militarism!" and "Lean[dro] will carry on..."

September 21 marked the 15th anniversary of the introduction of martial law by former president Ferdinand Marcos in 1972. Under Marcos' rule, September 21 had become a rallying point for protests against his dictatorship. In 1986 there were no demonstrations. Bayan was then giving what it called "critical support" to the new administration of President Corazon

Aquino, which came to power after Marcos' overthrow in February last year.

The metropolitan Manila rally was the center of nationwide protests scheduled by Bayan in at least eight other regions of the Philippines.

# Workers and youths

The capitalist press estimated the size of the crowd to be 7,000 to 10,000. It could easily have been double that at the peak. Most demonstrators — overwhelmingly workers and young people — had been mobilized by affiliates of the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation. High school and university students were also well represented, especially from Alejandro's former college, the University of the Philippines in Quezon City.

A striking feature of the action was the absence or low profile of many nationally prominent leaders of Bayan and its affiliates. This was alluded to by the featured speaker, KMU national Chairman Crispin Beltran, who cited military repression and death threats against himself and others. Beltran came out of hiding for the rally.

#### Against U.S. government intervention

He scored what he described as the growing U.S. government intervention into Philippine politics and pledged the struggle against it would continue.

Alejandro's widow, Lidenaida Nakpil, also addressed the crowd. Stressing that she held the Aquino government responsible for her husband's death, she said, "This is not the time to be afraid. The people must continue fighting."

As evening fell it was announced that the crowd would march to the university of the Philippines chapel to pay their respect to the Bayan leader whose body lay there. The spirited marchers walked, jogged, and chanted the 6 miles to the chapel, led by the student youth, with a tightly organized workers' contingent following. Among the chants were, "Payment for the blood debt" and "Aquino — U.S. running dog."

The previous day a separate rally and mass had been held outside the Camp Aguinaldo military headquarters organized by the Movement for Peace and Democracy. This recently organized umbrella

Socialists discuss openings

Continued from Page 9

said. "And that's what all of our activities are geared toward doing — our public forums, sales of Pathfinder books, *Militant* sales, regional educational conferences, and so on."

Bowman noted that all of these activities should be "used as tools to help attract and win new people." He said that special efforts should be made to urge YSA members in surrounding areas to attend the nearest Militant Forum. "But often they aren't able to make it or don't understand why it's important," he said, "so we have to go where they are and talk to them and help set up classes."

In the same vein, Gale Shangold from Austin said that the problem isn't lack of time to do this. "SWP members have been turned inward for so long because we haven't had a lot of opportunities that we spend an unusually large amount of time organizing discussions among ourselves," she said.

Anna Schell from Omaha agreed with Warren's statement that SWP members are "so used to talking to ourselves that we end up talking in shorthand when we're around new people, and they often can't understand us."

"I think," Schell said, "that this reflects the fact that many of us don't know the longhand, that we've forgotten how to effectively explain our views. We must go back and read the books and pamphlets we're urging new people to read."

Summarizing, Warren noted that the more "politically confident we are, the more successful we'll be in winning new members."

## Reorganization of SWP

There was unanimous approval for dissolving the Iowa district structure. The del-

egates agreed that it had played a useful role in helping to get the Omaha, Des Moines, and Austin branches going. "But it isn't needed any more," Estelle Debates explained. "In fact, this move will mean that people who were tied up with district responsibilities will be able to concentrate fully on branch activity. This will help branches be able to do more things like getting out to surrounding areas to talk to young people."

DeBates noted that setting up the three branches in this region was a response to the meat-packers' struggle. Moreover, this area has been a center of the fight of working farmers, she said.

This move was part of a reorganization of the SWP nationally in which seven branches in coal-mining areas were strengthened, as well as important political centers such as Miami. These decisions were a response to significant developments in the working-class movement. SWP members moved from cities where they were living and working to be part of this process.

Now there are much smaller SWP units in some cities — Cincinnati, Toledo, Louisville, and Hartford, Connecticut and some cities with no SWP members where there had been units.

The achievements of the Iowa district in the past nine months were reflected in the fact that all but one of the district members attended the conference. Moreover, the conference was organized and financed by the district members, including paying for Waters' travel expenses.

The fact that it was held in Austin and at the site of the June 1986 Solidarity City—an action in support of the striking meatpackers at Hormel in Austin—illustrates the progress in establishing the SWP in this city.

group is an attempt by some of the middleclass forces supporting Aquino to respond to the growing rightist threats. They seek to renew street demonstrations and other forms of popular pressure. Prominent in this is the president's brother-in-law and now senator, Butz Aquino.

While priests, nuns, and middle-class professionals were among the perhaps 3,000 rally participants, workers and youth were predominant at this action also. Many of the workers had been brought to the rally by the Free Federation of Workers, an independent union federation that cooperates with the KMU in the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council. Others appeared to have been brought by Aquino's supporters and local administrative bodies.

The central theme of the September 20 rally was suppport for President Aquino and the "promotion of civilian supremacy over the military." As summed up on one union placard, this meant, "against threats from right and left, the center will stand firm." Nevertheless, those speaking at the rally were clearly shocked by Alejandro's murder the day before and roundly condemned it.

Despite sharing many common concerns, the Movement for Peace and Democracy and Bayan have been unable to stage united actions against the rightist threat. A central stumbling block is the conflicting attitudes toward the Aquino government.

Two small left-wing organizations

brought contingents of mostly youth to both rallies. They were the Association for the Advancement of Socialist Thought and Action, led by University of the Philippines Prof. Francesco Nemenzo, and Volunteers for Popular Democracy, led by former political detainees and National Democratic Front leaders Edicio de la Torre and Horatio "Boy" Morales.



Militant/Deb Shnookal Horacio "Boy" Morales, of Volunteers for Popular Democracy.

# -WORLD NEWS BRIEFS-

# SWAPO and trade union leaders freed in Namibia

An international campaign has forced the apartheid regime of South Africa to unconditionally release leaders of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and trade unions in Namibia.

Among those released were Hendrik Witbooi, acting vice-president of SWAPO; Daniel Tjongarero, SWAPO acting national chairman; Nico Bessinger, SWAPO foreign affairs spokesperson; Anton Lubowski, treasurer of the National Union of Namibian Workers; John Pandeni, general secretary of the Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union; and Ben Uulenga and Asser Kapere, general secretary and vice-chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers of Namibia.

They were arrested August 18 during a massive sweep by South African military and police forces. Charged under the notorious Terrorism Act, they were denied access to their families, lawyers, and doctors. Their whereabouts were unknown.

An estimated 100,000 South African troops occupy Namibia despite repeated appeals by the United Nations for their withdrawal. In a statement issued by its UN mission, SWAPO called for an intensified campaign for the release of all political prisoners held by the South African government.

# Rebel leader to return to El Salvador

Ruben Zamora, a central leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, has announced plans to return to El Salvador in the wake of the signing of the Guatemala peace accords by the presidents of five Central American countries. Under its provisions, the U.S.-backed regime of José Napoleón Duarte is required to open talks with the popular revolutionary forces.

Zamora, a leader of the Popular Social Christian Movement — an affiliate of the FDR — fled to Nicaragua after his brother was murdered in 1980 by rightwing death squads.

A September 21 resolution of the UN Sub-Commission on Human Rights backed the peace accords and called on the Salvadoran government to begin a dialogue with the FDR and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The resolution condemned military attacks on, and forced displacements of, civilians living in combat areas and zones controlled by the FMLN.

It also condemned the forced recruitment by the Salvadoran army of those who object to military service and expressed its deep concern at the alarming number of reports of human rights violations committed in recent months by the death squads.

# Tunisian court orders execution of seven

A Tunisian court has sentenced to death seven of 90 members of the Movement of Islamic Tendencies after a four-week trial on charges of bombings and plotting to overthrow the government. The five-member judiciary panel consisted of government prosecutors and military and police officials.

Government officials stated the trial was aimed at Muslim supporters of the Iranian government.

Thirty-seven of those accused were tried in absentia, including five of those sentenced to death. Many of the defendants were in jail at the time of the alleged bombings. Only 14 were found not guilty.

Defense lawyers said an appeals court would rule on procedural objections within the week. The executions could come within days of that decision.

# Jamaican opposition hits military maneuvers

Jamaican military forces hosted maneuvers in the Caribbean region in early September. The operation, "Exercise Trade Winds," included troops from Jamaica, Barbados, the United States, and members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States: Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts-Nevis, and St. Lucia.

Most of the islands have only small armed forces, but they have received an increased amount of U.S. and British equipment and training since the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

According to a Caribbean News Agency (CANA) dispatch, the opposition People's National Party of Jamaica opposed the maneuvers, declaring that the Caribbean should be a zone of peace. It also opposed the region becoming a point for the manufacture, assembly, or storage of arms for "super-power" interests.

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# CALENDAR-

#### **CALIFORNIA**

Los Angeles

Malcolm X Speaks. A documentary film containing footage from speeches by the Black revolutionary. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

Palestine and Israel — The History of the Conflict. A review of the history of the Palestinian people and the role of the U.S. in the Middle East. Speaker: Carol Lesnik, visited Israel in 1986. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B Street. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

#### **FLORIDA**

#### Miami

Working People Speak Out Against the Death Penalty. Speakers: Wilbert Lee, spent 91/2 years on death row and was pardoned in 1986; Rodney Thaxton, Miami Free South Africa Coalition; Alan Gummerson, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 702. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305)

#### **GEORGIA**

#### Atlanta

Citizens Conference on Privacy and the Constitution. Speakers and workshops on privacy in the workplace, government intrusion into political activities, and reproductive health. Sat., Oct. 17, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Alumni Hall, Georgia State University, corner of Courtland and Gilmer. Donation: \$15. Georgia American Civil Liberties Union and others. For more information call (404)523-6201.

## **MARYLAND**

**Baltimore** 

Hear John Linder, brother of U.S. engineer Benjamin Linder killed by contras in Nicaragua. Sun., Oct. 11, 12:30 p.m. Towson Unitarian Church, 1710 Dulaney Valley Rd. For more information call (301) 366-7200

Juggling and Clown Benefit for the Benjamin Linder Memorial Fund. Sun., Oct., 11, 5 p.m. St. Vincent de Paul Church, 120 N Front St. (across from the shot tower). Sponsor: Baltimore Jugglers Association. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

Talk by John Linder. A discussion with high school students. Mon., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. Gilman School, 5407 Roland Ave. Sponsor: Students for Social Responsibility. For more information call (301) 366-7200.

Benjamin Linder Peace Tour. Citywide meeting with John Linder and Joan Petrik, Maryknoll sister recently returned from Nicaragua. Tues., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. Medical School Teaching Facility Auditorium, University of Maryland School of Medicine, 10 S Pine St. (between Baltimore and Redwood Sts.). Donation: \$1. For more information call (301) 366-

#### **MASSACHUSETTS**

#### **Boston**

AIDS and the Fight for Gay Rights. Speakers: Denise McInerney, Socialist Workers candidate for Boston School Committee, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union: representative from Boston Committee for the October 11 National March on Washington; others. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

#### **MINNESOTA**

Austin

Nicaraguan Revolution Pushes Forward -New Rights for Indians and Blacks. Speakers: Bill Means, executive director of American Indian Movement, leader of International Indian Treaty Rights Council; Vernon Bellecourt, cofounder of American Indian Movement. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4071/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Educational Series on Cuba. A ten-part series

# U.S. plans strikes on Iran

Continued from front page

rying mines. Iranian officials deny this.

The 26 sailors seized in the attack and hijacking of the Iran Ajr were allowed to return home September 26.

According to Iranian radio, the returning seamen denounced their "savage imprisonment" below decks on a U.S. warship.

"The Americans treated us as if they had just won a war," one said. "They suggested we request political asylum. They wanted to use this for political purposes. Of course, we refused."

The captain of the Iran Ajr stated "This ship was attacked while it was taking goods, ordinary cargo such as is shipped every day from one port in Iran to

Washington has now conceded that five Iranians were killed in the attack, as the Iranian government said, rather than three as U.S. officials initially asserted.

In the September 27 Washington Post, unnamed "sources" described one of the killings. The victim, "described only as a half-naked 'boy,' was chased down by the

helicopter as he attempted to flee the ship in a motorized rubber dinghy. The helicopter pursued the dinghy and sprayed the fleeing seaman with gatling-gun fire.'

At the United Nations, Washington continued to press members of the United Nations Security Council for an arms embargo against Iran, which could provide cover for further military escalation. The U.S., British, and French governments, which make up a majority of the permanent members of the security council and have long dominated the Persian Gulf region, have openly or covertly aided Iraq in the war.

The U.S. government is urging Soviet and Chinese representatives, the other permanent members, to go along with an embargo. Security Council rules permit any one of the five permanent members to veto a resolution.

President Reagan issued an appeal for Soviet government backing on September 24. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesperson Gennadi Gerasimov stated the same day, "In principle we have nothing against an embargo," but urged further discussions of classes held on Tuesdays at 10 a.m., and 2 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. For more information call (612) 644-6325

What's Behind the War in the Persian Gulf? Speakers: Alan Dale, Twin Cities antiwar activist; Argiris Malapanis, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 3. Preforum dinner, 6:30; forum, 7:30 p.m. Party to follow. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

#### **MISSOURI**

St. Louis

South Africa Miners Strike Against Apartheid. Speaker: Representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Video showing of Adapt or Die, on history of the trade union movement of South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 3, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf! Speaker: Bob Allen, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

#### **NEBRASKA**

AIDS: Myth vs. Fact, Why the U.S. Government Treats AIDS Victims Like Criminals. Speakers: John G. Taylor, executive director Nebraska Civil Liberties Union; Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 271. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

Central America Peace Accords . Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

## **NEW JERSEY**

Newark

Report Back From the Maine Paperworkers' Strike. Speakers: Carla Hoag, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union; Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341

What Does the Bork Nomination Represent? Hear a discussion on nomination of Bork to Supreme Court. Speaker: Andrea Morell; others. Sat., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-

## **NEW YORK**

Manhattan

El Salvador Today. Speaker: Ernesto Godoy, Representative Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front. Translation to Spanish and French. Fri., Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-

Conference and Fund-Raising Evening in Support of the Liberation Struggle in Haiti. Video documentary on the Tet Ansanm Movement and the July 1987 massacre in Jean Rabel; poetry; music; dance. Sat., Oct. 3, 6 p.m. P.S. 41, corner of 6th Ave. and 11th St. Sponsor: July 28 Contingent; Haitian Information Center;

Support the Striking Paperworkers. Eyewitness report, slides. Speaker: Jon Hillson, Mili-

# **ILLINOIS**

Chicago

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum. Sat., Oct. 10, Open house and refreshments, noon to 3 p.m. Forums: "Che Guevara, the Cuban Revolution, and Socialism, 3:30 to 5:30 p.m.; "The Assassination of Maurice Bishop, Defeat of the Grenada Revolution, and the U.S. Invasion," 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Steve Clark, author of the "Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2.50 each session. Sponsor: Pathfinder. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-

tant reporter. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212)

#### **PENNSYLVANIA**

Philadelphia

The Fight Against AIDS: An Issue for All Working People. Discussion with gay activists and unionists. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-

Hear John Linder, brother of murdered American volunteer Benjamin Linder. Fri., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. Tabernacle Church, 3700 Spruce St. Donation at door. Sponsor: Linder Tour Committee. For more information call (215)

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally. Hear Richard Gaeta, socialist mayoral candidate and other activists speak out. Sat., Oct. 17, 6:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

The Meaning of the Rectification Campaign. A talk on the current situation in Cuba. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 255-0213.

#### **TEXAS**

Houston

U.S. Labor: the Fight Against Concessions. Speaker: Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4367. Sat., Oct. 10, 8 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Miners' Struggles Span the Globe: South Africa, Britain, Massey, and Canterbury. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Oct. 4, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

## WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

AIDS: Fact vs. Myth, Why the U.S. Government Treats AIDS Victims Like Criminals. Speaker: Lenore Holyon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-

Maurice Bishop and the Legacy of the Grenada Revolution. Speaker: Steve Clark, managing editor of New International and editor of Maurice Bishop Speaks; Akili Jabari, Black community activist, visited Grenada during revolution. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E. 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 461/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: YSA, P.O. Box 1645. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855. Stockton: YSA, c/o Ted Barratt and Gustavo Mendoza, 825 N. San Jose St. Zip: 95203. Tel: (209) 941-8544.

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St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065

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Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395. MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ 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.

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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) 398-2754. 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 Almeda. 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, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124. VIRGINIA: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box

6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA,
3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel:

(202) 797-7699, 797-7021. WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel:

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)

# -THE GREAT SOCIETY-

No gratitude — Guatemala rejected a donation of 10,000 tons of human feces sent by the Los Angeles city government, which said it had been processed for fertilizer. Mayor Bradley made the



Harry Ring

offer after L.A. was barred from further dumping of human waste into the Pacific. The Guatemalan ambassador had okayed the offer, but the country's Congress said no In the name of Jesus — "The Presbyterian Church in America has taken a stand backing the use of nuclear weapons to protect the United States from communism."

News item.

With justice for all — Anthony Clarizio, who was finishing off a jail term in a halfway house, was sent back to the pen for snacking on a bagel with poppy seeds. Poppy seeds are a no-no because in urine tests, as in Clarizio's, they

suggest the presence of morphine.

Officials agreed he hadn't used

morphine, but said rules are rules.

A coordinate — A reader ad-

vises that according to a TV prevue, the Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalog will offer a sable coat at \$290,000, alligator jeans at several thousand, and ostrich shoes at \$1,100.

Who-rips-off-who dep't — Don Towle, official of a Kansas company that insures banks, estimates that 80 percent of bank losses are due to internal embezzlement. "Robbery and forgery, these types of things, are peanuts," he said. And, he might have added, what officials steal from banks is peanuts compared to what banks steal from people.

Now we get it — A Bloomingdale's display window in New

York featured a dress by French designer Christian Lacroix priced at \$15,000. An onlooker, a former saleswoman, explained: "The point is to wear what people recognize as expensive."

It's all done with mirrors — According to statistics, for the past five years, the world imports of goods and services have exceeded its recorded exports by an average of \$80 billion a year. Pondering this, the London *Economist* notes that the words "figure" and "fictitious" have the same Latin root.

More genteel — We can remember when hard-pressed merchants would try to drag customers off the street. Now they have plas-

tic discs which emit various fragrances to entice you toward a particular product. For those who don't give a sniff, there's the Cam-Talker. Activated when you near an item, it gives a brief rap.

Michael Jackson he's not — One diocese is offering the carpeting from under the altar where the pope spoke. Others are taking repeat collections to cover the tour deficit. Crowds were thin and vendors did poorly — even the one offering popcorn.

Amen — During the papal visit, the mood of many was summed up by one San Francisco protester's placard: "Curb your dogma."

# Six-story mural will promote Pathfinder books

Continued from front page

world," Clark said.

In addition to its affiliate bookstores across this country, Pathfinder has distributors in Sydney, Australia, covering Asia and the Pacific; and in London, distributing to Europe and Africa. It is currently taking steps to expand its distribution in Canada.

"The purpose of the mural will be to promote Pathfinder and the books and pamphlets it publishes, using this creative medium," said Mike Alewitz, an artist and director of the project.

Funds are urgently needed for this international effort. The scaffolding alone costs just over \$14,000. "The scaffolding is an important part of the project and must last throughout the months it will take to complete the mural," said Cappy Kidd, a laid-off machinist who has volunteered to help obtain funds and sponsors for the project.

The nine levels of the scaffolding will be connected by an internal stair system from top to bottom. The work stations will have a fully covered plank floor, and rear safety guardrail. The entire structure will then be anchored to the wall of the building. "No corners have been cut. We want to ensure the safety of and best working conditions for the many artists and individuals who will be involved in this project," added Kidd.

## Theme of mural

The centerpiece of the mural will be a web printing press churning out books and pamphlets for fighting workers and farmers around the world. On the open pages of the books, as they roll off the press, are portraits of outstanding revolutionary leaders whose writings and speeches Pathfinder has published.

Among them are: Carlos Fonseca, founder of Marxism in Central America and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; Augusto César Sandino, Nicaragua's national hero; Grenadian revolutionary Maurice Bishop; Farabundo Martí, for whom El Salvador's revolutionary movement is named; Cuban communist leaders Che Guevara and Fidel Castro; South African revolutionary Nelson Mandela; Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the communist movement; and

Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of the communist movement in Germany in the early part of this century.

On the pages of one book is a group portrait of Russian communist leaders Nikolai Bukharin, V.I. Lenin, Karl Radek, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev, five of the Russian members of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Pathfinder's most ambitious current project is publication of a series of volumes entitled *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. It will be the most complete collection of the reports, resolutions, discussions, and background materials on the political events leading up to and during the early years of the Comintern.

The mural includes portraits of leaders of the working-class movement in the United States whose works are published by Pathfinder:

- Malcolm X, internationalist and revolutionary fighter for Black rights.
- Eugene V. Debs, leader of the early struggles of railroad workers and a founder of the Socialist Party.
- Mother Jones, a leading figure in the struggles of mine workers and a fighter for social change.
- James P. Cannon, an Industrial Workers of the World union organizer and a founding leader of the U.S. Communist Party in 1919.
- Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the battles to organize the Teamsters union in the 1930s.

Dobbs and Cannon were founders and central leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

At the base of the mural, there is a paper scroll. Printed on it in French, Spanish, and English is the slogan: "For a world without borders."

Interest in the writings and speeches published by Pathfinder has grown under the impact of political developments in the past three decades. These include: the civil rights movement, the fight against the U.S. war in Vietnam, the victory of the Cuban revolution, the fight for women's liberation, growing opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America, and resistance to union-busting and attacks on the rights of working people here at home.

The Cuban revolution and the victories of the 1979 Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions have produced revolutionary leaderships whose example is looked to by millions of working people around the world.

"All these developments, which have deeply changed U.S. and world politics, make a mural like this possible. Through it we can celebrate the role of the working-class press in the great social struggles of yesterday and today," said Pathfinder director Clark.

Pathfinder, along with its outlets and supporters in this country and around the world, is seeking a broad list of sponsors of the mural project.

Initial backers include exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus; folksinger Pete Seeger; Eva Cockcroft of Artmakers, Inc.; artist Rudolf Baranik; film director Nick Castle; singer-composer Roy Brown; Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro Ramos, Hartford 16 defendants; Brazilian jazz composer Thiago de Mello; and poet Sonia Sanchez.

Alewitz reports that artists from around the world — students, unionists, prisoners, and others — have been invited to participate in the project by providing sketches for the portraits that will appear. An exiled artist and activist from the African National Congress of South Africa has agreed to paint the mural portrait of Nelson Mandela.

Pathfinder expects to involve artists from Mexico, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, South Korea, Britain, South Africa, Cuba, Ireland, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, as well as from the United States.

"Where possible, the artists will come to the United States to paint directly on the wall. If that is not possible, their submissions will be reproduced by local artists," Alewitz said.

In the case of artists from Nicaragua, for example, it will take an organized effort to force the U.S. government to grant them a visa to come to this country.

"This is a project in which everyone can help. You can lend your name as a sponsor, donate funds, artwork, or other materials," he added.

Organizers of the project are also telling Pathfinder's neighbors, political activists, and organizations in the area about the mural and soliciting their support. Some individuals from Westbeth, a nearby residence for artists, have expressed interest in helping on the mural.

The *Militant* will carry regular coverage of the progress of the mural project.

Tax deductible contributions can be made out to Anchor Foundation. To send funds or get more information write to: Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y., 10014.

# –10 AND 25 YEARS AGO

# THE MILITANT

Oct. 7, 1977

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — A major steel plant closed. Five thousand workers "terminated." And fear, anger, and confusion spread through this grimy steel-based city.

Fear that more jobs are in jeopardy.

Anger that the company has so casually

blighted thousands of lives.

Confusion about who is to blame and what — if anything — can be done.

On September 19 Youngstown Sheet & Tube announced the shutdown of nearly all

The shutdown has proceeded swiftly. Already the last three open-hearth furnaces have been closed, one of two blast furnaces blown out, and the blooming mill silenced. Already 900 steelworkers are jobless. The remainder will be fired over the next three or four weeks.

Youngstown Sheet & Tube is also closing some operations at its Brier Hill plant here, firing another 100 employees. U.S. Steel has announced 200 layoffs at its Youngstown plant. In southern Ohio, Armco Steel announced the layoff of more than 600 workers at its Middletown plant.

The new basic steel contract signed last April was supposed to enhance "job security." Steel union officials boasted they had won a \$300-a-month pension supplement in the event of plant shutdowns — at least for certain high-seniority workers.

But the steel companies insist this provision does not take effect until next January and that the new benefits will not apply to the thousands of workers now losing their jobs.

OCT. 3 — If America's youth want a hero really worthy of emulation, they don't have to look into outer space or back to the legends of the old West. They need only look to the modern South, to Oxford, Mississippi, to James Howard Meredith. For it was this 29-year-old student who made the

Oct. 8, 1962

There are many forces in the Mississippi drama, but the racists' main hope of stopping the integration of the University of Mississippi lay in getting Meredith to quit.

racist clique that rules Mississippi back

The judges in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals could not have done less than order Meredith admitted to "Ole Miss." If they hadn't, they would have destroyed the image of the federal courts. President John Kennedy could not have done less than he did — or later than he did it.

The 10,000 federal troops which now ring the university town are simply following orders. The federal marshals, the representatives of the Department of Justice, the federal bodyguards surrounding Meredith as he goes from class to class, are simply doing their jobs.

The whole gigantic operation of the federal government — finally confronting the Mississippi racists and forcing them to yield a point — depends, in more than a symbolic sense, on the cool courage of one young Negro.

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# Contras urged to give up war

## Continued from front page

radio and television to encourage families to contact relatives in Honduras, and then to meet them at the border. Local priests and other prominent individuals also broadcast appeals urging the contras to return home under the amnesty program.

Kaufmann added that the Honduran government had never confirmed its willingness to allow the open-border encounter, and only at the last minute had the commission decided to go ahead with the trip.

"It was really the people who decided," he said. "More than 1,500 signed up to go from Estelí alone. They told us that they didn't care if it was official or not, they wanted to go."

The commission now plans to organize trips to the border every Saturday.

Early reports indicated that dozens decided to repatriate themselves, and that final totals for the day could be much higher. However, many who came to the gathering were not yet ready to return.

I saw four women talking earnestly to a young man while trying to lead him by the arms to the Nicaraguan side. After a minute however, he broke loose and returned to Honduras.

Kaufmann said he had gone into Honduras and spoken with contras in the crowd.

"They expressed a desire to return, but they don't have the confidence to do so yet," he said. "But I'm confident that after a few more visits like this, they will take amnesty and come home."

# Support paperworkers' struggle

At their September 23 meeting, paperworkers on strike in Jay, Maine, decided to become "labor ambassadors" in a campaign to spread the word about their battle against the takeback demands of International Paper Co.

This decision provides an opening for the union movement throughout North America to throw its weight into building solidarity with the paperworkers' fight.

On strike against the industry giant since June 16, the Jay fighters stand shoulder to shoulder with other members of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) who are resisting IP's concession demands in De Pere, Wisconsin; Mobile, Alabama; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and Corinth, New York.

They join workers in other pulp and paper, and container plants in North America on the frontlines of the fight against takebacks today. This includes members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers at IP's mill in Gardiner, Oregon, and members of the Canadian Paperworkers Union on strike at Great Lakes Forest Products Ltd. in Thunder Bay, Ontario.

After numerous takebacks this past decade at IP and the other companies, these unionists have begun to say no. For their defiance of the employers, they are confronted with scab herding by professional strikebreaking outfits and the threat of permanent job loss.

They also face injunctions against picketing, and harassment, and violent attacks and arrests by local and state cops. And in the case of Maine paperworkers, probes by the bosses to expand the activity of the laborhating, racist Ku Klux Klan to whip up divisions among

At International Paper in Jay, workers know acceptance of the company's takebacks would mean the loss of several thousand dollars a year for each worker. It would also signify crippling blows to seniority and safety.

That would be the price of IP's "Project Productivity," a plan that would force Jay workers to learn many different jobs, be rotated at the company's discretion, and be subjected to demotion to the lower-paid general labor pool if they fail to master the various assignments to the satisfaction of the boss.

The battle against IP already enjoys considerable support. The weekly union meetings and rallies in Jay have solidified the strikers and helped make that town a center of union activity in Maine. The Jay fight has inspired solidarity in the labor movement, in the community, and on college campuses across the state.

The announcement to have the Jay strikers become "labor ambassadors" takes place in this context.

Union locals across the United States and Canada will welcome strikers from Jay, Lock Haven, or one of the other IP plants. These visits can be the focus of fund-raising efforts and public meetings in which the strikers tell their story

And union delegations from all over North America that visit Jay or Lock Haven to meet strikers and attend their weekly meetings will return home armed with the facts about the paperworkers' fight.

Efforts such as these can be of use in mounting a massive campaign to bring news of the paperworkers' struggle to workers and farmers. They can help focus a spotlight on IP's scab herding, its union-busting, and pollution of the environment.

The paperworkers stand with meat-packers; coal miners; frozen food workers in Watsonville, California; farm workers in Washington state; and others who are increasingly unwilling to accept the bosses demands without a fight.

Active solidarity with the IP strikers can make a difference in a battle whose outcome is of vital interest to all union members in North America.

# Pope's dictates meet resistance

For the Vatican hierarchy, the pope's 10-day swing through the United States was a major political move to counter growing resistance to church policy.

A top Vatican adviser to John Paul II told a New York Times reporter that in the United States "the church faces some of its most difficult problems."

The implications of this, he added, "extend to the rest of the world.'

The importance attached to the tour was reflected in the prodigious expenses involved for the host parishes.

A 36-hour visit to New Orleans cost an estimated \$2.4 million. In San Antonio, \$1 million was spent on an outdoor mass. For a seven-hour stop in Monterey, California, the tab was \$2 million. In all, an estimated \$30 million in church and public money was spent.

Yet despite the scope of the tour buildup, and its expense, almost everywhere the crowds were smaller than expected.

And the protest of many basic church policies was for-

The depth of the hierarchy's problems was reflected in some of the widely reported polls and statistical findings relating to Catholics.

- About 20 percent of those brought up as Catholics no longer consider themselves adherents of the faith.
- Since 1966, the Catholic population has increased by 14 percent. But there are now 4,000 fewer priests.
- Fifty-five percent of priests believe they should have the right to marry.
- Among church members 66 percent think Catholics should be able to divorce and remarry within the church.
- Fifty-six percent favor women becoming priests.
- Some 64 percent favor artificial methods of birth control.
- In a New York poll, 61 percent said homosexual Catholics should not be denied sacraments.
- Fifty-six percent rejected the church stand forbidding abortions under any circumstances
- Fifty-seven percent felt priests should have the right to publicly dissent from church policy on these issues.

In a hard-nosed response, the pope told a Washington Post reporter that public opinion does not run the church.

"The Catholic Church," he explained, "is not a democratic institution; it's an institution governed by Jesus Christ, a theocratic one."

Throughout the nine-city tour, John Paul's demeanor was benign, but his stand was implacable. When a priest

spoke out on the need to end the celibacy policy, the pope told him to love Jesus.

When a woman protested the church's denial of women's rights, he spoke of motherhood.

Indeed, a New York Times reporter noted, "Traveling across the nation, the pope has chosen not to address the dynamics of ferment in his church here. . . . The pope has not entered the debate. He wants it to stop."

When he bluntly declared that dissent from church dogma on divorce, remarriage, celibacy, birth control, and abortion is incompatible with being "a good Catholic," a science professor at Georgetown University, a Catholic institution, responded, "This relegates the Catholic thinker and scientist to the sideline." He added, "There are many of us who don't care to be there."

Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice, which favors women making their own decisions on reproductive issues, declared: "He has mobilized women to join together to make common cause, to struggle against Vatican attempts to oppress all women — Catholic and non-Catholic alike."

And the placard of one protester in San Francisco declared simply: "Curb your dogma."

The ferment within the church - embracing lay members, nuns, and priests - reflects big changes in the attitudes of working people in this country as a result of the gains in democratic and civil rights in the past several

The civil rights movement played the main role in this and gave an impetus to struggles of other oppressed nationalities, the battle for women's rights, and other so-

The massive movement against the Vietnam War also helped shake up social and political attitudes.

These struggles had a deep, enduring impact on all segments of society, including Catholics.

Many members of the church, and nuns and priests as well, supported these movements, and many became actively involved. That inevitably led to a questioning of church dogma.

Today the social problems created by capitalism grow deeper. There are persistent government efforts to roll back the social gains of the '60s. The workers' movement is the target of unrelenting employer attack. And there is the vital issue of Washington's war drive in Central America.

All of these combine to rekindle and deepen social consciousness among working people, farmers, and

The defiance of the pope's arrogant defense of church dogma reflects this process.

# Moscow discusses lifting curtain on Soviet history

BY DOUG JENNESS

One feature of the new policy of glasnost, or openness, in the Soviet Union is the debate on history that has been unleashed. Ever since the days of Joseph Stalin, Soviet history has been written as if certain historical events and political figures never existed. Or if some personalities are referred to, it is only with the slander that they have committed assassinations, sabotage, or spying on behalf of imperialist governments.

Today, under the regime of Mikhail Gorbachev, this policy is seen by many in official circles as an obstacle to

# **LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM**

relaxing the rules on cultural and literary expression.

Much of the discussion centers on the preparation of a new textbook on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). A synopsis of a recent report on the proposed new history was published in the July 26-August 2 Moscow News, a weekly published in English, French, and German.

The report noted that an old Bolshevik leader, Ivan Smilga, was recently rehabilitated, and charges that he was a state criminal were lifted.

Smilga, a central committee member of the Bolshevik Party at the time of the October 1917 revolution, was expelled from the party in 1927 for his participation in the opposition led by Leon Trotsky. This opposition attempted to continue Leninist policies when the Communist Party, the Soviet state, and the Communist International under Stalin's leadership began abandoning this course.

Smilga left the opposition in 1929 and engaged in economic planning work. He disappeared, without trial or confession, at the time of the Moscow purge trials.

The Moscow News synopsis adds, "Many Party functionaries well merit a civic rehabilitation since they had not been spies, assassins or agents of foreign intelligence services, but all of them had been convicted on precisely such charges.'

Three of the most outstanding figures in Soviet history fitting this description are Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev. All three were leading members of the Bolshevik Party at the time of the October 1917 revolution. They were central leaders of the young Soviet state and of the Communist International during the years V.I. Lenin was alive. Lenin died in

Bukharin was expelled from the CPSU in 1929 for opposing Stalin. Despite his capitulation, he was framed up and executed in the 1938 Moscow trial.

Trotsky was expelled from the CPSU in 1927 and forced into exile for fighting to carry on the policies of Lenin. During the Moscow purge trials he was the principal frame-up victim in absentia, and was charged with collaborating with the Nazi regime in Germany. He was murdered by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico City in 1940.

Zinoviev, who for a short time joined with Trotsky in the late 1920s to fight to continue a Leninist course, was also expelled from the party. Despite recanting his views, he was tried and executed at the first big Moscow trial in

Not a single scrap of evidence was ever produced showing that these three leaders nor hundreds of others ever committed a criminal action against the Soviet

There is some evidence today that there are voices in the Soviet bureaucracy favoring legitimizing discussion about these significant communist figures.

In an article in the September 20-27 Moscow News, Yuri Afanasyev, head of the Moscow State Institute of Historian-Archivists, noted that "at practically all my lectures I'm asked: 'What is your approach to Bukharin'? He replied that Bukharin's existence can't be denied.

The summary of the CPSU history cited earlier explained that in addition to publishing a new text, collections of historical materials are needed with articles and speeches presenting different views. As a positive example, the report cited a Reader on Leninism, published in 1925, that contained articles by Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, and others.

The July 12 Izvestia, a Soviet government daily, launched a column on the history of the October 1917 revolution. Its first feature, "The First Government," lists the Bolshevik leaders who held posts in it. "L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)" is included, without any of the customary slanderous comments.

On September 27 Sovetsakaya Rossiya ran a full-page article on Trotsky, which is virtually unprecedented treatment for this revolutionary communist leader.

No consideration is being given to rehabilitating the political views of Trotsky and the other communist leaders of Lenin's time. But if the Soviet CPSU does recognize that these revolutionary figures were not criminals and agents of imperialist powers and legitimizes talking about them, it will open the door to a more objective discussion of their views, not only in the USSR, but among communists throughout the world.

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# Garment workers on clothing industry contract

BY MARK EMANATIAN

BOSTON - The contract between the Clothing Manufacturers Association and the 47,000-member Clothing Division of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union expired September 30.

Workers in the clothing division produce expensive suits, top coats, and pants. Despite the skills required,

# **UNION TALK**

union garment workers are among the lowest-paid unionized industrial workers.

The approach of the deadline stirred angry discussions about the last contract among garment workers in some

The previous agreement is now viewed by most union members as a terrible contract. It included lump-sum pay 'bonuses" instead of an increase in the hourly or piece rates. Some shops never got the bonuses.

'We shouldn't have taken it then and we won't take it this time," is the kind of comment many workers make about the bonus gimmick where I work.

Under the contract, workers aren't paid when their machines are down or work is unavailable.

One worker said, "Our medical benefits were supposed to be improved. What a mess that turned out to be. Not only doesn't it pay for the doctor or medicine, it doesn't even pay for the whole hospital bill." Workers and their families are left to foot a large part of the bill or do without needed health care.

The last contract was voted up by a 95 percent majority, without a fight and with little discussion. Most people thought that if we wanted to hold onto our jobs, we had no choice but to accept takebacks so the company could increase its profits. The employers claimed that what forced them to demand takebacks from us was foreign imports, not their drive for more profits at our ex-

Since the last contract more than 10,000 workers have lost their jobs and conditions have become a lot tougher.

Workers in the clothing division have not had a wage increase in four years, but the employers had their most profitable year of the decade.

We all feel we have learned a few things. Some workers in Boston, New Bedford, Lawrence, and surrounding areas say that we shouldn't allow the contract to be extended this time, as happened in the last negotiations. They say things like, "We want this settled now. If we wait, the companies will have the goods in the stores."

Our union is demanding a real wage increase, a health plan brought up to national standards, and reduction of the number of years of work required for pension and vacation benefits. The union negotiators say they will not accept the lump sums as a substitute.

The Clothing Manufacturers Association is offering a 1 percent wage hike and demanding more takebacks. A cutter I work with said, "The cost of living goes up 10 percent and they give us 1 percent. What do they think

The CMA demands eliminating the provision guaranteeing new hires 25 cents more than the minimum wage, basing vacation pay on 2 percent of the employee's annual straight-time earnings, mandatory overtime, a twotier system for wages and holidays, and the right to con-

A woman who has worked in the shop for years summed up what most of us felt. "We're human beings, not dogs or machines. They treat the machines better. There's no way we can accept this.'

The sentiment in the shop I work in and among many workers in the region whom I've spoken to is that we won't win anything unless we fight. How to do that is what we are discussing now.

Mark Emanatian is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 4HD.



# LETTERS

#### Bork

After watching the Bork testimony, I've discovered he's really not the critical issue in this story. He may or may not be a racist. He may actually believe in a certain interpretation of the law that more often than not places him on the right side of the political spectrum.

But remember, a libertarian is not necessarily a racist if he believes in dismantling certain social programs. He may simply believe in smaller government. We're getting too caught up in personalities.

The problem is not with Bork, it's with the Constitution itself. Any document that's so vague it lends itself to such opposite interpretations has to go. It's the Constitution itself that allows the Bork types to make the decisions they

Just the amount of changes that have been made since it was first written should be a clue. Would you patch a tire that many times? There's certainly nothing to be proud of in a document written by upper class slave owners who wrote a document for white, free

The Constitution was so exclusive that in one part of the proceedings Bork and the panel were discussing a portion of the document that no one has been able to figure out the meaning of! Jeff Chern

Dallas, Texas

## **General Dynamics**

General Dynamics' Fort Worth Division and the more than 10,000-member International Association of Machinists Local 776 began contract negotiations on September 8. The negotiations come on the heels of the defeated IAM strike against General Dynamics' Convair and Space divisions in San Diego, reported in the September 18 Militant.

In November 1984 IAM Local 776 carried out a militant threeweek strike, and members here expect to have to go out again when the contract expires on November 9, especially in light of GD's union-busting tactics in San

Diego. Some of the same corporate officials from GD headquarters in St. Louis that helped carry out the company attack in San Diego are working as company negotiators in Fort Worth.

In the plant the membership is beginning to prepare for a strike. Most members in the plant are wearing buttons that read, "Let's do it again — why not — #1 union contract."

Bob Bruce Fort Worth, Texas

# Capital punishment

On August 28 Pierre Dale Selby was executed at the Utah State Penitentiary by lethal injection.

Selby, a Black man, was convicted of rape and of murdering three people during the robbery of a hi-fi shop in Ogden, Utah. As your excellent article of September 18 stated, he had fought for his life for 13 years

On September 16, almost three weeks later, Fillmore, Utah, Judge George Baliff sentenced George Welsey Hamilton, a white man, to a prison term of five years to life. Hamilton was convicted of kidnapping, rape, mutilation, and murder. He had picked up the victim, Sharon Sant, while she was hitchhiking from Southern Utah State College in Cedar City.

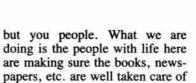
It is interesting to note that the Selby story made the front page of the Salt Lake Tribune for weeks while the story of Hamilton's sentencing was found in the local news pages in the back of the same newspaper. I and (hopefully) a lot of other Utah folks have received a lesson on the racism of capital punishment.

John Michael Eggertsen Salt Lake City, Utah

# **Educational cause**

We prisoners here would like the Militant and Pathfinder Press to know that all your books, newspapers, etc. are being used and stored with care. Everyone is getting a chance to read the material and study it as we have our discussions and points of view.

We are in a high security unit, so we have no library, no nothing



and properly loaned out. might help us in our educational cause, by way of books, newspapers, etc.

A prisoner Tehachapi, California

## Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev's effort through glasnost (openness) and perestroika (reconstruction) to solve Russia's economic, social, and political discontent point to a glaring question: Can the bureaucratic regimes in Russia, Eastern Europe, and China — undemocratically empowered and ruling by - solve the needs of their people?

I do not think a return to limited free enterprise is the answer. It will only result in further anarchy in production, increased spread in incomes, and become a further threat to socialized, planned production and distribution, the goal of socialism.

What is needed in those countries is a return to socialist democracy, not a more liberal "Stalinized" bureaucracy. What is needed What we would like is to know is the establishment of workers' of any other organization that democracy wherein people can become participants in policy-making through exercising the right of forming political parties and fielding socialist solutions and candidates, other than the bureaucratic, self-centered, one-party regime now governing in "socialist" countries.

The workers in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and China have tried and are struggling to gain real socialist democracy, which would eliminate the mismanagement and crisis of the bureaucratic regimes.

Joseph Carroll Newark, New Jersey

# **AIDS**

If memory serves me, I saw an article on U.S. government testing of biological and chemical warfare agents. In addition, I believe the Soviets have made statements about AIDS and the possible release (accidental?) of a causal agent.

What is known of this potential, and if used as a biochemical weapon could current information on the spread of AIDS be explained in this way? M.E.

Denver, Colorado

# Clean up

I enjoy reading your paper. It has broadened my knowledge about what is taking place in the world and the best way we can clean up: get rid of the problems that the racist, corrupt imperialist system has created in the world. We can bring about a state of equality, unity, and peace within humanity, regardless of race, sex, creed, and national origin. A prisoner

Comstock, New York

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.



Bill Day

# THE MILITANT

# British miners: Stop S.Africa coal!

#### BY FRED STANTON

SHEFFIELD, England - More than 400 delegates met in Sheffield City Hall September 19 for a conference organized by Britain's National Union of Mineworkers and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The meeting launched a campaign against the use of South African coal.

Participants included 103 delegates from the miner's union and Women Against Pit Closures, 126 from other unions, 84 from local anti-apartheid groups, and 91 from the Labour Party and other organizations.

The conference took place on the eve of the mine union's overtime ban, a job action aimed at forcing the management of Britain's nationalized coal industry into negotiations on a new code of conduct it is trying to impose in the mines.

Keynote speakers were Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the British equivalent of the AFL-

Unable to attend was Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa. Scargill opened the conference by reporting that the South African government had banned Ramaphosa from traveling unless he obtained a passport from one of the Black "homelands" the apartheid regime has created. To have done so would have laid the basis to strip Ramaphosa of his South African citizenship. He would have been forced into becoming an alien in the land of his birth, unable to function as a national union leader.

Ramaphosa held firm in his demand for a South African passport. On the eve of the conference, in response to an international campaign by the TUC and others, Pretoria was forced to promise him a passport. Ramaphosa then sent word that as soon as he received it, he would come to Sheffield to speak.

# Aid to South African miners

Scargill described the aid campaign British unions had organized recently in support of the South African miners' strike.

He called on conference participants to put into operation the "demands of our brothers and sisters in South Africa for sanctions against their regime and for sanctions that affect the importation of South

He described the "slavery" conditions that exist in South Africa's mines. Some 48,000 Blacks have died in South African mines in this century. Black miners are separated from their families most of the time and are paid one-eighth the wages of white miners.

"Twenty-one million tons of South African coal are pouring into Europe produced by slave labor," Scargill said.

"South Africa gets its lifeblood from exporting coal, diamonds, and gold," he

He applauded the dock workers in Liverpool who recently refused to handle uranium from the South African colony of Namibia.

TUC head Norman Willis debunked claims by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that sanctions against South African coal would hurt South African miners.

Betty Heathfield, a leader of Women Against Pit Closures, an organization of miners' wives and other women that was formed during the 1984-85 miners' strike, also addressed the conference.

"It was cheap South African coal that helped keep our pits going during the strike," Heathfield said. She saluted the struggle of South African women against apartheid.

Speakers from the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), African National Congress (ANC), and South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) discussed the relationship between the struggles in southern Africa and those of workers in Britain.

Francis Meli of the ANC said the British anti-apartheid movement is "not just helping us to rid that country of colonialism. You are actually helping yourselves, because as long as colonialism exists in South Africa, you are chained by imperialism in this part of the world."

"We need your support," Meli emphasized. "You can only support us if you know us, and you can only know us if we tell you the truth. International solidarity is not aiding a distant people. It is about your daily lives in Sheffield — not tomorrow, but today.'

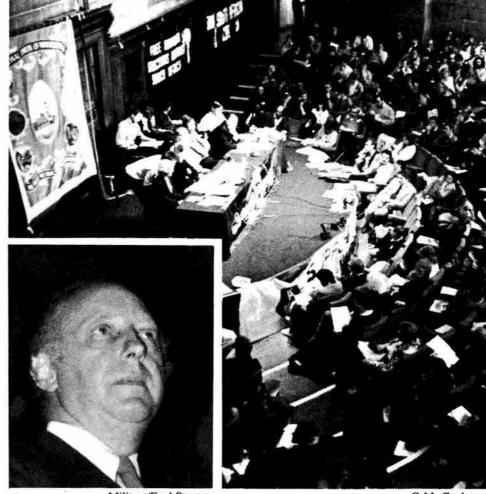
The eyes of the people in South Africa are on this conference. The demand for sanctions comes from within South Africa itself," said Mate Diseko from SACTU.

SWAPO representative Panduleni Itula predicted that the conference would send "shock waves" to the racist regime in Pretoria because it showed workers in Britain mean business in the fight for sanctions against South African coal.

Conference delegates adopted a program of education and action against South African coal. Central to launching this campaign will be the October 24 national antiapartheid demonstration in London.

Delegates also included support for the boycott of Shell Oil products in their list of demands. The United Mine Workers of America is a major sponsor of the Shell

Fred Stanton is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1522 in Washing-



Militant/Fred Stanton G.M. Cookson

Conference initiated campaign against using South African coal exports. Inset, NUM President Arthur Scargill speaks to delegates.

# Maine paperworkers' 'ambassadors' will spread the truth about strike

## BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — More than 1,200 striking paperworkers and their supporters roared their approval when United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 President Bill Meserve announced that the local would be sending its members to union locals, churches, and community and student groups across the United States to get out the truth about the strikers' battle against International Paper.

The proposal was made at the regular Wednesday union meeting here September 23. The 1,200 members of Local 14 and of the Firemen and Oilers Local 246 went on strike against IP on June 16.

The new campaign, Meserve said in an interview after the meeting, will start immediately with "a massive education of our local membership — a program to provide them with data and information so they'll be ambassadors of their local.

"They will be ambassadors to organized labor to tell what IP has been doing to us and paperworkers across the country.'

Meserve said the regular Friday benefit check pick up at the Local 14 union hall would serve as the kick-off to the campaign. Members will sign up to call union locals, seeking to address membership meetings, get media exposure, and speak to audiences who want to hear about the paperworkers' fight against employer efforts to cripple union labor in the paper in-

Many workers expressed enthusiasm about the idea. "I've never talked to a group, but I'm ready," one striker said. "I've got some time on my hands and I'm ready to go on the road."

## Pine Bluff settlement

On September 22 two UPIU locals at the IP mill in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, voted to accept a series of givebacks demanded by

A rejection of the company offer and a

strike by the Arkansas workers could have added muscle to the national fight of IP workers, further denting the paper giant's production capacity and pressuring it to draw back a step from its offensive.

As news of the vote reached Jay, scabs in IP's Androscoggin Mill taunted pickets with catcalls about Pine Bluff, flashing thumbs up and V-for-victory signs at the

strikers. Local 14 then mobilized 300 pickets across the Androscoggin River bridge in response to the strikebreakers.

As the union meeting began, the usually high-spirited mood seemed slightly sub-

A number of strikers indicated, however, that the disappointment would not Continued on Page 6

# Residents protest Klan presence in Me.

## BY RUSSELL DAVIS

RUMFORD, Maine — Meetings were held here and in five other Maine towns September 26 to protest a planned Ku Klux Klan rally in Rumford. The largest was held at Rumford High School where 300 people heard speakers from local civic, religious, and veterans' organizations. State Attorney General James Tierney voiced opposition to the Klan's presence.

An estimated 275 people attended an anti-Klan meeting in Portland, and 100 gathered in Auburn.

The Maine Council of Churches, Maine National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Jewish Federation of Southern Maine, and National Organization for Women were among the groups that called the anti-Klan meetings.

A high point of the Rumford meeting were the remarks of a South African student, who compared the Klan to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Many residents of this area are farmers or paperworkers. The Klan was last active in this area in the 1920s, when it was used to terrorize immigrants and paper mill workers. Residents here have not forgot-

The Rumford meeting was attended primarily by people from the area, along with students from Goddard College in Vermont, the University of Maine, and nearby Bates College.

Rocky Haynes, a representative of Utility Workers Local 497, at the Yankee nuclear power plant in Maine, was one of the unionists who attended. Haynes, who has been organizing solidarity with striking paperworkers in Jay, linked the Klan's planned action in Rumford to bad feelings stemming from last year's bitter strike at the Boise Cascade paper mill there. The union is still trying to get many union workers reinstated. Hundreds of former scabs work in the plant.

Some 20 Klan supporters gathered at a farm 15 miles from Rumford and burned a 20-foot white cross. James Farrands, imperial wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, said the Klan sought to keep Blacks out of Maine.

At the conclusion of the anti-Klan meeting in Rumford, about 150 people mostly local residents - gathered on property adjoining the Klan rally site to continue the protest. One farmer burned a straw figure that he said symbolized the Klan. Local farmers dumped manure around the Klan site. Heated exchanges between the protesters and Klan supporters lasted into the night.

Residents said they saw only one Klan member from Rumford. The rest had come from out of state, some from as far away as