

## Howard Beach lynchers convicted

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — Pandemonium broke loose in the courtroom December 21 when, after 12 days of deliberation, the jury in the Howard Beach lynching gave its decision.

Guilty of manslaughter, but not of murder, was the verdict for three members of the white mob that one year ago chased one stranded Black motorist to his death and beat another so seriously he required hospital treatment.

Complete acquittal was handed to the fourth gang member on trial, Michael Pirone.

Scott Kern, Jason Ladone, and Jon Lester were found guilty of lesser charges of manslaughter, assault, and conspiracy.

Aquittal on murder means the three now have the prospect of vastly reduced sentences — perhaps as little as a year and a half of actual jail time if they are treated as "youthful offenders."

Hundreds packed the courtroom. Many more watched the proceedings on TV — for the first time broadcast live on several local channels.

Many elected and appointed officials, both Black and white, hailed the verdict, arguing it at least found the lynch-mob members guilty of something. "While people can differ with the verdict," Mayor Edward Koch said, "I think they have to accept it as fair and reasonable, even if they differ."

In initial reaction, however, even the state commissioner on human rights, Douglas White, was compelled to com-

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## Palestine freedom fight rocks Israeli occupation

BY HARRY RING

A historic new stage in the fight for Palestinian liberation opened when hundreds of thousands of Arabs living within Israel staged a massive general strike in solidarity with the embattled people of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The *Jerusalem Post*, a major Israeli paper, described the development as "the first stages of a civil uprising."

All sectors of the Israeli economy were hit by the general strike.

In the port city of Haifa, a reported 10,000 of the city's 12,000 Palestinian workers stayed off the job.

Virtually all of the 140,000 West Bank and Gaza Strip residents who commute to jobs in Israel stayed home.

The Palestinians who are counted on to operate Israeli sewing machines, remove garbage, wait on tables, dig ditches, and lay bricks were not there.

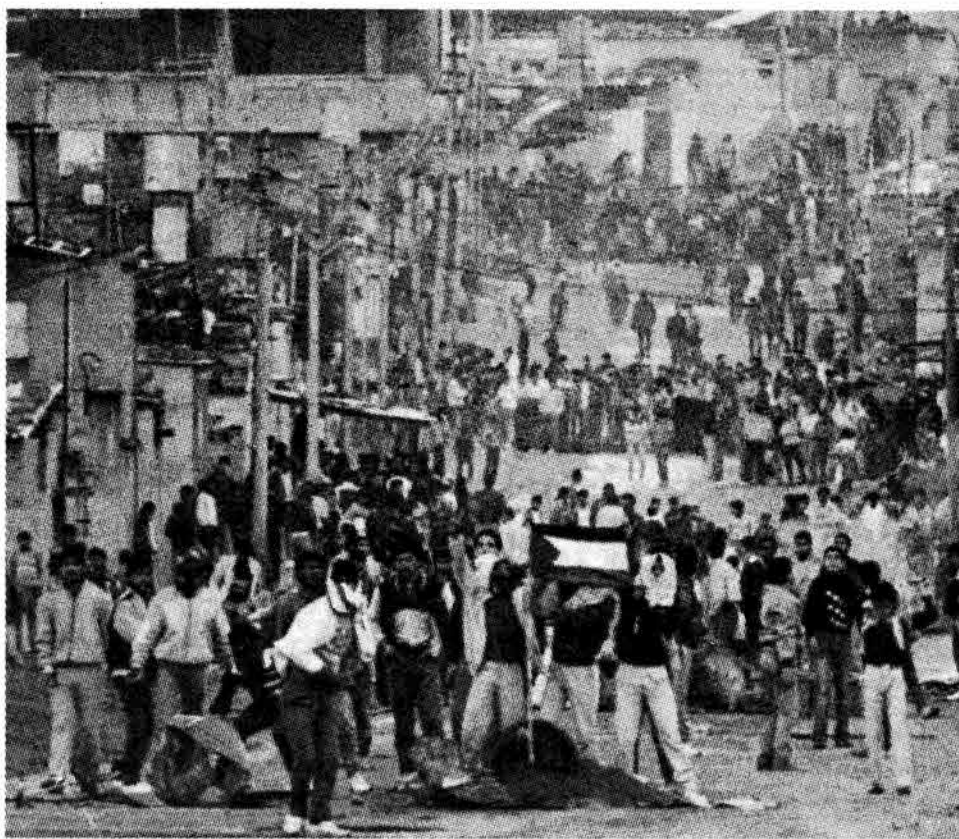
Throughout the Galilee area, where most Palestinians in Israel live, everything was shut down.

In one town, Umm al Fahm, 3,000 demonstrators blocked a main highway. Cops responded with tear gas. The Palestinian sector of Jerusalem was described as almost empty.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where a general strike was already in progress, Palestinian youth blocked major highways, bringing everything to a halt. Two days before Christmas, Bethlehem was reported as looking like a ghost town.

"I can't remember that kind of thing ever happening before," a worried Israeli official said.

For 40 years, Palestinians in Israel have been a victimized minority. When the United Nations carved up Palestine in 1947, handing the greater part to the Zionist settlers, those Palestinians who were not driven out became second-class



Protesters battle Israeli soldiers in occupied Gaza Strip. Palestinian youth are in forefront of uprising against oppression.

citizens, at best, in their homeland.

They suffer racist abuse and job discrimination. A Palestinian earns 67 cents for every dollar paid an Israeli.

They are denied decent homes, schools, and health care. The Palestinian infant mortality rate is double the Israelis'.

In the Gaza Strip and West Bank, seized by Israel in its 1967 war against Arab neighbors, Palestinians live under military rule and are denied all basic rights.

People are jailed without charges. Political "undesirables" are deported.

Political movements, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, which enjoys majority support, are banned. Antioccupation strikes and demonstrations are illegal.

Economic development has been thwarted. Denied land and without industry, large numbers of Gaza Strip and West Bank workers must commute to Israel for jobs. As with immigrant workers in apartheid South Africa, they must be out by sundown. It's illegal to stay overnight.

A majority of Gaza Strip residents still dwell in UN-operated "refugee" camps. An Israeli study described health conditions as "catastrophic."

The oppression has spurred implacable resistance. The jailings and deportations have not quelled the political resistance. The truncheons, tear gas, and gunfire have not stopped the strikes and demonstrations.

The present battle in the occupied territories erupted December 8. The spark came when a big army semitrailer used for hauling tanks slammed into two vans carrying Palestinian workers back from Israel. Four of them were killed and seven injured.

Four thousand people in the area attended a funeral for the victims. The protest rapidly spread.

The bloody Israeli response has resulted in scores dead, several hundred wounded, and countless jailings. This has stiffened the resistance, with women and older men rallying behind the youth, who defy the volleys of gunfire in the cause of Palestinian liberation.

The first area of Israel proper to be hit by the protest was the city of Jerusalem.

Israel had grabbed East Jerusalem from Jordan in the 1967 war. But unlike the West Bank and Gaza, East Jerusalem was annexed directly into Israel, despite international objection.

Now, on December 19, Palestinian youths struck hard and fast. Tires, garbage bins, anything available was used to build flaming street barricades. Police attacks were answered with volleys of rocks.

Windows were smashed at four Israeli banks. At Barclay's, computers were smashed and records destroyed.

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## Congress votes \$14 million to contras

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Senate and House of Representatives voted December 21 to provide up to \$14.4 million to continue funding the contra war against Nicaragua until February, when a vote is to be taken on still additional funding.

The measure was part of a \$600 billion appropriation for government operations for the remainder of the fiscal year. The appropriations measure was adopted by a narrow, bipartisan majority in the House and a wider one in the Senate.

The law designates some of the aid as "nonlethal," but it all goes to aid the armed contra bands. Its purpose is to intensify the pressure on Nicaragua by sustaining and, if possible, heightening the capacity of the contras to kill and destroy.

President Ronald Reagan had threatened to veto the budget bill and keep Congress in session during the Christmas holidays if the aid to the contras was not approved. Following the vote, Congress adjourned until the new year.

Speaker of the House James Wright, who has voiced opposition to contra funding, portrayed the measure as an acceptable compromise. "You do the best you can do under the circumstances," he said. "It was the best we could do."

The kind of operations Washington is paying for was highlighted on December 21 when a Nicaraguan civilian plane carrying commercial cargo to Panama was hit by a U.S.-supplied Redeye anti-aircraft missile fired by contra forces. After hitting the

plane, the contras opened fire on it with machine guns. It was forced to land in Costa Rica.

This was the second time the contras have fired on civilian aircraft over Nicaragua. The first incident was on December 3. The latest attack signals a potentially deadly threat to passenger flights and all other civilian air traffic.

The latest funding is a significant increase in the amount of money flowing to the contra war.

In addition to the \$3.6 million required to finance the contras at the current rate, the measure provides another \$4.5 million to cover the cost of delivering supplies, including arms and ammunition, and new electronic equipment to combat anti-aircraft missiles.

The Defense Department will also supply the contras with \$3.5 million in anti-aircraft equipment. And up to \$2.8 million will be provided to indemnify the owners of aircraft that may be lost or damaged in transporting supplies.

Flights supposedly bringing "nonlethal" supplies to the contras will be allowed to bring them arms and other military equipment.

**'Keep up the pressure'**

Continued funding of the contra war was called for in editorials in both the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. "Keep applying the pressure," urged the *Post* on December 20.

To cut off funding, the *Times* warned,

"would remove the one pressure point that seems to burden President Daniel Ortega and the other comandantes."

A day before the final vote on aiding the contras, the terrorists launched an attack on three villages in the gold-mining area of Nicaragua, located in an isolated part of Nicaragua's northern Atlantic Coast.

Although the contras were driven out of Siuna, Rosita, and Bonanza after heavy fighting, high casualties were reported — most of them civilians.

Contra spokesman Bosco Matamoros said the purpose of the attacks, which he described as the biggest of the war, was to destroy Nicaragua's gold-processing installations. Thus the target of this attack, like almost all contra actions, was civilian.

The latest contra assault preceded the December 21 opening of another round of cease-fire talks between teams of negotiators representing the Nicaraguan government and the contras. The Nicaraguan government agreed to the talks, with Nicaraguan Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo acting as intermediary, as part of its efforts to implement the accords signed in August by five Central American heads of state, including Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

While the Nicaraguan government has taken many steps to implement the accords, Washington has insisted on ever more concessions, using its continued escalation of the war as a club. Although an end to all assistance to the contras is re-

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# Farmers meeting discusses credit, prices

## Bill passed by Congress "won't end the crisis by a longshot"

BY BOB MILLER

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Credit and fair prices were the top issues at a December 5-7 meeting of farmers here. The 90 participants included ranchers, and dairy, livestock, and grain farmers from 30 states.

The meeting was organized by the National Save the Family Farm Coalition (NSFFC), made up of more than 40 farm and rural organizations. Set up two years ago at a meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, the coalition supports price supports, supply management, a moratorium on foreclosures, and other measures it hopes will aid farmers.

In the long run, said Helen Waller, a Montana rancher who is president of the group, "the need for a fair price for commodities is the main issue."

"Right now," she added, "the credit fight on Capitol Hill has taken priority. We must ensure that farmers can stay on their land and have an opportunity to restructure their loans with realistic financing, not forced foreclosures."

The meeting began a day after the U.S. Senate passed its version of the Agricultural Credit Act amendments of 1987, aimed at bailing out the federal Farm Credit System (FCS), which was set up to make agricultural loans. A joint conference committee had been named to resolve the dif-

ferences between the House and Senate bills.

"In its present form," Waller said, "neither the House or Senate version of this legislation adequately provides for such things as interest rate reductions on FCS loans, releases of family living and farm operating expenses for accelerated Farmers Home Administration [FmHA] borrowers, affirmative action for minority farmers, to name only a few items." (Accelerated borrowers are those who have been placed in the last stages of the foreclosure process by the FmHA.)

"Provisions that would have benefited minority farmers and Native Americans are almost entirely absent from the bill," a coalition statement declared.

The meeting called for a campaign to pressure the conference committee into improving the legislation. Dairy farmer Cecil Huff said the amendments represent "the best possible opportunity to assist debt-ridden farmers by providing debt restructuring, homestead protection, and enhanced borrowers' rights."

The FCS now holds more than \$6 billion in delinquent loans. The FCS and the FmHA hold 3.5 million acres of foreclosed land.

"Farmers face a hell of a crisis," Roger Allison of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center told the *Militant*. "We've seen low com-

modity prices, high interest rates, and falling land values since the 1980s."

He added, "The banks got a lot with the Farm Credit Act, and we have to work hard and fight for a few reforms that will benefit us."

Merle Hansen, a Nebraska farmer who heads the North American Farm Alliance, said, "The credit bill will not solve the credit crisis by a longshot. You basically have to prove you don't need to borrow in order to get a loan. Following the stock market crash, the banks will be even more tight-fisted."

Ralph Paige of the Georgia-based Federation of Southern Cooperatives said that Black farmers were being hit hard in the South. Poultry and peanut farmers are doing better than most, he said, but there are virtually no farmers who are Black in those operations. Black farmers reportedly lose about 9,600 acres of farmland every week.

Farm commodity prices were the other big topic.

Dixon Terry, leader of the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, reported on a poll that the Iowa group cosponsored with the NSFFC. The poll showed, he said, that "farmers strongly disagree with the continual reduction of price supports and target prices in the 1985 farm bill."

Helen Waller said that while U.S. grain

exports were up 23 percent this year, "farmers received \$200 million less." She described the 1985 bill as "a subsidy for the grain corporations."

Dairy farmers are being hit the hardest, said Tom Quinn of the Wisconsin Farm Unity Coalition. Prices of milk have dropped \$1 this year to \$11.20 per 11 gallons and were expected to drop further.

The meeting resolved to launch a campaign for legislation to help dairy farmers.

Diana Buckland, a wheat farmer from Minnesota, told the *Militant* she sees a polarization on the land, with benefits from subsidies and other government programs going mostly to the wealthier farmers.

Darrell Ringer, a Kansas farmer who lost his land three years ago, told the meeting, "Ten years ago, we thought the problem was 'they didn't understand' in Washington. Now we know better." Behind the decisions being made on the farm debt and prices, he suggested, were big grain merchants such as Cargill.



Sheriff presides at auction of farm of Virgil and Eva Prewett (both at right) in Cherokee, Oklahoma.

## Farm bank bailout helps Wall St.

BY FRED FELDMAN

Last January, for the first time in 19 years, Joe and Betty Buck missed their payment to the Enid branch of the Federal Land Bank, part of the government Farm Credit System (FCS). They had run into problems due to a sudden drop in the price of beef, taking a loss of \$84,000 just as their \$61,000 payment came due.

Now bank officials have filed suit against the Bucks as part of foreclosing on their farm near Cherokee, Oklahoma.

But the Bucks and tens of thousands of farmers in similar situations won't get relief from Congress.

On December 19, the U.S. Senate voted 85-2 to provide \$4 billion to rescue the FCS, one day after the House passed an identical measure. The measure had been proposed by a joint conference committee that ironed out differences between the packages adopted previously by both houses.

The legislators' eyes were on helping Wall Street, not working farmers. As a December 17 *New York Times* article warned, the Farm Credit System's collapse "would send new shock waves through a financial community already reeling from the stock market collapse in October."

The bailout came as the country's commercial bankers headed toward their biggest annual losses in history, coupled with a record number of bank failures.

The Farm Credit System was initiated in 1916 through the Federal Farm Loan Act. It holds more than \$50 billion of the \$160 billion debt that U.S. farmers currently owe.

As plummeting commodity and land prices made it impossible for growing numbers of farmers to keep up with principal and interest payments, the FCS got into deep trouble.

How deep was shown December 10 when the Federal Land Bank of Jackson, Mississippi, declared itself insolvent. It was the first time that one of the big land banks in the FCS system had done so.

The main way that the Farm Credit System raises money is by selling bonds on Wall Street to investors who collect interest on them. The FCS is the second biggest seller of bonds there, surpassed only by the U.S. Treasury.

In addition to selling bonds, the FCS requires farmers to deposit part of the cash they receive in loans with the Production Credit Associations (PCAs), which form part of the FCS structure.

When the PCAs get into trouble, the farmers' contributions are used to meet obligations — that is, to pay bondholders, many of whom are commercial bankers.

The new Agricultural Credit Act of 1987 authorizes FCS to sell \$4 billion in government-backed bonds, with the U.S. Treasury meeting the interest payments to bondholders for the first five years, and splitting interest payments with the FCS for the next five.

To give Wall Street a further shot in the arm, the new measure for the first time authorizes commercial banks to sell government-backed securities based on the farm loans and some of the mortgages on rural housing that they have negotiated. The bill establishes the Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corp. (known as Farmer Mac) to oversee and guarantee this new securities market.

If President Reagan signs the bailout into law, as is likely, the FCS banks will be able to begin making more loans to "qualified" farmers, collecting more interest, and selling more bonds on Wall Street — with a \$4 billion government guarantee behind them.

But the bill makes no attempt to save the growing number of working farmers whose land is being taken by the FCS, or whom the bankers regard as bad credit risks.

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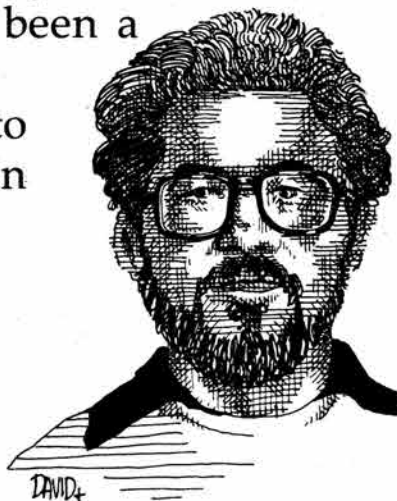
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SPECIAL OFFER



— Juan E. Segarra

defendant in Hartford frame-up case of Puerto Rican independence fighters

### The Militant

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# Broad protest hits Haiti gov't move to stack new election

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Haiti's military-dominated government, headed by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, announced a new election law December 19 that takes another step toward insuring military control of the upcoming January 17 elections, and its ongoing domination of the country.

Provisions of the new law include:

- Allowing soldiers and government officials — but no independent observers, journalists, or candidates — into polling places;

- Permitting authorities to monitor each voter's ballot. Each candidate must print their own ballots; voters then have to show their ballot to election authorities before being allowed to go in and vote;

- Stiff fines and even imprisonment for anyone who urges people to abstain "mistakenly" from voting, a provision that can be used against anyone calling for a boycott;

- Similar penalties for "unjustified" challenges of a candidate's qualifications, which can clear the way for supporters of ex-dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to run.

The government also said that its Supreme Court will have the final word on election matters.

The announcement of the new law followed the December 12 appointment of a new nine-person election council — hand-picked by the government — to run the elections.

Several days later General Namphy proclaimed, "The armed forces will guarantee in the future the setting up of the pedestal for democracy. That is why for three years we will assume the position of commander in chief of the armed forces."

## Nov. 29 elections massacre

Namphy was forced to schedule elections for last November 29 as a result of massive pressure from the Haitian people. This followed the popular uprising in 1986 that ended the 29-year reign of the U.S.-backed Duvalier dynasty. Namphy himself was the army chief of staff under Duvalier, who appointed the current government as he was fleeing the country. Namphy too has enjoyed backing from Washington.

The November elections were canceled hours after voting began when the Tontons Macoutes — the Duvalierist army of thugs who remained after the dictator fled — and Namphy government soldiers went on a murderous rampage. Over 80 people were massacred and dozens more were wounded.

At the same time, Namphy dissolved the original election council that had been set up as a result of Haiti's newly ratified constitution. Namphy cited the threat of a "communist takeover" as his reason for calling off the elections.

## Call Jan. election boycott

Following cancellation of the elections, antigovernment forces organized a widely successful protest strike December 7 and 8 to demand reinstatement of the dissolved election council.

The four leading candidates for president in the November election have issued repeated calls for the Namphy government to resign — a demand broadly supported among the toilers of Haiti. On December 17 they announced a proposal for a replacement government. They have also formed a committee to organize opposition to the government, and are calling for an election boycott — an act now illegal under Namphy's election law.

The leading opposition candidates are Marc Bazin, an economist who has been associated with the World Bank; Gérard

Gourgue, a lawyer and human rights activist; Louis Dejoie, a building contractor; and Sylvio Claude, a Baptist minister.

## Namphy's election council

Virtually no one outside government and pro-Duvalierist circles recognizes the new election council as legitimate. Almost all the religious, human rights, academic, and other organizations that participated in choosing the original council refused to have anything to do with naming members of the new body.

One change the new council is likely to make is to open up the election to Duvalier supporters, who were barred under the new constitution from running for office for 10 years. Twelve candidates were kept out of the November election because of this ban. Namphy's new election law also suggests that anyone who objects to Duvalier cronies running can be fined or imprisoned.

Opponents of the Namphy government have become targets of stepped-up repression since the canceled election, especially members of the dissolved election council, many of whom remain in hiding. An opposition candidate for Senate had his home shot up and firebombed in mid-December.

One person was killed and four others wounded when gunmen opened fire on some of the 800 mourners attending December 21 funeral services for those killed on election day.

Some 50 Haitians have been arrested for participating in the defense committees organized by the toilers in the days leading up to the election. They tried to counter escalating Macoutes violence aimed at creating chaos.

On the other hand, no one has been ar-



Soldier removes body of victim of government-backed election-day massacre in Haiti.

rested for the blood-letting that took place on election day.

## 'Peacekeeping' force

Discussion of armed intervention in Haiti, under the guise of an international "peacekeeping" force to monitor the elections, remains active. On December 16 a congressional delegation, led by Rep. Dante Fascell of Florida and District of Columbia Delegate Walter Fauntroy, met with State Department officials to urge such action. The State Department denies "seriously" considering any plans for a peacekeeping force.

An editorial titled "Who Will Fight for Haitian Democracy?" in the December 22 *New York Times* repeated its call for military intervention by "the regions' democracies."

The Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs

issued a statement in early December denouncing the election-day violence in Haiti, pointing to Washington's uncritical support for the Namphy government, and condemning the call for any outside intervention in Haiti.

"This interventionist talk has been used on the eve of every military adventure of the imperialists, especially in our region, as happened — to cite only a few examples — in the Dominican Republic in 1965, in Grenada in 1983, and in Haiti itself when the United States occupied it for 19 years between 1915 and 1934. . . .

"We call for the avoidance of any type of intervention, especially military intervention under the pretext of saving lives and property. . . . It is for the Haitian people alone to resolve freely the serious internal problems they are facing."

# Call to end frame-up of Puerto Ricans

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Conn. — At a well-attended news conference commemorating Human Rights Day on December 10, the Connecticut Committee Against Repression announced a nationwide petition drive to demand justice for 15 Puerto Rican independence activists facing trial on conspiracy charges stemming from a 1983 Wells Fargo bank robbery.

As pretrial hearings enter their 12th month, evidence exposing the political nature of this case continues to mount. The FBI systematically violated the rights of the defendants, conducting illegal searches and seizures and violating the bureau's own rules regarding wiretapping.

In recent weeks attention has been focused on a set of tapes made by the agents that were supposedly duplicates of the original, but that indicate tampering by the FBI. This week, FBI agent Tyler Morgan admitted that he had previously lied when denying that he and another agent had listened to defendants' conversations without recording what was said. This was a violation of federal wiretap laws, which require agents to record all conversations they hear so a judge can determine that only discussions involving criminal acts were monitored.

Two of the defendants, Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, have been held without bail for nearly 28 months under the preventive detention provision of the 1984 Bail Reform Act. The prosecution, FBI, and media have labeled them "terrorists" to justify this blatant denial of their constitutional right to bail.

The petition campaign is directed to Judge T. Emmet Clarie, who is presiding over the case. It consists of three demands:

- The immediate release of Juan Segarra Palmer and Filiberto Ojeda Ríos from pretrial detention,
- the dismissal of this politically motivated prosecution, and

- an end to U.S. government abuse and intimidation of Puerto Rican patriots.

In a related development, petitions with the signatures of thousands of Puerto Ricans, including many prominent individuals and organizations, were presented on December 8 to Amnesty International. The petitioners asked the human rights organization to intervene in the struggle to release Segarra and Ojeda from pre-trial detention.

Speakers at the news conference included defendant Yvonne Meléndez, defense attorney Michael Deutsch, Rita Cordova of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, Peter Goselin for the Connecticut Committee Against Repression, and Luis Alvarez Colón, a leader of the Puerto Rican section of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199, which was holding its national convention in Hartford.

Alvarez read a statement in support of the Hartford defendants. He linked this struggle against FBI abuses with the fight to expose the activities of Puerto Rico's Police Intelligence Division. "It's sole purpose is conducting undercover activities

within the Puerto Rican independence and labor movements under the excuse of protecting national security. The names of leaders and rank and file members of the most important labor unions, including the National Union of Health Workers 1199, are included in those files," Alvarez reported. He also announced that the Puerto Rican delegates would introduce a resolution of support for the defendants on the floor of the union convention.

Several speakers at the news conference drew attention to conditions faced by five women prisoners in the high security unit of the federal prison in Lexington, Kentucky, and in particular the plight of Alejandrina Torres, a Puerto Rican independence fighter. She is being held in an isolated basement cell, is subjected to sensory deprivation and psychological torture, and denied adequate medical care.

Supporters of democratic rights are urged to take part in the petition campaign. For copies of the petition write to the Connecticut Committee Against Repression, P.O. Box 61066, Hartford, CT 06106 or phone (203) 233-7996.

# Aryan Nations off the air in Utah

BY STEVE WARSHALL

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, — Radio station KZZI announced the cancellation of the "Aryan Nations Hour" on December 14.

The radio call-in program was paid for by the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, headed by Richard Butler and headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The Aryan Nations is a political arm of this group. It calls for the creation of a whites-only state in the area encompassing Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, and Washington.

The program became the focal point of protests by many organizations after the Aryan Nations announced plans to set up a public headquarters in Ogden, Utah. The

Aryan Nations has been implicated in a growing number of violent attacks in the western states, including several murders.

The opening program December 5 was met by a protest of 300 people at a park near the broadcasting station in West Jordan. Students from Brigham Young University and the University of Utah participated, along with a number of civil rights organizations and unions.

Utahns Against the Aryan Nations, a coalition of groups, was organized to carry out a statewide educational campaign to expose the racist group.

John Hinton, the station's owner, told reporters he had lost "virtually all" of his advertisers since the show began.

## Holiday schedule for the 'Militant'

The *Militant* will skip one week during the holidays. The next issue to appear, dated January 15, will be mailed to readers January 7.



# Socialist leader speaks on U.S., world politics

BY DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum here heard Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on December 19 on changes in world politics today and the relationship of these changes to shifts in capitalist development.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee, who were in town for a two-day meeting, helped swell the crowd of nearly 300. The New York YSA cosponsored the forum and brought many young people. In addition, revolutionary-minded workers from the New York metropolitan area attended.

Barnes began by noting that newspaper and television coverage of international and national events — from the presidential primary races to the stock market crash to the summit meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan — is presented as if everyone in the United States had the same economic, political, and social interests.

"There is no collection of people that is the United States of America," Barnes said. "There are those who benefit from exploitation of working people in the United States, who compete on the world market, who make decisions about war, and oppress the colonial peoples. But that's *them*; not us."

The interests of the exploiters, Barnes explained, are diametrically opposed to those of working people. "We must avoid the trap of thinking of 'we'; rather, we should think of 'us' and 'them.' How much of humanity is going to be dragged down by a devastating social crisis and increasing wars bred by a crisis-ridden capitalism will depend on our understanding of this and developing our own political alternatives."

This is the standpoint, Barnes emphasized from which to look at the difficulties and limits of the capitalist rulers, as well as the successes they've scored. And for judging what working people face and should do.

## Suited the rulers' needs

For the past seven years, the SWP leader said, Reagan's administration has suited the needs of the capitalist rulers. It has conducted a fundamentally bipartisan course

in foreign and domestic policy.

Barnes reviewed the problems the U.S. ruling families faced going into the 1980s and the Reagan administration's attempts to resolve them.

On the economic plane, the results of the erosion of the de facto U.S. industrial monopoly in the capitalist world had become apparent by the early 1970s. Price competition became more dominant and has continued to intensify. This has led to a lowering of the capitalists' rate of profits relative to their massive investments. This points to their need to find new avenues of expansion and capital accumulation, he said.

Barnes noted that the crisis was expressed in the 1974-75 recession, the first that was worldwide in scope since 1937-38. This was followed by double-digit inflation, long lines at gas stations as a result of an oil crisis, and the 1981-82 recession, which was deeper in the United States than the previous one. All this clearly showed a shift in the curve of capitalist development, he said.

Internationally, Barnes said, powerful social revolutions of workers and peasants in 1979 toppled the tyrannies in Iran, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and the U.S. imperialists began efforts to try to destabilize and, if possible, overthrow the new governments.

When Reagan was a candidate in 1980, Barnes said, he promised to do three things if elected: cut taxes, increase military expenditures, and slash the federal budget.

The administration, with firm bipartisan congressional majorities, kept the first two promises: it cut taxes, although making the tax structure as a whole much more regressive, and it jacked up the military budget "more than any country has ever done in 'peacetime,'" Barnes noted.

## 'Sharp limits'

But it was unable to win a majority to take the necessary steps to slash the budget. "There were sharp limits on what the rulers could do," Barnes said. "Most working people today believe that they have the right to government-financed assistance when they are out of work — due to injury, handicap, layoff, or age — rather than being dependent on charity. This is

very different from the situation workers faced as they entered the depression of the 1930s."

This goes along with other changes in expectations, Barnes added. There are the conquests won through the Black freedom struggle, which have given Blacks more self-confidence and have won greater acceptance from whites that Blacks are due equal treatment under the law. This is also true for women, Barnes noted.

Moreover, growing hatred for nuclear weapons and nuclear power and their deadly wastes, as well as growing opposition to environmental destruction are elements that have become a powerful material force in politics today.

So, instead of cutting the budget, expenditures increased. What the capitalists did, Barnes said, to stave off skyrocketing inflation as a result of this massive government spending was to sell bonds in order to "borrow abroad like no other dominant imperialist government has ever done."

"This 'worked' to a point," he said, "at the expense of imperialist competitors. And not only did the U.S. capitalists borrow, they lent to the semicolonial countries, and the result was the growth of massive assets. But as the inability of these countries to pay their debts gets more sharply posed, this could turn into a banking crisis."

The debt of the oppressed countries to U.S. bankers is not a problem for the banks — as long as they can count on the interest. In fact, "banks are in business to create and increase debts," Barnes explained. "It's not like when you and I lend money to a co-worker; we hope to end their indebtedness as soon as possible. But debts, until they go bad, are a bank's wealth."

## Antilabor offensive

The second thing the employing class did to deal with its problems, Barnes said, was to take on the trade union movement. "But this was not a direct union-busting operation by the government — it was by and large carried out by the employers. The smashing of the air traffic controllers' union by the White House was the main exception to this. It was like beating on a big kettledrum, signaling that the bosses' offensive was on and the government wouldn't stand in the way."

The employers took advantage of "the years of accumulated weaknesses of the trade union leadership," he said.

The basic response of the union officialdom was to encourage the notion that workers and bosses are a "we." They foisted the idea on the workers that each union "should look out for itself and to hell with everyone else," Barnes explained. "Their main demand has been for tariffs to protect 'our' industries. This policy left the trade unions without protection."

This was a union policy to "save our jobs" and not a social policy to fight for jobs for the working class. But even the bureaucrats' "job security" line was actually only talk, because the only way to save anyone's job is to fight for jobs for all.

The result of the officialdom's approach was a rout, in which the unions turned in on themselves and voted for big cutbacks for their members. "It was a rout — not a defeat that comes from being beaten in battles," Barnes said.

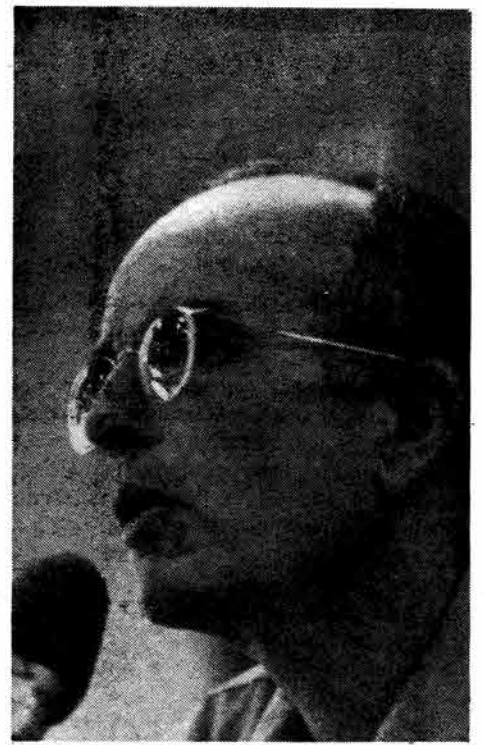
Through this offensive, the employing class reorganized the work process in manufacturing. In general, however, they didn't make massive investments in new machinery. They increased their profits, but they aren't getting the increased profit rates they had anticipated.

This period, Barnes noted, has been good for big business, professional lawyers, and better-off sections of the working class.

At the same time, he pointed out, there has been a deterioration of the entire infrastructure of the economy, including transportation, social services, and education.

Moreover, wages, working conditions, and living standards of most working people have suffered.

Barnes also pointed out that working farmers are suffering their biggest depression since the 1930's.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes.

In addition, capitalism keeps reproducing a pauperized layer — a section of the population that suffers the devastation of long-term unemployment and loss of land or homes.

## Not opposed by Democrats

Barnes noted that the initiatives of the Reagan administration in both foreign and domestic policy have not been opposed by the Democrats. This marks the Democratic Party contest for selecting a presidential candidate for the 1988 election.

"The problem isn't that the Democrats can't come up with a suitable candidate," he said. "Any one of those in the Democratic race are as qualified to serve as president and carry out the ruling families' bidding as anybody who has ever been in the White House."

Their problem, he said, is that "the ruling class, or any substantial wing of it, has not decided on a different course than the one carried out for the last seven years."

Barnes drew a balance sheet of these bipartisan policies. They've been successful, he said, in pouring a naval fleet into the Persian Gulf war; of getting the Arab League to put criticism of Iran at the center of its discussions, rather than aid to the Palestinians; of keeping up the brutal pressures on Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea; of making Nicaragua pay a huge price for not bowing to Washington's dictates; of helping the South African regime devastate Angola; and of reorganizing capitalist production, which led to a profit bonanza.

At the same time, however, Barnes said, "they have been unable to defeat Nicaragua. They haven't succeeded in their goals. And just as the Arab League was putting Palestine on the back burner, the biggest Palestinian revolt in history was breaking out in the areas occupied by Israel. And the Angolans don't stop fighting, and the Cuban troops don't leave."

Moreover, Barnes said, the restructuring of industry and the superprofits from the debt peonage of the Third World do not offer an adequate basis for qualitatively accelerating capital expansion and accumulation.

Historically, Barnes explained, there have been three sources of superprofits: direct expropriation of farmers and handicraft workers or entire backward regions; direct extraction of wealth from colonies and semicolonies; and monopoly pricing, especially following World War II, which indirectly shifted wealth to the industrially advanced countries. But there is no new source today. Collection of interest on massive debts is not a new source.

The growing difficulty of the debtor nations to pay their debts and the spectre of a banking crisis as the result of the collapse of the debt structure is evidence that this is the case.

When the rate of exchange between the Mexican peso and the U.S. dollar has gone from 26 to 2,350 in the last five years and real wages in Mexico have been devastated (US\$5.50 per day in 1980 to \$2.50 per day in 1987), it should help convince us of this," Barnes explained where the October 19 stock market crash fits into this picture. The crash occurred not in spite of the real economy, but as part of the real economy.

Continued on next page



Lenin (center) with delegates to Communist International congress

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# Socialist view of world economy, politics

**Continued from previous page**  
and because of its growing contradictions. "The stock market is one significant arena where the ability of capitalist production to keep up with the accumulation of capital is expressed and social crises are often first registered," he said.

"That's always been the case, and that's what this crash signifies. It means that there's going to be more chaos, sharper convulsions, and that recessions are going to be more severe now. We've also entered a phase of even more intense price competition between the major capitalists of different countries and within each country."

Barnes said that as the crisis accelerates, the capitalist rulers can't launch new wars and pick a big fight with the labor movement at home without moving to curtail political rights and legitimizing the use of executive power.

## Unity needed

As the crisis deepens, working people need unity, Barnes said. "A step in this direction can be made by presenting a program of demands on the government to

protect working people from the ravages of unemployment, inflation, breakdowns, and shortages."

He pointed to the demands that Cuban President Fidel Castro has put forward for a new international ordering of economic and trade relations. This includes canceling the Third World's foreign debt, and eliminating protective tariffs, dumping, quotas, and other measures that maximize unequal trade between the imperialist and oppressed countries. Barnes added that working people should support border agreements that permit complete freedom of travel.

These measures, if carried out, would bring relief to tens of millions of toilers in the countries oppressed by imperialism, he said. This approach doesn't "hold alleviating the devastating effects of the debt burden hostage to the day that we establish workers' and peasants' governments that can lead the transition to socialism," he said. "We should make these demands part of the program we urge unions in this country to adopt today to protect and unite the world working class," Barnes said.

"To unify the working class," he said,

"we must demand affirmative action for Blacks and women and rights for undocumented workers. We don't demand these as 'special rights' for the oppressed, but as needs of the entire working class to unify itself in struggle."

## A winning union strategy?

A serious question-and-answer period followed Barnes' presentation.

In response to the question, "Is there a strategy unions can follow today to win strikes?" Barnes responded that no *trade union* strategy can win. In fact, the notion that it can is "one of the deepest illusions, bred by years of getting 'results' from the employers," he said. "And good tactics aren't enough. Fighting workers must look beyond their union and see their unions as part of the world and of the working class as a whole."

He cited the example of organizing industrial unions in the 1930s. "This was more than a union movement," he said. "It was a social movement."

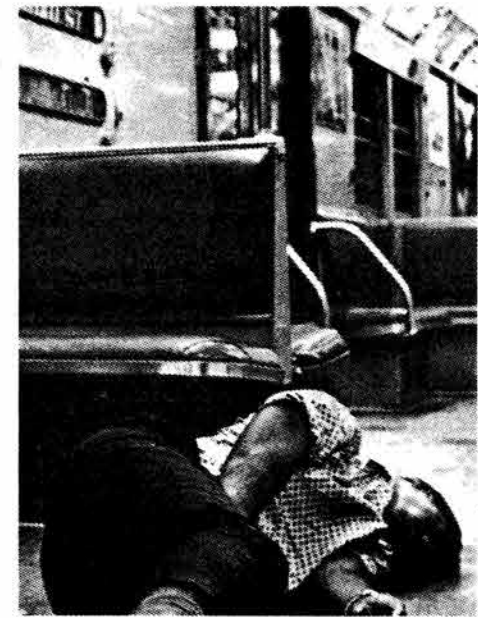
The leaders of that movement were pros at tactics and proved this to fighting workers. But they did this as part of the world communist movement with an international view and strategy, not with a narrow union mentality.

Another participant asked what the basis is for workers identifying with the homeless, the unemployed, or what is called the underclass.

"Because they are us," Barnes replied. "If for a minute we stop looking at the 'homeless' and 'unemployed' as categories, but think about this question from the standpoint of the working class, we can see that we are all workers facing various conditions." They are fellow workers who are out of work or who have been kicked out of their homes, he said.

These categories will seem less fixed as the crisis deepens and more workers lose their jobs and homes.

Another questioner noted that the United States has a bigger debt than any of the countries in Latin America. She noted that Barnes had pointed to Fidel Castro's demand to cancel the foreign debt of Latin American countries. She asked what the



Homeless and unemployed are part of working class, Barnes said. "We are all workers facing various conditions."

difference between these debts is.

Barnes explained that debts are not a "thing" but a social relation between people. The debt of an oppressor country such as the United States has an opposite meaning to that of the debts of countries oppressed by imperialism. "The strength of the U.S. economy, the relation of its debt to its total assets, to its ability to export, and to its ability to use economic and military threats against other countries makes the U.S. debt very different."

The U.S. debt is not a vehicle, he said, for the exploitation of the United States by German and Japanese capitalists.

Barnes concluded his talk by addressing the many young people in the audience. He noted that youth have an important advantage in understanding the big economic and political developments today because they can link up with the continuity of the revolutionary workers' movement. But at the same time, they don't live in the past and aren't burdened with trying to relive it.

He said the best way they can understand and act on these ideas is to join the Socialist Workers Party.

## Victims of FBI spies say gov't must pay suit costs

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance filed an application for attorneys' fees and expenses incurred while representing the two organizations in their successful suit against the government for illegal victimization.

The application was based on an August 1986 decision by federal Judge Thomas Greisa finding that the FBI and other government police agencies had violated the constitutional rights of the two organizations. He awarded them \$264,000 in damages.

In August 1987 Greisa issued an injunction prohibiting the government from utilizing illegally obtained information in its files about the organizations and their members.

Illegal government methods included break-ins and burglaries of SWP and YSA headquarters, planting of informers in the organizations, and wiretapping and bugging.

The application for attorneys fees is based on statutes providing for this where a plaintiff in a suit prevails over the government and where it is established that the

government's wrongdoing was a "bad faith" violation of the law.

A brief filed with the court December 7 noted that for several years after the damage suit was undertaken in 1973, the government tried to conceal that it had burglarized SWP and YSA offices. Government officials falsely deny this had been done.

False testimony was also given about government efforts to illegally disrupt the two organizations.

Another cited example of bad faith was that on order of the U.S. attorney general, the government defied a court order to produce certain files in court.

The team of lawyers who have worked on the case is headed by the noted constitutional authority Leonard Boudin.

For the past 14 years, winning political and financial support for the suit has been conducted by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is now preparing for the next stage of the fight, an anticipated government appeal of the verdict against it.

A final judgment in the case was issued by Judge Greisa November 5. The government had 60 days from that date to file its appeal.

## Canada union gains in safety fight

BY MONICA JONES  
AND LARRY JOHNSTON

TORONTO, Canada — McDonnell Douglas Canada has been forced to make concessions to union demands for improvements in health and safety at its plant here, after workers brought production to a standstill by exercising their right to refuse to work under unsafe conditions. That right is recognized under the health and safety laws of Ontario Province.

The job action followed a November 13 report by the Ontario Ministry of Labour. The report confirmed what McDonnell Douglas workers have known for years: "Safety and healthy work practices appear to take second place to production requirements as opposed to being part and parcel of any procedures."

The company was cited for more than 200 infractions of Ontario's Occupational Health and Safety Act.

The ministry had inspected the plant in September in response to a complaint by the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW).

CAW Local 1967, which organizes the 3,500 aerospace workers at the plant, responded to the report November 18 by distributing a leaflet at the plant gate summarizing its facts and conclusions. That day hundreds of workers refused to work under the unsafe conditions and by the next day production had effectively been halted.

The workers reported to their foreman each shift, but refused to perform assignments because unsafe conditions prevailed. Unionists occupied the company cafeteria and conference rooms.

The plant manufactures the wings and tail section for MD-80 aircraft.

Greg Brash, a maintenance worker since 1978, told the *Militant* that poor ventilation was a prime concern. The government report called it "a mess."

Workers breathe aluminum dust, which can cause lung fibrosis and has been associated with Alzheimer's disease. The

paint being used contains dioxin and cyanide. The main cleaning solution is trichloroethylene, suspected of causing damage to the central nervous system.

The workers began to return to their jobs at the end of November, under an agreement negotiated by the union, company, and Ontario Ministry of Labour.

Mike Gilbert, who chairs the union's Political Action Committee, told the *Militant* that each department is involved in a group interview where all the complaints are aired at once. Completion dates for resolving the problems will then be set.

Things such as faulty stands are to be repaired immediately. Workers will be using respirators until proper ventilation is in place. Plans for the ventilation system are to be presented to the union and the ministry of labour by January 10, at which time a completion date will be set.

The company also agreed to pay all workers for lost time due to the work stoppage.

The Ontario Federation of Labour, the provincewide body representing 677,000 workers, threw its support behind the action in an emergency resolution adopted at its convention. The convention was held during the second week of the stoppage.

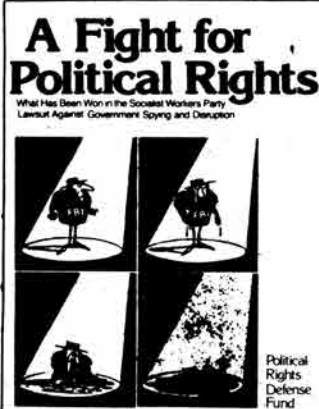
"To all those who died because they worked at McDonnell Douglas," CAW Local 1967 leader Dan McNeill declared at the convention, "we are sorry that we didn't start this fight sooner."

Of the 2,700 workers who have retired from McDonnell Douglas Canada during the last 15 years, only 700 are still alive. The Ontario Workers Health Centre found that 25 percent of current workers have respiratory abnormalities and high aluminum levels in blood and urine.

Mike Gilbert told the *Militant*, "Now that people are going back to work, the fight will begin to make sure that the completion dates on improvements are lived up to."

## Join the fight for democratic rights

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



### DECISION:

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Send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, NY, NY 10003



# W. Virginia unionists help expand sales to miners

BY PATTIE SANCHEZ

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — On a cold morning in late November, a team of *Militant* supporters went to their regular sale at the entrance to Consolidation Coal's Osage No. 3 Mine not far from here.

We timed our arrival so we could talk politics and distribute the

know about things like that."

He was referring to *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers' Strike* a Pathfinder pamphlet written by Fred Halstead. This miner had picked up a copy of the pamphlet several months ago, before we began to regularize sales at this particular mine.

We talked for quite a while with

mine. They started talking about the effort to increase distribution of the *Militant* and he made some helpful suggestions about other mine portals to sell at. It wasn't long before a few others joined the discussion.

This kind of assistance we've been getting in distributing the *Militant* results from the effort that has been going into organizing portal and plant-gate sales.

It hasn't led to a big jump in the number of papers sold each time out, but by increasing our trips out we've doubled the number of papers that get in the hands of unionists at factories and mines here.

Over the fall we have also concentrated on having bigger teams work on each sale. This meant that we sometimes didn't sell at as many mines each week but we increased the regularity of the sales as well as their effectiveness.

And at one mine we recently sold 10 copies of the *Militant*. That particular issue had coverage about the frame-up trial of four United Mine Workers of America members in Ashland, Kentucky.

It's not surprising that we've met others who think the *Militant* needs to get around more.



Militant/Nancy Boyasko

**Militant supporter discusses paper with striking coal miners earlier this year in Kayenta, Arizona. Militant is getting good response from miners throughout country.**

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

*Militant* to miners going into work in the morning and to those leaving work after the midnight shift.

One miner stopped. He had his dollar out to purchase the paper. He told us about a conversation he had in the bathhouse before leaving work.

One of his coworkers had said, "The commies are here again."

But this unionist told the miners in the bathhouse, "You need that paper. That's for workers — you're all workers. Did you read that big article they have about the Hormel workers. You need to

him before he finally headed home.

The following week we sold two papers to miners there who said, "Oh, this is the paper we've been hearing about" from their coworker.

We have gotten similar help in distributing the paper from other unionists in the Morgantown area.

One of our distributors works in a garment factory. She sells the *Militant* every week at a mine portal.

One of her coworkers in the garment shop commented that he had seen her selling the *Militant* at a

## Armco contract cuts wages of Ky. steelworkers

BY JOANNE MURPHY

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — After a seven-month barrage of threats and promises, steelworkers at Armco's Ashland Works in Kentucky narrowly approved wage and benefit cuts in a mail-in vote counted November 24.

Members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1865 accepted a company demand that they cut their wages 65 cents an hour, give up two paid holidays, cut holiday pay from double time and

a half to double time, and give up cost-of-living pay of four cents an hour.

These cuts are supposed to be a "loan" to Armco. The company originally demanded the concessions outright last summer, but anti-concessions sentiment from the ranks was so strong they were forced to agree to pay the workers back — if and when new equipment helps produce more steel in a 12-month period.

Armco is one of the top five steelmakers in the United States and has posted profits

the past four quarters.

While USWA officials chimed in with the company and Ashland's mayor and merchants in praising the vote outcome, discussion among union members continues. Armco says it will reduce the number of workers from 3,900 to around 3,000, and workers are skeptical about being paid back.

In addition to the concessions from the workers, Armco is to receive a \$10-million aid package from state and local communities. The "Kentucky enterprise zone" is to be extended to include the entire Ashland Works, thus relieving the company of \$1 million in sales tax.

Local 1865 members' wages have dropped over the last eight years as the company won concessions in contract negotiations.

The stance of International, district, and local officials of the USWA again weakened workers' ability to fight back when Armco bought Allied Chemical's Ashland

coke plant in 1981. Steelworker officials went along with the company refusal to bargain with Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 3-523, which represents 400 coke plant workers.

Indeed, it was USWA officers that insisted that coke plant workers should lose their seniority and thus be replaced by steel union members laid off at the mill.

These facts came out after OCAW members at the coke plant sued Armco and the USWA, demanding their right to be represented by the union of their choice and to have their existing contract honored.

That contract, won after a hard-fought strike in 1979, included higher wages and better pensions and benefits than USWA members at the steel mill had.

Through court injunctions the OCAW members succeeded in keeping their jobs, but the company has dragged the case through appeals. On December 4 it once more appealed the most recent decision from the sixth circuit court in Cincinnati in favor of the OCAW members — this time to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Besides keeping money in its pocket, the company benefits from continuing to stir up animosity between workers at the mill and the coke plant.

Joanne Murphy, a member of USWA Local 18-65, is one of the first new hires at the coke plant since it was bought by Armco.

## Weekly 'Barricada' on circulation drive in United States

*Barricada Internacional*, the Nicaraguan biweekly newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is on a drive to boost its circulation in North America.

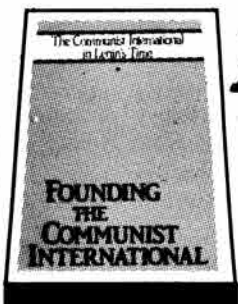
Miranda Collet, editor of the English-language edition, recently toured the United States to promote the paper. There is also a Spanish-language edition.

*Barricada Internacional* is an indispensable source of news about the Nicaraguan revolution, and is a key weapon in the battle to answer the lies about Nicaragua that the U.S. government spouts to justify its criminal contra war.

Starting in January, *Barricada Internacional* will be printed in Canada, making the paper more easily available to U.S. and Canadian subscribers.

For a one-year subscription in the United States or Canada, send a check or money order for US\$24 to: Nica News, P.O. Box 398, Stn. "E", Toronto, Ontario, M6H 4E3 Canada.

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# Iowa meat-packers end roving picket line

BY KATE KAKU  
AND TED LEONARD

SIOUX CITY, Iowa — On November 4 meat-packers on strike at the John Morrell & Co. plant here withdrew their roving picket line from the company's Sioux Falls, South Dakota, plant. The two Morrell plants are about 90 miles apart.

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 1142 were forced on strike at the plant here last March after the company arbitrarily imposed a wage cut and began firing dozens of union activists.

When after several months the company refused to negotiate an end to the strike, the unionists extended their picket lines to the South Dakota plant at the beginning of May. The 2,500 members of UFCW Local 304A there went on a sympathy strike.

But the intervention of the South Dakota Gov. George Mickelson, the courts, and the cops allowed Morrell to reopen the Sioux Falls plant with scabs. An injunction greatly restricted the number of pickets, and the union was threatened with a \$25,000-a-day fine if there was "violence" on the picket line. Only 250 members of Local 304A crossed the picket line during the sympathy strike.

We recently visited with striking meat-packers in both cities. Here in Sioux City, the UFCW members are still optimistic about their strike, although the company is running the plant with scabs. Local 1142 members cited the nearly \$40 million in losses Morrell and its parent company United Brands have suffered this year. The fact that negotiations have again resumed between the company and the union helped to spur some of the optimism.

They also point out that the company has

received a lot of bad publicity from newspaper articles and television shows that have focused attention on the working conditions and high injury rates meat-packers suffer at Morrell's plants.

Before pulling down their picket line on November 4, unionists at the South Dakota plant informed the company that they were willing to return to work "unconditionally." The UFCW International says Morrell has gone through 8,000 workers trying to replace the strikers. But the 2,500 workers who participated in the sympathy strike have not been recalled.

The union has filed unfair labor practice charges against Morrell with the National Labor Relations Board.

Recently UFCW President William Wynn wrote AFL-CIO bodies explaining the UFCW International's view of the situation.

According to Wynn, the company violated labor law by hiring scabs at the two plants.

"Morrell now has a house full of scabs, so it is doubtful the company will move to take the strikers back, certainly not immediately," Wynn wrote. "If they fail to reinstate unfair labor practice strikers, the back pay meter starts running and Morrell will be maintaining a double payroll — one for the strikebreakers and one for the strikers," he continued.

Meat-packers we talked to in South Dakota are proud of the fact that they went out on a sympathy strike. They felt their actions caused the company financial hardship and helped the workers at the Iowa plant.

*Kate Kaku and Ted Leonard are members of UFCW Local 1149 at the Oscar Mayer packing plant in Perry, Iowa.*



Militant/Phil Norris

Morrell workers in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, held rally May 11 in sympathy with Morrell workers on strike in Sioux City, Iowa.

## Cudahy announces closing of struck plant in Wis.

BY SANDI SHERMAN

CUDAHY, Wis. — Officials of Patrick Cudahy Inc. announced December 3 that they are going to shut down their meat-packing plant here.

Following the announcement, the company laid off 700 out of the 800 scabs it had hired to replace meat-packers who went on strike here last January.

The company was complying with Wisconsin state law that requires 60-day advance notification for plant closings. In the meantime, the plant is continuing to produce sausage, bacon, and other processed meats.

Cudahy management and officials from United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) got together with a federal mediator following the announcement to discuss what it would take to keep the plant open. Under consideration are such options as maintaining only the processing section of the plant or a union buyout of the plant itself.

Four hundred strikers attended a December 6 union meeting to discuss the

shutdown. UFCW Local P-40 President Mark Rosenbaum said the possibility of an employee buyout of Cudahy was being considered only as a last resort.

"A lot of these buyouts aren't successful," Rosenbaum noted. "I have some real reservations as far as the practicality of this. But we owe it to the workers to investigate" the possibility, he said.

The strikers had varying reactions to these developments. Some saw the announcement as a victory for the union, proving that their struggle against Cudahy's takeback demands had been just. Others saw the move as one more attempt by the company to get concessions from the union.

Strikers walking the picket line December 7 expressed a wait-and-see attitude. A young Black worker was dubious about the buyout plan. "We won't get the wages we got before anyway," he said. This unionist further explained that he was unwilling to return for anything less than what the workers were being paid when the strike began.

## Shipyard hit for safety violations

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — "Bath Iron Works isn't the black hole of Calcutta," said the giant Maine shipyard's chief spokesman James McGregor.

That was the best he could do in response to the November 3 decision by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to fine the iron works \$4.2 million for 3,000 safety violations. This is the biggest penalty ever assessed by OSHA, and covers Bath shipyard operations in Bath, South Portland, and Brunswick.

The union in the shipyard, Shipbuilders Local 6, has waged an aggressive campaign for several years to force Bath Iron Works (BIW) to make working conditions safer.

In 1984 BIW brought DuPont Safety Services into the 8,000-worker shipyard and took enforcement powers out of the hands of safety inspectors, who are members of Local 6.

The idea of the DuPont program was "safety equals production — faster, better, and cheaper," explained Jim Mackie, Local 6 chief shop steward and a central leader of the union's safety campaign. While DuPont's program of "cosmetic safety" had the effect of highlighting some problems, it was not designed to change anything.

Safety, however, was "the major concern of the workers," Mackie said. "The lack of safety was more evident every day. Younger crews were coming into the facility, new people who were more aware, and they were less willing to take it, to eat asbestos, to not stand up to the company."

The union began a campaign around safety, beginning with education about safety rights. Shop stewards took notes on times, dates, and places of violations of federal shipyard standards. Grievances

piled up, unanswered by BIW.

The union went to OSHA, which conducted a three-month investigation of the yard, accompanied by shop stewards. The stewards pointed out violations "while they were in progress," Mackie said, like radar equipment that was "radiating, without warning."

OSHA's findings include that BIW knowingly exposed workers to asbestos, sent them into confined spaces without testing for flammable vapors and toxic fumes, failed to provide proper respirators, erected defective scaffolding, and allowed workers to be splashed with sewage and radiation. One young worker was recently blinded by exposure to a welding torch; no one told him he had to wear dark lens eye protection when welding.

For every 100 workers at BIW, 23 lost time and required medical treatment during 1986, double the national shipyard average of 10.2 per 100 workers.

The unionists' campaign, OSHA's findings, and widespread publicity about conditions in the shipyard have put some pressure on BIW.

The shipyard has restored enforcement powers to union safety inspectors and has hired 13 more since the OSHA fine. These measures, Mackie explained, have been accompanied by management authorization of enlarged departmental union safety committees.

On November 23, BIW gave federal officials formal notice that it will appeal OSHA's findings as well as the fine.

Workers at BIW explain that their fight around safety has made the union stronger in the yard. In 1985, Local 6 was forced to accept a concession contract, including a two-tier wage setup, after a bitter 99-day strike. Their contract expires again in eight months.

## United Airlines pact ratified

BY RICH LESNIK

SAN FRANCISCO — A new three-year contract between the International Association of Machinists and United Airlines was ratified by a substantial majority in voting November 23 and 24. Some 21,000 mechanics, ramp service workers, cleaners, and food service and other ground workers are covered by the agreement, which the union leadership urged be ratified. The contract is a setback for the workers.

The agreement includes a 13 percent cut in starting wages for most new hires, except mechanics. This is known as the "C-scale," a third pay scale in addition to the "B-scale," which was set up as a result of the 1983 concession contract.

Other highlights of the new agreement include: an increase in the hiring of part-time ramp workers; introduction of rotating days off in some areas; wage increases of 3 percent for each of the first two years, and 5 percent the third year; small increases in pension, medical, and dental coverage; and provisions presented as job security guarantees — known as "protective covenants."

Deregulation of the airlines in 1978 ushered in a period of takeovers, mergers, and union-busting drives in the airline industry. Continental Airlines' scrapping of its union contracts in 1983 set the pace for an industrywide onslaught on wages and working conditions.

This was the background for the negoti-

## Homeless families with children increasing

Families with children make up one-third of the homeless in the United States, an increase of 33 percent over last year. Twenty-two percent of the homeless are employed, either part time or fulltime.

These figures were based on a survey of 26 cities released December 16 by the United States Conference of Mayors.

The report also said that many city shelters were unable to cope with the increase in the homeless, turning away an average of 25 percent seeking help. An average of 18 percent of the demand for emergency food relief was unmet, the report said.

ations between the machinists' union and United this fall. The company claimed competition from Texas Air (Continental's holding company) necessitated "competitive wage and benefit structures" in the new contract. Union negotiators pointed out that United's increased profits should instead make it possible to reverse some of the concessions forced on the union in 1983.

One of the worst of these was the B-scale two-tier wage setup in which new hires start out at 60 percent of top pay. Union members saw improving the situation for B-scale workers as a top priority in the negotiations. Under this pay scale, food service workers take 10 years to reach 100 percent pay in their job classification; other workers take five years.

The company countered with a proposal to have a 10-year progression in the pay scale for all workers.

Instead of recovering some of the ground lost in 1983, the new contract — hailed by the union leadership as an historic agreement — contains new concessions, made in exchange for maintaining a paid lunch, limiting rotating days off, and implementing the "protective covenants." These "covenants" are pitched as job guarantees in case of a takeover of the airline and include offering United workers a chance to buy the airline themselves before a sale to another company.

In San Francisco, where more than one-third of United workers are based, union members mounted a serious campaign for a no vote. They pointed to the divisions among union members that the B-scale had introduced and the weakening of the union that would occur with further divisions. A third of the members voted to reject the contract in San Francisco; they felt that a serious fight could have recovered some of the ground lost in 1983.

Other workers, however, were alarmed by the company's threats and relieved that the final contract wasn't as bad as United's original demands.

*Rich Lesnik is a mechanic at United Airlines' maintenance base in San Francisco and a member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1781.*



# 'One can't separate economic, political

## South African mine union leader discusses NUM's role in fight against apartheid

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia — "It is the view of our union that one cannot separate the economic from the political. As an organization, we must represent the interests of our members at every single level — whether they be economic or political matters."

This view was expressed by Marcel Golding, assistant general secretary of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), in an interview here on November 30.

Golding and NUM President James Motlatsi were in Australia to attend the November 22-25 International Miners Organisation conference.

"Our union has accepted the Freedom Charter as containing the democratic demands of the vast majority of people and as a guiding document in our political struggle," Golding explained.

The Freedom Charter is a revolutionary program for a nonracial, democratic South Africa. It was approved by the African National Congress (ANC) and adopted by 3,000 participants at the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.

"In that sense," Golding continued, "the union has committed itself to maximum democracy. Not only to formal political democracy, but also to a democracy that ensures that the institutions of oppression and exploitation are removed. Our union is going to fight at every level to ensure that working-class interests are protected and advanced," he said.

Golding also emphasized the importance of the NUM's relations with the United Democratic Front (UDF), a nonracial anti-apartheid coalition of 600 organizations with some 2 million members.

The union's goal, according to Golding, is to work with the UDF to "build up a fighting alliance of various organizations of the working people."

Golding emphasized that the participation of the working class in the South African revolution "will be key to determining the balance of forces and the most effective

transition to the fullest form of socialist democracy inside the country."

### Origins of NUM

The origins of the NUM, Golding explained, were in "the spate of struggles that began in the late '70s and early '80s around the appalling working conditions and wages in the mining industry, which reached a highpoint in 1982."

From the early 1980's, the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) helped organize miners into the NUM. CUSA is an all-Black union federation, formed in 1980 by unionists influenced by the Black Consciousness movement of the 1970s.

Cyril Ramaphosa, who was instrumental in the organizing effort, became head of the NUM.

The NUM, along with other forces in the union movement, evolved toward a position of seeking trade union unity in the country along nonracial lines. The NUM broke with the CUSA in August 1985 and became a driving force behind the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in late 1985.

At its founding, COSATU was already the largest union federation in the country, with some 500,000 members. The new federation supports economic sanctions against the apartheid regime and the principle of nonracialism.

### 1987 strike

Golding explained the background to the NUM's August 1987 strike.

"South Africa's mining industry has some of the worst conditions in the world," he said. "In fact, wages inside the mines are much lower than in any other sector, barring agricultural workers. Miners earn about 240 Rand (\$124) per month for working a 49-hour week in some of the most uncomfortable, hostile, and dangerous work environments," he said. "They work at depths of from three and a half to four kilometers [two to two and a half miles] underground in extremely high temperatures."

Eight hundred miners get killed every year and 20,000 get injured on the job, Golding explained.

"In addition, they are housed in hostels separate from their families, and they work on yearly contracts."

"The strike itself," Golding said, "was mainly around working conditions and wages."

The union was demanding a 30 percent wage increase, a danger allowance, and improved health benefits — especially for the next of kin in case of death from mine accidents.

Other demands included an increase in leave days to 30 a year. That is necessary so that the miners, the majority of whom are migrant workers, can spend some time each year with their families.

The union also wanted June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising and massacre, to be adopted as a public holiday.

The strike, which lasted three weeks, faced "wide-scale repression by mine security forces and the South African police." Eleven workers were killed, 600 injured, and 500 arrested.

Golding said that the end of the strike was "far more complex than to simply assess in terms of victory or defeat. We did not win all our demands, although we won a 10 percent increase in leave allowance, and death benefit payments to miners' families were increased from two to three years."

"In that sense, we won some material gains. But more importantly, we consider that we won a victory in demonstrating unequivocally that the union overwhelmingly represents mine workers in South Africa," stated Golding.

"In spite of the claims by mine management and the state that our strike would fizzle out within two days, this did not occur," he said.

Golding pointed to the courage of mine workers in the face of the violence from the apartheid regime and the mine companies.

"We did not submit," he said, "but at the

end the union leadership and the rank and file members believed that it was imperative given the balance of forces to return to work. And in the same way that we commenced the struggle — with a dignified response."

The union has "laid a firm foundation for future battles with the Chamber of Mines," Golding said, because it forged "a powerful instrument of struggle willing to challenge the commanding heights of South Africa's economy."

### Victimizations

Since the strike, "the mineowners, with the state as a willing partner, have continued their campaign of victimization, harassment, and detention of the union leadership."

The union has been decertified in certain mines, despite having a majority of workers there as members. Out of the 340,000 miners who supported the strike, 50,000 were dismissed during the strike, and more have been fired since. The NUM is fighting for their reinstatement, including through South Africa's labor courts.

"Despite the dismissals, the morale of our workers remains high and there is strong belief in the union as an instrument of the struggle for freedom and change inside South Africa," Golding emphasized.

He said mining companies have "used the occasion of the strike to rationalize production, like any capitalist class does, to use such trials of strength to reduce the work force, to break them and their organization."

Golding said that before and during the strike, the NUM expanded its collaboration with various community organizations, including youth and women's groups, in a fighting alliance against the employers. This was accompanied by a campaign in the rural areas to set up "democratic committees to try to ensure that no scab labor came through to the mines."

Golding pointed out that most of the work force "is migrant, oscillating between the rural areas in various countries and the

## Government-company frame-up leads to conviction of Kentucky

BY JIM LITTLE

ASHLAND, Ky. — Four coal miners were convicted here on December 17 on charges of interfering with interstate commerce.

But all Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland are guilty of is defending their jobs, their union, and exercising their right to strike.

The frame-up developed during the 1984-85 strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. The men were tried on charges related to the shooting death of scab coal hauler Hayes West during the strike.

In his final arguments, U.S. Assistant Prosecutor Thomas Self told the jury to follow their "gut instinct" in deciding the guilt of the unionists.

He said the United Mine Workers of America had no right to try to protect its members' jobs during a strike. According to Self, a coal mine is by "rights" a non-union operation.

Union activists, Self said, are "like dinosaurs, a dying breed in eastern Kentucky."

He called on the jury to ignore the holes and inconsistencies in the government's case and he appealed to a jury to send a message to all those who mine coal in eastern Kentucky that "a new time has come."

"To believe the defense you would have to believe that the coal company, police, and government conspired and that witnesses followed a script," he emphasized.

The fact is that, in the course of the trial, defense attorneys showed how this coal company-government frame-up devel-

oped. The strike against Samoyed Coal and other Massey-related mining operations in the area was having an impact on company profits.

### Gun thugs

The union had effectively used mass pickets, marches, demonstrations, caravans, and road patrols. The coal company responded by bringing in a private army of gun thugs to try to break the strike. But the union had the support of most of the people in this area and was holding firm.

"The company needed an injunction that would take down a picket line so they staged a shoot-'em-up," defense attorney Miller Kent Carter explained.

Massey hired George Snodgrass, a former military intelligence officer and expert on sniper-type attacks.

Defense attorneys showed during the trial that Snodgrass, with the help of various government agencies, staged an attack on the coal company's own trucks.

This was done to sway public opinion away from the union, to coverup the company's own use of violence, and to help get the federal court's support in attacking the union.

When Hayes West was killed a massive campaign was organized to pin it on the union. This included a Massey-orchestrated media blitz that cost thousands of dollars. And the Kentucky State Police issued a memorandum listing the names of 11 union members and supporters as potential suspects in "violent" incidents.

The court responded by issuing injunctions effectively dismantling the picket, and huge fines were imposed on the union and its individual leaders and activists.

After the strike was defeated, the Kentucky cops, the FBI, and the federal Bu-

reau of Alcohol, Firearms, and Tobacco and the Justice Department spent two years putting together the frame-up.

Ten of the 11 miners listed on the Kentucky cops' "hit list" in July 1985, end up as principals in the case.

Union member Paul Smith is scheduled to stand trial January 11 on the same charges as the four men just convicted here.

Five others aided or testified for the government in the case after being threatened, bribed, or cajoled.

Taken on the evidence, the government's case did not hold together. Witnesses repeatedly contradicted each other. Testimony made it appear as if the Kentucky cops were confused, foolish, and inefficient during their investigation of West's death.

But the cops and the U.S. government agencies knew exactly what they were doing. They never intended to conduct a serious investigation. They were conducting a frame-up with the intention of dealing a serious blow to the union here.

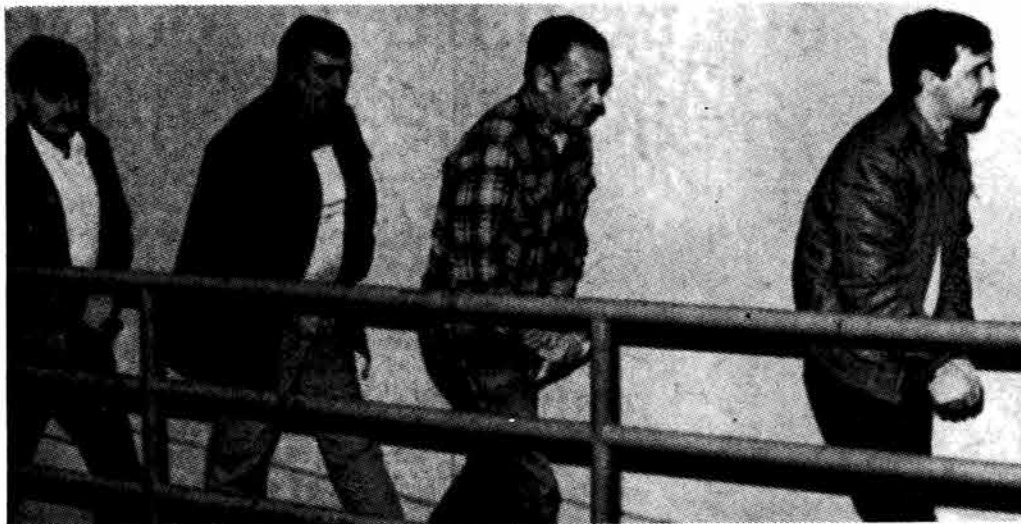
### Conduct of judge

At times the conduct of U.S. Judge Henry Wilhoit was designed to make spectators think that the proceedings were fair.

Wilhoit would piously scold the prosecutor for wasting time or he would w eloquent in reminding the jury about the solemn duty to remain impartial.

But on four occasions when blatant examples of government misconduct came to light, the judge refused to declare a mistrial.

Following the reading of the verdict, the courthouse was suddenly filled with dozens of extra cops.



(From left) Coal miners Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Arnold Heightland, James Darryl Smith in custody.



# struggle'

id

nes of South Africa. There are also the orkers recruited from the so-called home-nd areas. Despite the different countries id languages, there is a commonality of terests," he continued.

"A Mozambican working in South Af-a becomes oppressed and exploited in e same way as a black South African. We lieve that the workers of Mozambique ve no interests different than the workers South Africa."

Golding went on to explain that "it is outh Africa that is carrying out the ag-essive acts of banditry against Mozam-que and other countries, and the families fected are those of the Mozambican orkers in South African industry."

in this way, the union organizers explain at "all workers have a common enemy, id that the defeat of this enemy enhances e long-term freedoms won by Mozambi-n workers in their own country. As long the workers of South Africa are not free, orkers elsewhere in southern Africa ill have lasting peace," Golding said.

"The conquest of power and change is ing to come from the internal forces in- de the country." But, he added, "intern- onal solidarity is a vital link that nour- hes any popular struggle."

"This support should not be only at the vel of formal denunciations of apartheid. 's got to be organizational and material, th concrete actions," Golding said.

Golding saw the just-concluded Interna- onal Miners Organisation conference as ilding fraternal links and a more effec- ve movement to help isolate the apartheid gime, and strengthen the struggles, espe- ally of miners, inside South Africa."

He mentioned the recent action taken by "stralian seamen who had refused to ork on ships carrying oil to South Africa.

"The agencies of imperialism, the trans- tional corporations, have to be fought t only by workers in the developing untries, but this struggle has to be as- ted by workers in other parts of the orld where these transnationals have their adquaters," he concluded.

## coal miners

When wives and other members of the endants' families could not restrain ir emotions and began sobbing in disbe- at the verdict, Wilhoit demanded that e be no emotional displays. Marshals eated to eject the crying women and e were forced to leave the courtroom.

As the four men sat there in shock, and their family members wept, the judge k several minutes to chat with the jury l to wish them happy holidays.

While this was going on, a coal miner l brother of one of the accused leaned r the bench and whispered in this report- s ear. "See what kind of justice a coal er gets in Kentucky," he said.

The jury did not impose a life sentence the four miners, but they still face up to years in prison. Wilhoit will sentence men at the conclusion of Paul Smith's l in January.

Defense attorneys immediately an- nced that they will appeal the verdict. orney George Howell explained the de- se effort had been handicapped by a k of resources. Howell said the govern- nt had expended vast resources on the ne-up while the miners and their ilies were "poor people."

Barbara Thornsby, wife of defendant vid Thornsby said, "The verdict has hing to do with fair, nothing to do with t. If it was fair or just, David would be h me now." She encouraged people to p sending messages of support to the n in prison.

Messages can be sent to the defendants Montgomery County Regional Jail, 751 enault Lane, Mt. Sterling, Ky. 40353.

Contributions for legal expenses can be t to Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, . 41519.



Black miners demonstrating in Johannesburg, South Africa. Some 340,000 miners participated in August 1987 strike called by NUM.

## Union negotiations with coal operators are under way

BY NORTON SANDLER

Contract negotiations between mine union officials and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) have been under way since November 12. The current contract expires Jan. 31, 1988.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) represents 85,000 miners. That's about half the country's working miners. Another 45,000 UMWA members are on layoff. About 60 percent of the U.S. soft coal production is carried out at UMWA-organized mines.

"Increased job opportunities and economic security for our members, their families, and the communities where BCOA-member companies do business are our number one priorities," UMWA President Richard Trumka was quoted as saying in a December *United Mine Workers Journal* article.

The article stated, "If the companies cooperate, the UMWA will do everything in its power to make sure that contract talks with Bituminous Coal Operators' Association are settled without a strike."

"It is clear to me that the interests of the UMWA and the operators are not necessarily mutually exclusive," Trumka said.

Trumka urged coal industry negotiators to "work with the union to provide a Christmas present for UMWA members

and their families and for the operators' customers."

The December *Journal* also reports on a series of regional and district conferences held in September and October where various options to pressure the coal companies during negotiations were discussed. Among the options considered were selective strikes, on-the-job pressure campaigns, and corporate campaigns.

In 1986 the UMWA held a special bargaining convention where job security was adopted as a major priority. The convention also approved an increase in dues so that the union could bring its selective-strike fund up to \$100 million.

The BCOA represents 14 companies in the current negotiations. They include Peabody Coal, Consolidation Coal, and Amax Coal Co. — the three largest U.S. coal companies.

Some 30 companies, including USX and BethEnergy (Bethlehem Steel's mining operation), have signed me-too agreements with the union. Those agreements tie the

companies to the same wage and benefit scale negotiated in the BCOA settlement. In return, the union won't strike any of their mines.

### EESP

The union has also worked out an agreement with Island Creek Corp. and a few other companies called the 1987 Employment and Economic Security Pact. Signers of the EESP have agreed that UMWA members will get preferential hiring at any mine owned by that company regardless of whether that mine is currently organized by the union. The agreement also covers hiring at any mines the company opens during the life of the contract.

In return, the union agreed not to strike Island Creek or the other signatories of the EESP. Under the EESP, coal companies are allowed to reduce the royalties they pay into the 1950 pension fund from \$1.11 per ton of coal mined to 25 cents a ton. That fund covers 90,000 pre-1976 retirees or

Continued on next page

## West German coal miners' action supports steelworkers' fight against mill shutdowns

BY LÜKO WILLMS

FRANKFURT, Federal Republic of Germany — Tens of thousands of steelworkers and others in the Ruhr Valley and other steel- and coal-mining centers in West Germany staged strikes and demonstrations December 10. About 100,000 miners in all 32 of the country's coal mines stopped work for 90 minutes in solidarity.

The actions were the high point of a wave of outrage that began when the Krupp Corp. announced plans to shut down their steel mill in Duisburg-Rheinhausen, depriving 5,300 workers of their jobs. This was the third shutdown of a steel mill announced this year.

According to estimates made public December 12, some 40,000 steel jobs will be eliminated by the end of the 1980s — 10,000 of them in Duisburg, which has two other steel mills in addition to the Krupp facility. In addition, 30,000 out of the 160,000 miners face loss of their jobs.

The moves are part of a concerted effort by German and other European steel barons to alleviate their economic difficulties by agreements to restrict and cut back production. Under the quota system in steel production, recently reaffirmed by representatives of the West European governments, about 16 million tons a year of steel-production capacity is to be shut down by mid-1988.

The December 10 actions were in re-

sponse to a call by the IG Metall, the union that organizes steelworkers and other workers in metal-related industries, for nationwide protests on that date.

At 3:30 in the morning steelworkers in Duisburg moved out to shut down the three bridges over the Rhine River, as well as expressways and highway access points. As a result, the city could only be reached by train. The city's big department stores shut down. Schools were closed.

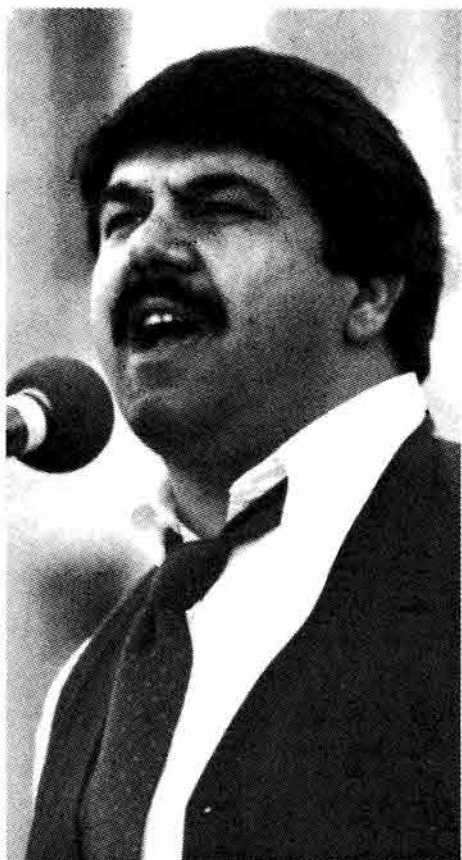
Eight workers staffing roadblocks were injured when cars were intentionally driven into them.

Workers at all three steel mills went on strike. They were joined by steelworkers in five other cities. Auto workers at the Opel plant in Bochum stopped the line at 11 a.m. in a gesture of solidarity.

About 4,000 miners marched in Saarbrücken.

The previous day, 10,000 workers and city employees in Duisburg had protested the announced mill shutdowns. Days earlier, thousands of students had paraded in opposition.

Union shop stewards and others signed an appeal that was distributed in the Ruhr Valley. "We expect solidarity not only as a duty of mutual aid, but also as a safeguard of one's future. . . . The trusts want to achieve maximum profits. Against that, resistance must grow."



Militant/Miguel Pendas  
UMWA President Richard Trumka



# South African unionists, youth, women address anti-apartheid conference

BY KATHY MICKELLS  
AND SAM MANUEL

ARUSHA, Tanzania — The high point of the international anti-apartheid conference held in this East African country was presentations and participation by activists who came from inside South Africa. They are involved in the trade union, women's, youth, and democratic struggles of their country.

The December 1-4 International Conference of the Peoples of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa was organized by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, which is leading the fight against apartheid and for a democratic, nonracial South Africa. The event also celebrated the ANC's 75th anniversary.

A large and broad delegation from South Africa had planned to attend the conference, but only a few were allowed to leave the country by the apartheid regime.

Each of them reaffirmed recognition of the ANC as the sole representative of the South African liberation movement. They strongly supported the demand for implementation of comprehensive, mandatory international sanctions against South Africa.

The speaker from the South African trade union movement linked the development of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) with the long, bitter struggles of the South African people for freedom. The formation of the half-million-member COSATU in December 1985 "was the result of struggle, debate, quarrel, and persuasion both internally and externally, helped by leaders of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions [SACTU]," he stated. SACTU was a nonracial trade union organization founded in 1955.

Calling for unity among South African workers, he stressed, "The existence of COSATU should be jealously guarded."

Expanding on the unity theme, he stated that workers in South Africa, "don't see the need for the existence of any other national liberation movement except the ANC. The ANC is an organ of unity. It was founded on the principle of broad unity amongst our people."

He stressed the continuing leadership role of the ANC and SACTU in the fight against apartheid. COSATU and the broad anti-apartheid coalition, the United Democratic Front, "do not wish to, and will never replace SACTU and the ANC respectively.

Both organizations are still relevant and valid today in South Africa," he said.

The union leader explained that the focus of the workers' struggle in South Africa is for the "Living Wage" campaign. "In reality it is a political demand for self-determination for us Blacks. We demand housing, better education for our kids, hospitals, better salaries, and no taxation without representation," he said.

## COSATU's positions

He reminded the conference delegates of the decisions of COSATU's Second National Congress. The resolutions adopted called for the imposition of immediate, mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, including an oil and arms embargo; and for cutting of cultural, sporting, trade, academic links, airline landing rights, and export and import of South African goods and finance — in short, the total isolation of South Africa.

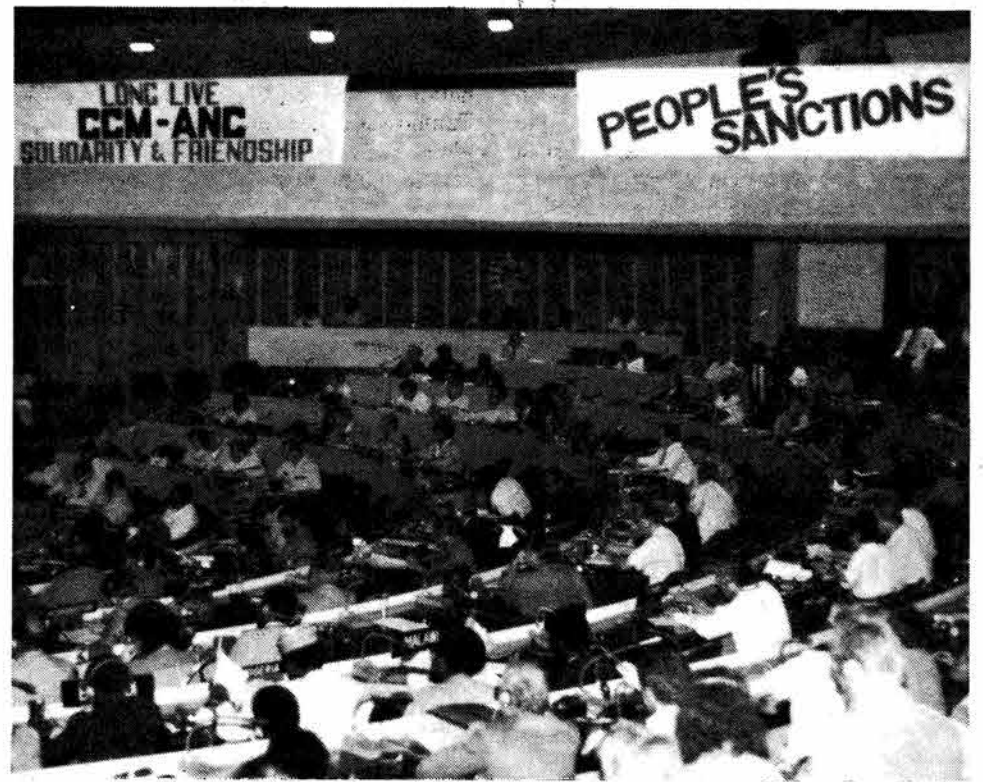
COSATU also called for assistance to the countries neighboring South Africa, granting them all material necessary, including investments. It demanded the recognition of the Angolan government by governments that have not yet done so, including Washington, and rejection of linking the withdrawal of Cuban troops in Angola to the independence of South Africa-ruled Namibia.

COSATU also adopted the Freedom Charter, the guiding document of the South African revolution. The charter was approved in 1955 by the Congress of the People organized by the ANC.

"It was adopted as a living document," the union leader stated, "enshrining our minimum demands for a democratic government, which is a necessary condition for a transformation to scientific socialism."

He emphasized, "The Freedom Charter is still relevant, and is very much alive today. These demands we will fight for, side by side, sparing neither strength nor courage, until we achieve them as workers, youth, women, businessmen, churchmen, and as every democrat."

Stressing the independence of COSATU from the dictates of the South African, U.S., and British governments, he explained, "We invited comrades from Cuba, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Angola, Mozambique, etc., to our [second] congress. Some sent messages of support. We are not doing this to alienate our good comrades and supporters



Militant/Sam Manuel

Delegates at African National Congress-sponsored conference against apartheid.

from the West. But we have the right to make friends and relations everywhere."

## Role of youth

The speaker for the South African democratic youth movement explained the role of young people in the fight against apartheid. Their role has been integrated in all the campaigns and is a key component in "rendering the Botha-Malan military junta ungovernable," he said. Pieter Botha is president, and Gen. Magnus Malan is minister of defense of the South African apartheid government.

The youth are also actively involved in the "Save the 32 Patriots" campaign. Thirty-two Black South Africans have been sentenced to death based on charges of alleged criminal acts committed during protests against the apartheid regime in 1985 and '86.

A central campaign of the youth has been defense of student rights to organize politically. Under the state of emergency the regime has clamped down on student activities. Some universities have been occupied by the South African army.

The high rate of unemployment among youth has driven some into the army, he explained. Recruitment is prevalent in the rural Bantustans. The Bantustans, or so-called independent homelands, are reserves to which Black South Africans are restricted.

The youth leader stated, "although this policy tried to divide the youth and actually sow enmity, many of those recruited,

realizing how they are used against their people, ended up escaping from the army camps," he said.

## Women in the Bantustans

The situation of women in the Bantustans was the focus of the presentation of a woman leader from South Africa.

"In the so-called homelands," she said, "women are forced to join Bantustan women's organizations — for example the Gazankulu Women's Association — that are under the leadership of homeland leaders. If they refuse to do so they are threatened with arrest or fired from their jobs. This applies to the government servants. The elders have their pensions withdrawn from them."

Women have taken part in campaigns for the release of children jailed by the regime, troops out of the townships, for proper housing, and education for children. They are carrying out consumer boycotts of businesses that support the apartheid regime, as well as boycotts of high rents and transport fees.

Although efforts to form a national women's organization are still developing, local and regional organizations exist throughout the country.

The opportunity for conference participants to hear these presentations and to engage in discussions with these fighters from South Africa educated and armed the delegates with invaluable information to carry out the struggle against apartheid.

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The January issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* features an extensive analysis describing the discussion taking place in Nicaragua about the advances of women since the 1979 revolution, and the challenges they face advancing the fight for their rights.



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## Mine negotiations under way

### Continued from previous page

their surviving spouses. The 1950 benefit plan is fully funded.

BCOA spokesperson Bobby Brown denounced the Island Creek settlement.

"This is an apparent attempt to improve the competitive position of UMWA labor, without, however, any apparent improvement in the competitive position of coal represented by UMWA labor. These agreements are band-aids," Brown said, "for serious problems that cannot be solved with a quick fix."

At the BCOA's urging, the National Labor Relations Board has filed a complaint designed to overturn the EESP agreements.

### Coal operators' demands

In a well-publicized interview in early 1987, E.B. Leisenring, chairman of the Westmoreland Coal Co., spelled out some of the large coal operators' demands. He said the UMWA must be willing to accept more flexible work schedules, working conditions, and also accept the use of diesel equipment underground.

According to Leisenring, Westmoreland

Coal wants to impose a 10-hour workday, and a four-day workweek, and Sunday work as a norm at its mines. The company also wants to eliminate job bidding altogether because it gets in the way of having well-trained, experienced work crews.

Unlike most unionists today, UMWA members have the right to read the full text of their contracts before voting on them. This was conquered in the late 1960s and early 1970s in a series of struggles around health and safety. In the process the ranks swept aside the corrupt Tony Boyle leadership and won an important measure of democracy in their union.

Being able to exercise union power, including the right to vote and act at contract time, has been an important part of the UMWA members holding off many of the takebacks imposed on other unions during the last decade. This was true during the hard-fought 1977-78 and 1981 coal strikes.

In 1984 the union was able to win a basically nonconcessionary contract from the BCOA without a national strike. Companies that refused to sign the BCOA agreement were targeted for selective strike.



# Tanzania hosts mass anti-apartheid rally

## International conference winds up

BY KATHY MICKELLS

ARUSHA, Tanzania — More than 15,000 residents of this city gathered at the National Stadium for a mass rally against apartheid and for a democratic South Africa. The December 4 rally — organized by Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the ruling party of Tanzania — expressed solidarity with the just-concluded international conference here called on the same theme.

The rally was preceded by a demonstration of bands and contingents of young school-aged children, women, and soldiers who marched through the city's streets. Starting at noon and continuing for four hours, the contingents carried placards demanding the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the abolition of apartheid. They passed through communities hailing others to join them.

This neighborhood gathering of forces is one of the main ways of organizing rallies in Arusha. There is no television and little radio in Tanzania.

The rally was opened by Salim Ahmed Salim, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and national service for Tanzania and chair of the concluded conference. He introduced Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, to a standing ovation.

Tambo stressed the relationship and the importance of the struggle against apartheid for the Tanzanian people, the whole of Africa, and the international community.

Speaking to the people of Tanzania, Tambo said, "You started the struggle for liberation in 1954. Within seven years you had won your independence. We started our struggle in 1912 and 75 years later we still have not won our independence.

"Why is it? The reason — our struggle in the first instance is the struggle for the independence of Africa, all Africa. That all Africa's struggle is not over yet. The reason the ANC is still fighting is the rest of Africa is still fighting with us."

Pointing to the participants in the international conference present at the rally, Tambo stated that the ANC and the struggle in South Africa has always had friends in the international community. But, he emphasized, "Never has the international community been so united in opposition to apartheid and the occupation of Namibia. So you see, never has apartheid ever been so isolated."

Stressing the current stage of the struggle and the tasks ahead, Tambo called for a stepping up of activities both outside and inside South Africa.

The ANC leader stressed the centrality of the demand for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa for those who oppose apartheid. Referring to those countries that oppose sanctions, Tambo said, "It is time that the international community identify these countries and focus attention on them."

Refuting the claim that the ANC is "terrorist," and in reference to South Africa's support to the rightist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Tambo stated, "Why is not UNITA a terrorist organization? Why is ANC terrorist? I suggest the ANC is fighting for majority rule to liberate the Black population from white domination."

Turning to the international conference, Tambo emphasized the important resolutions of the gathering. "We have at the conference adopted a program of action. Its success will be based on its carrying out.

"There is a crisis in South Africa," he stated. "The only way to get rid of the crisis is to erase apartheid from the face of the world. Victory is not today or tomorrow — nothing now can save the apartheid regime, this system, from destruction. We from South Africa, Namibia, southern Africa, peoples of the world, will break down and destroy that system."



Militant/Sam Manuel  
ANC President Oliver Tambo speaking at December 4 anti-apartheid rally in Arusha, Tanzania.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Mexico economy reeling as gov't devalues peso

On December 14 the Mexican government announced a series of emergency economic measures designed to gain some control of the country's rapidly worsening economic situation, including lowering the official exchange rate to 2,200 pesos to the dollar.

Other measures include immediate price increases of more than 85 percent in certain basic items such as gasoline, sugar, telephone rates, and electricity; government budget cuts; tax increases; and a reduction in tariffs on imported goods. More severe measures may be in the offing for next spring.

The deterioration in Mexico's economy was dramatically registered in October, when the country's stock market collapsed two weeks before the New York Stock Exchange crash. Panic selling of the peso drove down the currency's value, and the flight of capital out of the country stepped up.

Some 62 percent of Mexico's exports go to the U.S. market, and more than two-thirds of Mexico's imports come from the United States.

The Mexican Labor Federation called a general strike for December 18 in response to the government's measures. It was called off when the government announced an immediate wage increase of 15 percent. Minimum wage earners are to receive an additional 20 percent increase in January. These increases fell far short of the 46 percent demanded by the unions.

Inflation in Mexico has been running at more than 140 percent and threatens to spiral out of control. The real wages of workers have dropped by more than 50 percent in the last five years. The government has announced a goal of cutting the inflation rate in half in 1988.

Some discussion in government and banking circles of limiting payment on Mexico's \$100 billion foreign debt is occurring.

### Korean election results protested by thousands

Thousands of students and workers took to the streets of Kwangju and Seoul beginning December 17 to protest the outcome of Korea's presidential election, held the previous day. The ruling party's candidate, Roh Tae Woo, claimed victory in the election, with 36.5 percent of the vote. Opposition candidates and leaders refused to recognize the results of the election, charging widespread fraud. They have formed a coalition to work to overturn the results.

Two opposition candidates, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, reportedly received 28 percent and 26.9 percent of the vote respectively. Kim Dae Jung, the most prominent opposition figure in the country, carried Seoul, the capital city, where one-quarter of the country's voters live. He also garnered 93 percent of the votes in Kwangju, cap-

ital city of his home province and site of the 1980 massacre of some 2,000 antigovernment demonstrators by government troops.

Before large-scale protests last summer forced the government of current President Chun Doo Hwan to allow Kim Dae Jung's return and participation in the presidential campaign, he had been detained, exiled, held under death sentence, and placed under house arrest for his political activities against the country's authoritarian regime. Kim Dae Jung said the December 16 election was "a coup d'etat in the name of election."

Roh is a former general who was part of the 1980 coup that brought Chun to power. Last June Chun designated Roh as his successor, which set off a series of massive protests and strikes that forced the government to schedule direct elections for December.

The National Coalition for Democracy, a federation of antigovernment church and human rights groups, issued a statement that said, "What took place today was a fraudulent election that was so obvious and of an extent that we have never seen before."

Meanwhile, on December 17 the U.S. State Department rushed to congratulate Roh on his victory. There are some 40,000 U.S. troops permanently stationed in South Korea.

### Rumanian workers hit pay cuts; win bonuses

Rumanian workers will be receiving pay bonuses later this month and again next year President Nicolae Ceausescu announced in mid-December. Lower-paid workers will receive payments of 15 percent of their monthly wages; higher-paid workers will get 10 percent.

This announcement follows last month's militant demonstration by thousands of tractor and truck workers in the industrial city of Brasov, who protested a 20 percent wage cut that was to be imposed on them because their factory fell 20 percent short of its production goals.

The workers were also protesting the extreme austerity measures imposed by the government six years ago to repay the country's foreign debt. While Rumania exports food to Western Europe and the Soviet Union, there is a severe shortage of food inside the country itself. Milk and meat are virtually impossible for workers to obtain. Restrictions on energy use, including a 30 percent cut in energy use in homes and other nonindustrial sites, mean cold and dark homes and public places.

University students, unable to study without heat or lights, demonstrated for better conditions last winter and won some improvements. The food shortages are also causing the reappearance of health problems associated with malnutrition.

Ceausescu also announced that the government's austerity measures would continue.

## New threat to abortion rights in Britain prompts protests

BY DENNY FITZPATRICK

LONDON — Liberal Party Member of Parliament David Alton has submitted a bill that would lower the maximum time limit for legal abortions to 18 weeks. The current limit of 28 weeks was established in 1967 when the Abortion Law Reform Act was passed. Abortions had been outlawed in Britain until then.

When Alton submitted his proposal on October 27, 300 abortion rights supporters demonstrated in protest.

The National Abortion Campaign and the Abortion Law Reform Association and Co-ord have established the Fight the Alton Bill Campaign.

Member of Parliament Jo Richardson, speaking at a news conference organized by the campaign, said, "We believe it is the first step in a series of moves to dismantle the Abortion Rights Act altogether." She discussed plans to establish Fight Alton Bill committees across the country.

Although the new attack on abortion rights has been submitted as a "private member's bill," without the official sponsorship of the government, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has indicated that she favors reducing the time limit.

Thatcher stated, "Administratively, we

have done all we can to see that abortions are not carried out after more than 24 weeks."

As Thatcher indicated, the government uses bureaucratic red tape to block as many abortions as possible or delay them to the last possible moment. Fewer than 11,000 of the 172,000 abortions currently performed annually in Britain take place after 18 weeks. The majority of women who terminate their pregnancies after 18 weeks actually sought abortions before 12 weeks but were held up by red tape.

A reduction in the limit will create even more leeway for the government to obstruct the exercise of the right to abortion.

Among those affected will be women who are carrying fetuses with severe abnormalities. The amniocentesis and spina bifida tests can only be administered after 16 weeks. Another severely affected category will be women from Ireland, where abortion is outlawed. About 3,000 of these women a year are forced to come to Britain for the procedure.

Ever since abortion up until 28 weeks was legalized, there have been 14 attempts to restrict it further or outlaw it altogether. Each one has been beaten back by protests and broad support for abortion rights, including in the union movement.

One of these threats, in 1979, was met by a demonstration of 50,000 called by the Trades Union Congress, the labor federation. Both the TUC and the Labour Party officially support the 1967 act.

An intensive propaganda campaign is being carried out in favor of new limits on when women can have abortions. The propaganda attempts to shift the issue from the rights of women to estimates of the viability of fetuses at different stages of development.

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**Inside scoop** — According to columnist Jack Anderson, the CIA hoped to get a sample of Gorbachev's stool during his visit, to help determine the state of his health. "One of the CIA's great triumphs," he confides, "was the



**Harry Ring**

diversion of the late Nikita Khrushchev's excrement before it was flushed down the toilet."

**Don't laugh** — Concerning the

above, Anderson explains: "While it may all sound like scatological stuff and nonsense, the CIA is dead serious about it. They have to be. The security of our country and allies often rests on the results of such examinations."

**Almost as mighty as the buck** — "The pen is mightier than the sword," declared a full-page newspaper ad noting that Gorbachev and Reagan signed their agreement with a Parker.

**Artistic freedom, USA** — For eight years, Rene Moncada's mural graced the wall of a beat-up old building in New York's thriving art district, Soho. But now it's been whitewashed over. A landlord demanded \$500 a month rent.

**A no-nonsense company** — "Just because 6,000 people drown every year, does that mean we should outlaw swimming?" — A Honda exec responding to demands for government action on all-terrain vehicles, which caused 105 deaths and 63,600 injuries in the first nine months of 1987.

**No rest for the enterprising** — A San Francisco outfit is removing the heads from unsold Oliver North dolls and replacing them with Gorbachev's, plus a blue suit in place of the marine uniform. \$19.95.

**Milktoast amateurs** — "The fact that [the bodies] did not show signs of torture indicates that there was no involvement by the military forces." — *El Tiempo*, a

Bogotá, Colombia, paper.

**Oh** — "Those disappearances that are alleged to have taken place stopped in 1982." — Don Johnson, political officer, U.S. embassy, Honduras. (Noted in NACLA's *Report on the Americas*, along with item from Bogotá.)

**Free marketeers, Inc.** — Since Reagan took office, more than 110 of his senior administration members have been accused of illegal or unethical conduct, not including Contragate or the Wedtech ripoff. Accusations range from lying to Congress to shady stock deals, dispensing favors to friends and relatives, and illegal lobbying.

**'And no more of that canned offal'** — Pet psychics are doing a brisk business among well-heeled Californians by relaying their pets' innermost thoughts, as obtained by extrasensory perception. \$40 to \$60 an hour.

**Our nonmaterialist society** — The *New York Times* recently featured an article on the development of computerized heat therapy for certain cancerous tumors. You'll find it in the business section under the heading "Business Technology."

**Year-end note** — A word of thanks to the readers whose clippings help keep this column going, with special appreciation to R.M. of Kansas City, Kansas.

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Celebrate Publication of Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution.** A Socialist Publications Fund Rally. Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Showing of a short film on Che. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. First United Methodist Church, 1010 S Flower. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**Classes on Socialism. The Secret Police and**

**the Struggle for Democratic Rights.** A class series based on Larry Seigle's article, "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation" in issue No. 6 of *New Internationalist*. Translation to Spanish. Held every Wednesday at 11 a.m. or 7 p.m., Jan. 6, 13, 20.

"The Post-World War II Witch-hunt: the Role of the FBI in Splitting the CIO." Wed., Jan. 6.

"The Second Smith Act Frame-up (1949-50): the Contrast Between the Defense Policies of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party." Wed., Jan. 13.

"The Socialist Workers Party Court Victory

Against the FBI and the Importance of the Struggle for Democratic Rights." Wed., Jan. 20.

Classes held at 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**The Struggle for Democracy in Haiti.** Speakers: Fritz Longchamps, Washington Office on Haiti; Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to French and Spanish. Sat., Jan. 9.

Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3, program \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Struggle for Freedom on the West Bank and Gaza.** Discuss the recent upsurge by Palestinians against Israeli repression. Speakers: representative, General Union of Palestinian Students; Maureen Coletta, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Haiti's Revolutionary Process.** Speakers: Ben Dupuy, *Haiti Progrès* newspaper; representative of Dominican Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**The Summit Talks: The Road to Peace?** A panel discussion. Speakers: Jerry O'Sullivan, member of Democratic Socialists of America; Halket Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 9, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

**Black and Indian Rights in Nicaragua. The Autonomy Plan.** Speaker: James Winfield, participant in Martin Luther King Brigade to Nicaragua, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

#### Pittsburgh

**AIDS: Fight the Disease; Defend the Victims.** Panel of speakers: Eileen Yacknin, National Lawyers Guild AIDS Task Force; Laura Johnston, builder of October 11 gay rights march in Washington, D.C.; Sara Button, Young Socialist Alliance, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 15018. Sat., Jan. 9, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## Howard Beach lynchers convicted

Continued from front page

ment, "There's a real concern in the Black community because there was no murder conviction."

Wilbert Tatum, editor-in-chief of the *Amsterdam News*, a weekly published in New York's Black community, called the verdict "a profound disappointment." It shows, he added, "how cheaply Black life is regarded in this city."

In Brooklyn just hours before the verdict, 1,000 marched to demand justice in the growing number of cases of racist violence.

More than 70 demonstrators, including some of the city's most prominent Black clergymen, were arrested when the rush-hour protest brought bridge and subway traffic to a halt.

The Howard Beach trial lasted 13 weeks. It was marked by persistent efforts by defense attorneys to portray the victims as sinister criminals who had somehow themselves provoked a confrontation with innocent neighborhood youngsters.

Everything possible was done to shift attention from the real issue — the true horror of what happened the night of Dec. 19-20, 1986.

Four young Black men were stranded near this virtually all-white enclave when

the transmission on their car overheated and broke down.

The driver stayed with the car. Timothy Grimes, 18, Michael Griffith, 23, and Cedric Sandiford, 37, decided to walk to the subway.

On the way they stopped at a pizza place in Howard Beach. It was around midnight. Somebody called the cops. And they arrived quickly, clearly to find out what three Blacks were doing in a white neighborhood late at night.

When the owner of the pizza place told the cops there was no problem, they disappeared — like magic. But in their place, waiting outside, was a mob of a dozen or more white thugs, including the four who were just tried.

According to eyewitnesses — who began calling the police emergency number 911 with appeals for help for the Blacks — the gang was armed with a baseball bat, a tire iron, and tree limbs.

Rapping the bat on the sidewalk, one of the terrorists — Scott Kern — shouted, "Niggers, get out of the neighborhood!"

The mob closed in, and the attack began. Grimes defended himself with a knife and escaped major injury.

Sandiford and Griffith, unarmed, were outnumbered six-to-one. They were chased

like hunted animals through the streets and alleys of Howard Beach.

More calls poured in to the 911 operator. The police still didn't come.

Griffith and Sandiford managed to escape for a moment, were caught, and then beaten again.

Griffith, chased out onto an expressway and running for his life, was hit by an oncoming automobile. Hurling through the air, he was killed almost instantly.

By this time, police records show, more than a dozen emergency calls had been logged. The cops finally arrived. But Michael Griffith was already dead.

Sentencing of his killers is scheduled for January. Seven more members of the lynch mob face legal proceedings on lesser charges.

### Labor news in the Militant

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

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# How Israel provokes Palestinian outrage

BY FRED FELDMAN

Thousands of people in the Gaza Strip, one of the parts of Palestine that was conquered by Israel in 1967 and remains under military rule, are defying murderous gunfire and beatings to demand that the Israeli occupiers get out.

Examples of the kind of oppression that provokes this outrage and defiance can be found in a typical issue of *Al Fajr* (The Dawn), a Palestinian weekly based in occupied East Jerusalem and published in both Arabic and English. The following descriptions are based on reporting from the December 13 issue of the English-language edition of that paper.

For the Arab farmers of a village near Jericho, the Israeli occupation means drought and the catastrophic decline of their banana, vegetable, and other crops.

Al-Ouja's irrigation problems began in 1979 when the Israeli authorities dug three wells nearby to supply water to Israeli Jewish settlements being set up on confiscated Arab land. These wells depleted water from the nearby spring, which dried up completely in 1985. Under the circumstances, low rainfall this year had disastrous results.

While the villagers have not been permitted to dig new wells, the nearby Israeli Jewish settlements have swimming pools and bumper crops. The government dissolved a local agricultural society that attempted to provide loans and other help to Arab farmers.

Preventing drought relief for Palestinians is part of the Israeli government's policy of forcing Arabs off the land so that it can be turned over to Israeli settlers. Plans are under way to divert half the ground water in the occupied Jordan Valley area to Jewish settlements.



Palestinian women being harassed by Israeli soldiers at roadblock. Daily abuses provoke widespread outrage against Israeli occupiers.

On December 6 nearly 1,000 troops and police stood guard as the government began the confiscation of the Palestinian-owned Jerusalem Electric Co., over the opposition of both the company administration and the union. The company has provided electricity for 70,000 Arabs.

The company's operations, beginning with the supply of electricity to Jewish settlements, are gradually being turned over to the Israeli Electric Corp. The Israeli authorities claimed the takeover was to insure adequate service and enforce payments of

debts — many of them stemming from confiscatory taxes and other discriminatory moves imposed on the Arab-owned business.

The takeover is linked to plans to establish more Israeli Jewish settlements on land now belonging to Arabs in the area covered by the Palestinian firm.

The workers struck for three days in protest against the takeover of the electric company, which is expected to lead to many layoffs.

On December 9, for the third time in re-

cent months, the Israeli authorities destroyed a Moslem mosque in the Arab township of Rahat. About 200 cops and other government forces, with dogs and horses, moved into the town.

Local residents were ordered to remain in their homes while police took down a tent that people in the community were using for religious services. They confiscated copies of the Koran, the sacred book of the Moslem religion, and other religious books, as well as loudspeakers used to call people to prayer.

## Forced confession

Abdel Aziz Jarrar was arrested October 21 on the West Bank and thrown into Jenin Prison. He was charged with membership in Fatah, one of the leading groups in the Palestine Liberation Organization. When he denied the charge, the authorities set out to get a confession from him.

"The interrogators forced me to lie on a table with my hands tied behind my back," Jarrar said. "They put several bags on my head and closed my mouth and nose until I felt I would suffocate."

Jarrar said that four or five "interrogators" held his legs and hands while they struck his genitals. This was repeated three times, for several minutes at a time. Fearing that he would be killed, Jarrar gave the torturers the confession they demanded. He has now repudiated it.

A few weeks earlier, another Palestinian prisoner had died while under interrogation at the Jenin Prison.

On December 10, *Al Fajr* reports, Palestinian journalists held a news conference to protest the order placing Radwan Abu Ayyash, head of the Arab Journalists' Association, under administrative detention for six months. Soldiers broke into his house at night and seized him.

The practice of administrative or "preventive" detention allows the authorities to jail people for long periods without charges or a trial.

The law authorizing this practice was imposed during the British colonial rule of Palestine, and continued when the Israeli regime took over in 1948.

The Israeli government attempted to justify the attack on freedom of the press by portraying Ayyash as a "senior Fatah activist."

On December 11, for the third time in two months, the Arabic edition of *Al Fajr* was banned by the Israeli authorities.

## Congress gives contras \$14 million

Continued from front page

quired by the accords, the government of Honduras has taken no steps to dismantle the contra camps that Washington has set up for the contra terrorists there, or to expel the contra units.

Some members of Congress cited the claims of Roger Miranda, a former official in Nicaragua's defense ministry who defected to the United States in October, as their reason for once again supporting aid to the contras.

### Pretext for backing aid

Miranda's public statement, included assertions that the Nicaraguan government was carrying out a massive, aggressive arms buildup and preparing to invade Costa Rica in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. The statements were timed and constructed to provide members of Congress with a pretext for voting to appropriate more for the contras.

A Defense Department aide conceded under questioning December 17 that many of Miranda's claims — including the assertion that Nicaragua planned to invade other countries — were "speculative" and that the documents he had turned over to U.S. officials did not confirm his statements.

In an article on the Sandinista armed forces in the Dec. 20, 1987, *New York Times*, it was admitted that the documents

stolen by Miranda actually show that the Nicaraguan government's military operations and plans were defensive. "The Sandinista plan calls for gradually converting the armed forces from their present counterinsurgency mission, with units organized to fight the contras backed by the United States, to a more conventional force intended to deter or defeat an invader."

Nicaragua has built up its armed forces and militia to meet the threats posed by the contra war, and to counter Washington's military buildup in Central America and threats to invade Nicaragua. As a sovereign nation, Nicaragua has the right to get the arms it needs wherever it can — including from the Soviet Union.

For Washington, which has bankrolled and organized a six-year war of aggression against Nicaragua, to denounce the Sandinista government for building up an army and militia is the height of arrogance.

Washington has not been able to overturn the Sandinista government or even gain a military stronghold inside Nicaragua through the contra war. But the war has had a devastating impact on Nicaragua. More than 40,000 people have been killed in a country with a population of 3.5 million. Thousands more have been maimed or otherwise injured. Schools, hospitals, crops, and even whole villages have been badly damaged or destroyed.

In addition to the destruction wrought by the contras, Washington has forced the Nicaraguan government to pour vast resources — nearly half the country's budget — into the war effort. There are shortages of food, oil, and other basic necessities. Unemployment has increased, and living standards are declining.

The congressional vote in favor of continuing and expanding the funding of the contras is aimed at increasing the suffering of the Nicaraguan people, in hopes of breaking their resistance to the restoration of U.S. domination of their country.

## — 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25c  
Dec. 30, 1977

The massive protest movement of working farmers sweeping the country like a prairie fire is the largest since the Farm Holiday movement of the early 1930s. Since August, scores of rallies and tractor-cades have mobilized tens of thousands of angry farmers to demand that the government guarantee a price high enough for their products so they can make a living.

Local protests, beginning with a tractor parade and rally in Clarkfield, Minnesota, on August 30, built up to a national action on December 10, where thousands of farmers drove their tractors into 30 state capitals and Washington, D.C. The largest action occurred in President James Carter's home state of Georgia where more than 8,000 tractors converged on Atlanta.

Placards and bumper stickers bore slogans that captured the spirit of the protesters: "Crime doesn't pay, neither does farming," "Try eating your money, big shot!" "If the good Lord had intended for farmers to be broke, he wouldn't have made overalls with pockets," and "Parity not charity."

When the Carter administration refused to even consider their demands, the protesting farmers, loosely organized in the American Agriculture Movement, launched a strike on December 14. The strikers are determined to withhold their products from the market, to refuse to buy anything except bare necessities, and to refuse to produce at the next planting season.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
Dec. 31, 1962 Price 10c

When the *barbudos* marched into Havana four years ago, it would have taken quite a crystal ball to foresee the actual course of development of the Cuban revolution. One possible course was the familiar pattern of Latin American revolutions, which, after the shouting has died down and the promises have been forgotten, disclose nothing changed but the faces in the presidential palace.

But the revolution has made profound changes in the economic, social, and political structure of Cuba by cutting the tentacles of imperialism and starting to build a planned economy. Moreover, it still stands! By mobilizing the masses behind the revolutionary program and by arming the workers and peasants, the revolution has not only gone forward and deepened, but has stood up to the world's most powerful imperialist power.

The fourth birthday of the Cuban revolution finds the Cuban people bloodied, beaten, and suffering from the imperialist economic, political, and military onslaught, but still advancing. That the revolution has accomplished so much so swiftly and against such a powerful enemy is a tribute to the courage and sagacity of the Cuban people and of their revolutionary leaders.

## Palestinian struggle rocks Israel

Continued from front page

The fire is spreading to neighboring Arab countries.

In Lebanon, three days of protest in December were climaxed with a demonstration of 25,000 in the port city of Sidon, a frequent target of Israeli jet bomber raids.

And, December 21, Shiite Muslim guerrillas launched an attack on the Israeli-organized South Lebanon Army. A guerrilla radio declared the attack "a salute to our struggling brothers in the occupied land."

The government of Egypt, the only Arab regime to submit to an Israeli "peace" pact, deemed it necessary to lodge five protests in eight days against the Israeli repression.

The Egyptian ambassador to Israel explained, "You can't imagine the reaction of the Egyptian people when they see the pictures on international television."

The Israeli regime has no difficulty calculating the damage caused by the media's even partial depiction of its efforts to stamp out the rebellion.

One press account said Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was weighing a decision to bar the media from the Gaza Strip.

That coincided with an Israeli TV program that showed a man in civilian clothes taking careful aim with an Uzi submachine gun and firing into the backs of retreating protesters.

The man was disclosed to be a member of Shin Bet, Israel's notoriously lawless secret security force.

If Shamir should decide to bar the media, he would be following the example of the South African regime with which Tel Aviv is so closely allied.



# 1988: 60 years of the 'Militant'

Readers will note from glancing at our masthead that this is the first issue of the *Militant* in 1988.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of our founding. Our first issue, dated Nov. 15, 1928, was published by communists committed to advancing the fight for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States as part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

We have been telling the truth about the struggles of working people ever since. As our masthead says, the *Militant* is "published in the interests of working people."

In the next year, we will review important chapters from our participation in the struggles of working people.

*Militant* contributors and distributors were active in the 1930s in the broad social movement that gave rise to the organization of unions in auto, steel, rubber and other basic industries.

The *Militant* reported extensively on the 1934 rebellion by Teamster-organized workers that led to Minneapolis becoming a union town. That powerful example of class-struggle unionism in action helped inspire an over-the-road campaign that organized tens of thousands of workers into the Teamsters union in the upper Midwest.

The *Militant* was one of the few voices explaining that the U.S. capitalist rulers wanted to get involved in World War II so they could gain advantages over their other imperialist rivals in controlling the resources of and in holding back anticolonial struggles in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Eighteen Teamsters union and Socialist Workers Party leaders were indicted, tried, and convicted in 1941 for opposing the war.

James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, two outstanding communist leaders, were among those convicted.

Cannon was a member of the *Militant*'s first editorial board in 1928 and served as the editor for many years. Dobbs edited the paper during the 1940s.

When Washington dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the *Militant* loudly protested that unprecedented atrocity. The *Militant* opposed Washington's war in Korea, and we were active several years later in helping to build the massive movement against the Vietnam War.

The *Militant* was a champion of the modern civil rights movement, when it began during World War II. We participated in the battles of the late 1950s and '60s that overthrew the Jim Crow system of legal racial segregation.

The *Militant* regularly carried speeches by revolutionary leader Malcolm X at a time when his views were slandered by virtually every other newspaper.

The *Militant* supported the movement for women's equality that blossomed in the late 1960s.

For 60 years, we have welcomed revolutionary struggles around the world from the Palestinians' fight to regain their homeland to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

In 1949, we welcomed the victorious Chinese revolution.

We defended the 1959 Cuban revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, against Washington's never ending military threats, political slanders, and economic pressures. The *Militant* has always pointed to Cuba as an example for the workers and farmers of the United States, the hemisphere, and the world.

We have often carried speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro, including several recent speeches that describe the Cuban leadership's efforts to deepen the communist consciousness and activity of Cuba's workers and farmers.

We established a bureau in Nicaragua within days of the July 19, 1979, revolution. The bureau has provided unique weekly coverage of the efforts of Nicaragua's workers and farmers, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, to defend and advance their revolution. And we have provided firsthand coverage of the six-year-long U.S.-organized contra war, as well as opposition to it in the United States and around the world.

Over the past year we have covered and helped build solidarity with the struggles of paperworkers, meat-packers, farm workers, miners, packing and frozen-food workers, garment workers, and others. Many articles have been written by *Militant* supporters who are active in these and other unions.

We want to welcome the 6,000 new *Militant* readers who subscribed during our fall 1987 drive. We believe that in 1988 you will find the *Militant* an indispensable source of news and analysis.

In the coming weeks we will be contacting subscribers about renewing their subscriptions.

We think there are new opportunities this year to circulate the *Militant* in the United States and internationally, and expand our long-term readership. We invite you to join us.

## Stop attacks on Pathfinder mural

Harassment of the Pathfinder Mural Project by the New York City administration and police constitutes a threat to freedom of expression and democratic rights for everyone. On December 3 an agent of the city's Environmental Control Board hand delivered 35 citations to the Pathfinder Mural Project for "illegally" posting leaflets. The citations carry a maximum penalty of \$100 each.

The leaflets advertised a November 22 open house at which people in the neighborhood could learn firsthand about the project and meet some of the artists involved. The six-story mural is being painted on the Pathfinder Building in Manhattan's Greenwich Village by renowned artists who are active in working-class struggles from around the world.

Portraits of outstanding working-class leaders, whose writings and speeches are published by Pathfinder, appear in the mural.

A few weeks earlier, police had called up the New York City Department of Buildings to register a complaint from "a local citizen." Though the building inspector stated that no permits were necessary for the mural's scaffolding, his boss instructed him to issue a citation if permit requirements were not met. What the requirements are and whether the permits are necessary re-

mained unanswered. The project has obtained permits for the scaffolding anyway.

The mural project has received a wide range of support. Among its sponsors are: singer-composers Pete Seeger, Roy Brown, and Thiago de Mello; poets Dennis Brutus and Sonia Sanchez; film directors Nick Castle, Chris Spotted Eagle, and Howard Petrick; actors Julie Christie and John Connolly; artists and muralists Eva Crockett and Juan Sánchez; Hartford 16 defendants Yvonne Meléndez Carrión and Elías Castro Ramos; immigrant rights defendant Héctor Marroquín; and Don Rojas, press secretary to the late prime minister of Grenada Maurice Bishop.

Attorney Edward Copeland of the law firm of noted civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin will represent the mural project on the charges of "illegal" posting. Supporters of the project have launched a public campaign to protest this attack on democratic rights and to demand that the citations be dropped.

The campaign is being organized through Pathfinder Books at 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. (212) 226-8445. Protest messages should be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007.

## Pentagon readies chemical bombs

At the Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas on December 16, U.S. army personnel began loading containers with a poisonous nerve gas known as GB.

That action marked an end to an 18-year moratorium on the U.S. production of chemical weapons. Last year, Congress authorized the president to end the moratorium. According to the *Washington Post*, the move "kicks off an intensive effort by the Reagan administration to replenish America's aging, leaking stockpile of chemical weapons...."

GB is a chemical killer dating back to World War II. But production of state-of-the-art poisons is also getting under way.

They include more than a million chemical artillery shells, each capable of killing hundreds of people within two to five minutes.

The government of the Soviet Union announced last spring that it had ceased chemical weapons production. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev reportedly raised the issue of continuing the moratorium on chemical weapons production during his recent summit meetings with President Reagan.

While the move to reopen production of chemical weapons was long in the works, the timing was significant. In the wake of the summit, Washington is demonstratively letting the world know that it has not ended its buildup of fiendish weapons of mass destruction — any more than it has stopped deepening its involvement in wars against the people of Central America, southern Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

The end of the moratorium on chemical weapons production deserves to be sharply protested. Not a single penny should be spent on this criminal operation.

## Carlos Fonseca: Nicaragua's first Marxist

BY DOUG JENNESS

Portraits of Nicaraguan revolutionary leader Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca were the first to be painted on the Pathfinder mural in New York City.

Sandino, who led an armed resistance against U.S. occupation forces in Nicaragua in the 1920s and '30s, is familiar to many as the figure from which the revolutionary movement in Nicaragua today has taken its name.

Fonseca is less well known, but no less important than Sandino.

He was the central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) from the time he helped found it in 1961 until his murder by the Somoza tyranny on Nov. 8, 1976.

Active in student struggles in the 1950s, he joined the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party. He later broke politically with this formation. Profoundly affected by the Cuban revolution, he helped establish the FSLN.

Fonseca holds a special place because he was the first to draw on the rich revolutionary experience of Nicaragua's

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

toilers and link it with the historical experiences of the working class internationally.

Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge, who was a cofounder of the FSLN, explains that Fonseca insisted the FSLN "be called Sandinista because the term incorporated a Nicaraguan revolutionary movement into the history of Nicaragua. It incorporated the anti-imperialist element — which is an intrinsic part of the history of this country — and gave it a revolutionary content."

(This is from a 1986 interview with Borge published in the Argentine magazine *Crisis*. It was translated and reprinted in the Nov. 14, 1986 *Militant*.)

Fonseca also drew on the lessons and experiences of the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, especially the socialist revolution in Cuba, which he said opened "a new stage" for the struggle of the Nicaraguan people.

The FSLN was founded under the banners of anti-imperialism and "the emancipation of the exploited classes." Its program, presented in 1969, explained that the FSLN "arose out of the Nicaraguan people's need to have a 'vanguard organization' capable of taking political power through direct struggle against its enemies and establishing a social system that wipes out the exploitation and poverty that our people have been subjected to in past history."

Fonseca emphasized that the FSLN had to be based among the revolutionary workers and peasants. This, he said, was necessary to bring the weight of the toilers to bear in the struggle to overturn the Somoza tyranny.

In an article published in 1969, "Nicaragua: Zero Hour" (*Sandinistas Speak*, Pathfinder, 1982, New York), Fonseca urged the FSLN to explain that its "objective is the socialist revolution, a revolution that aims to defeat Yankee imperialism and its local agents, false oppositionists, and false revolutionaries. This propaganda, with the firm backing of armed action, will permit the Front to win the support of a sector of the popular masses that is conscious of the profound nature of the struggle we are carrying out."

Fonseca had studied the lessons and experiences of the world working-class movement, that is, Marxism.

Borge noted, in the interview referred to above, that Fonseca "was the first Marxist in Nicaragua, the most lucid Marxist.... Because Carlos was not only a student of revolutionary theory; he also knew how to apply it to the concrete reality of Nicaragua. He was a student of Marxism, not a student of manuals but rather of science. He was no stranger to the works of [José Carlos] Mariátegui [Peruvian Marxist] nor the world revolutionary experience."

Fonseca explained that the international framework for the revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua was different and more favorable than in the years when Sandino fought. "Today," he wrote, "revolutionaries of all the subjugated countries are rising up or preparing to go into battle against the empire of the dollar. At the apex of this battle is indomitable Vietnam...."

Borge noted that there was no history of Marxism in Nicaragua before Fonseca. Those who called themselves Marxists in the Nicaraguan Socialist Party were, at the founding of that organization in 1944, "mired in a policy of class collaboration, of support to the bourgeoisie and to U.S. imperialism."

Borge concluded by noting that when Nicaraguan revolutionaries today say "that we have to see Marxism with Nicaraguan eyes and see Nicaragua through a Marxist perspective," it "is a direct result of the philosophy developed by Carlos Fonseca."

Unfortunately, very little of what Fonseca wrote has been translated into English. Perhaps the homage paid by the Pathfinder mural to this great Central American Marxist will help inspire and encourage this to be done. It's a project that deserves serious consideration.



## Daniel Cobos

I talked with Sgt. Daniel Cobos the day he found out he was getting an honorable discharge from the U.S. Air Force. The discharge was effective November 18 and comes after several months of his speaking out against the U.S. government's war in Nicaragua and intervention in Central America. The air force has dropped an investigation of Cobos.

He and other technicians flew nightly spy missions over Nicaragua, picking up electronically transmitted messages. Anything that was considered of intelligence value was transmitted to the Pentagon, CIA, and National Security Agency.

Cobos' contact with Salvadoran refugees and other activists opposed to U.S. policy in Central America, as well as a one-month assignment to Panama, convinced him that he could not go along with what the U.S. government was doing. Cobos, a 30-year-old Chicano, told me, "I felt like I was betraying my own people."

"My fight is over," he told me,

"but the issues that made me want to get out of the air force — specifically, what's going on in Central America — remain. I told myself, 'when this is over, I'm not going to do anything else,'" he said, "but now I realize that I can't stop" speaking out.

Miesa Patterson  
Omaha, Nebraska

## The whole picture

I am presently incarcerated in a Texas prison and I have on several occasions had the opportunity to read your most enlightening paper.

In so many ways I try to enlighten my benighted brothers who I find myself incarcerated with of the injustices occurring in this world everyday. But many times I find myself short of documentation to get the "whole picture" across.

A prisoner  
Rosharon, Texas

## A new breed

With each new election we

shuffle different politicians in and out of power. Though differing in name and party preference, these officials once elected jell into the same mold. Rarely, if ever, do we find an individual who is truly working for the sole benefit of his or her constituents.

In America's democracy we do have periodically free elections. But these free elections are based on rules made by our two largest political parties, and usually those parties' candidates are the only ones on the ballot. Many of what should be considered important issues are purposely disregarded or downplayed.

Many alternative candidates and activists who are trying to educate the masses are financially unable to get their message heard.

In America voting is an important institution. A change for the better will occur when the farmers, workers, and all minorities are knowledgeable of the issues and know they have an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats. If workers, farmers, and minorities stand as one, we will begin to see a

new breed of elected officials.

These new representatives must be determined and unswervingly committed to make all people unquestionably equal in America and around the globe.

It will not be easy and it won't be fast. But I think it's worth a try.

M.G.  
Hampton, Virginia

## Don't miss an issue

I used to buy the *Militant* when I went to the socialist forums in Toronto.

However, with a subscription I get it delivered to my home, and so I don't miss a single issue. The *Militant* is an excellent paper, and I hope you keep up the good work.

Roy Jones  
Brantford, Canada  
P.S. More articles about El Salvador, eh?

## Pro-Israel lobby

The pro-Israel lobby in the United States openly boasts of the power it wields in the political arena. Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson is its current target for political assassination.

In an interview with Jackson in the magazine *Tikkun*, editor Michael Lerner says he undertook the interview "to end all problems with Jesse, to show the centrists in the Jewish world... they would not have any problems with Jackson..."

I came away with the sense that there are deep problems... "If he can't satisfy our audience... he is in deep trouble," Lerner writes. The implication here is that "our audience," i.e. the pro-Israel lobby, has the power to make or break even a presidential candidate.

Why is Jackson's candidacy so unpalatable to the lobby? What is the "deep trouble" alluded to by Lerner after his interview with Jackson? As for Jackson, he supports the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and advocates their inclusion in any Mideast peace discussions. Neither of these positions are acceptable to the pro-Israel lobby.

As to the "deep trouble" looming over him, Jackson will probably lose his bid for the presidency. As former congressman Paul Findley can testify, once the pro-Israel lobby targets a person for political assassination, that career is doomed. In his book *They Dare to Speak out*, Findley says the pro-Israel lobby has made free speech a casualty by skillful use of our free institutions. It stays carefully within the law, he says, but it abuses the spirit of fairness "that is so vital to public debate, effectively denying those who oppose its policies the constitutional right of free speech."

Claire Crouch  
Decatur, Illinois

## Paperworkers' strike

It was November 21 in Jay, Maine. It was a strike. Lots of people spoke and said, "Union in, scabs out!"

People sang. They sang songs like "Union Buster," "Union Maid," and "Health-Care Blues." It was hard for everybody. People marched in the freezing cold, but nobody gave up. Kids smaller than three marched (I'm 10).

People donated \$500 for Christmas. One of the signs said, "Show the I.P. Grinch he cannot steal Christmas from kids."

Unions from all over the East Coast came for the march. The scabs (jerks who steal other people's jobs) put up a slave flag. Union people ripped it up and gave it to people.

While I was walking I met up with a 61-year-old man who had a

problem with his legs, but he still marched. I also met a blind man who marched.

Dana Hedges  
Lexington, Massachusetts

## Good work

Keep up the good work. Please send me 12 weeks. Will send more later.

M.D.  
Worcester, Massachusetts

## Abortion

"There have been at least 21 cases since 1981 in which hospitals have sought court orders to override the wishes of a pregnant woman — by performing a Caesarean section, detaining her against her will, or treating the fetus inside her womb," reported a recent article in the *New York Times*.

One judge decided he could not "indulge the desires of the parents" when there is "substantial risk to the unborn infant."

In another case, George Washington University Hospital sought and won a court order last June requiring a Caesarean section for a woman who was dying of cancer. The woman died soon after the operation. The baby died two hours after delivery.

Lynn Paltrow, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, who fought the court order, said, "The woman and her husband had said they didn't want the operation, and the doctors on staff agreed, but the hospital legal staff called in outside counsel, and within six hours they had a court order."

This month, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals affirmed the order, ruling that since the woman had "at best two days left of sedated life," the court decision was correct.

"They treated this woman as if she were already dead, as nothing more than an incubator who is supposed to sacrifice her life," Paltrow said.

These recent attacks on a woman's right to control her body, under the guise of the "rights of a fetus" must be opposed. Without the right to control their bodies, women are stripped of the most fundamental democratic right of control over our lives.

Deborah Liatos  
Jersey City, New Jersey

## Great coverage

I really enjoy reading the *Militant* every week. Please renew my subscription. Continue the great coverage of topics from the working-class point of view!

John Harris  
Boston, Massachusetts

## Correction

In the December 18 issue of the *Militant*, Chuck Fullerton is misidentified as being the vice-president of Firemen and Oilers Local 246, on strike against International Paper's Androscoggin Mill in Jay, Maine. He is the recording secretary of the local.

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.

The *Militant* special prisoners' fund makes it possible to send subscriptions to prisoners who can't afford them. Where possible, the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help in this important effort, send your contribution to the *Militant's* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Lenin's portrait in Pathfinder mural



Updated sketch of Pathfinder mural. Lenin and four other leaders of Communist International appear in top row of books, right of center.

The Pathfinder Mural Project is an important step in portraying the internationalist base of the working class press.

However, looking at the preliminary sketches of the mural, I had difficulty finding Lenin. Lenin's works are absolutely fundamental and must be recognized as such. The proposed mural design does not convey this.

I am writing to suggest that a recognizable portrait of Lenin be used in the mural.

I am very worried that people driving by looking at the mural, seeing the figure portrayed, will not see Lenin as a central contributor to scientific socialism.

Betsy McDonald  
Phoenix, Arizona

Editor replies: The Pathfinder mural that Betsy McDonald refers to is being painted on the six-story wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York City. When it is completed, the mural will illustrate some of the revolutionary leaders whose writings are published by Pathfinder, an international publisher and distributor of books and pamphlets relating to the struggles of working people.

Work is still in progress on the mural.

So far, portraits of Nicaraguan

revolutionary leaders Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca have been painted.

Among the others to be portrayed are: Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, leaders of the Cuban revolution; Maurice Bishop, assassinated prime minister of Grenada; Malcolm X, one of the foremost leaders in the second half of this century of the U.S. revolutionary movement; Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the communist movement; Rosa Luxemburg, German revolutionary leader; Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa; and James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, outstanding communist leaders of the workers' movement in the United States.

An initial sketch of the mural, as McDonald notes, included a portrait of Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin. The most recent plans of the Pathfinder Mural Project are to portray Lenin with the four other Russian Bolshevik leaders who served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1919-23. They are Nikolai Bukharin, Karl Radek, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev.

The founding of the Com-

munist International in 1919 was the result of the victorious revolution in Russia in October 1917. The Bolshevik team helped lead the International when it was the source of inspiration and communist education for revolutionary fighters in many countries.

Cuban President Fidel Castro recently pointed out that in the current stage of the 20th century, to be revolutionary more and more is to be a communist. To become communists, revolutionary fighters confront the need to reknit their links with the experiences and discussions of the Communist International in its early years.

For this reason, Pathfinder decided in 1982 to begin publication of a multi-volume series to make accessible in English the documents, proceedings, and related materials of the Communist International in Lenin's time. Three volumes have been published so far.

McDonald is rightly concerned that the mural do justice to such an important leader of the international working class as Lenin. The mural project's decision to portray Lenin as the organizer of the leadership team of the Communist International will do just that.



## Pa. paper strikers win new support

### Workers go 'on the road' to reach teachers, miners, steelworkers

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

PITTSBURGH — Striking paperworkers from International Paper Co.'s mill in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, have begun to win new support from miners, steelworkers, and other unionists here in a stepped-up effort to build solidarity with their fight against concessions. The 700 Lock Haven workers are members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787. They've been on strike since June, joining striking or locked-out paperworkers at International Paper mills in Jay, Maine; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama.

Although Lock Haven is only a three-and-a-half hour drive from here, many workers in the Pittsburgh area are not aware of the strike against the paper company. The big-business media has blacked out news of their fight, including the harassment they face by Pennsylvania state cops, who work overtime to escort three shifts of scabs into the mill. So members of Local 1787 decided to go on the road to tell their story.

"We'll go anywhere, anytime, to talk about our fight," said Dick Stark. He and two other local members, Wally Hall and Charlie "Smiley" Wilt, spoke to the Allegheny County AFL-CIO Labor Council in early December.

The strikers also visited a conference of the Pennsylvania Education Association, the state teachers' union. Conference participants quickly decided to rearrange their schedule to allow time for the paperworkers to speak, and gave Wilt a long, standing ovation.

Local 1787 members Shirley Probst and Tina Barrett spoke at a meeting of United

Mine Workers Local 488 in the small town of Lucerenemines, about an hour's drive from Pittsburgh. Neither woman had spoken publicly before, but the miners received them warmly, and voted a \$150 donation. After the meeting, several miners stayed around to talk with the paperworkers about their own preparations for the upcoming expiration of the mine union contract with the coal operators.

"I'm really glad I came out on this trip,"

Barrett said. "I'm meeting people just like us who face the same situation — companies trying to get rid of the union. It's important for us to share our experiences with each other."

The strikers got another enthusiastic response at a meeting of United Steelworkers of America Local 2227, which organizes workers at USX Irvin Works in West Mifflin. These steelworkers were locked out by USX for six months last year.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

November 21 protest rally by striking paperworkers, supporters at International Paper mill in Jay, Maine. Paperworkers are also on strike in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, and De Pere, Wisconsin.

The steelworkers were inspired by the paperworkers' efforts to organize a fight against concessions. They voted unanimously to back the strike and send a message of support to the local. Don Conn, president of Local 2227, told Probst and Barrett that he and other members of his local plan to visit the strikers in Lock Haven.

The following week, Ron Kephart and Cory Karstetter from Lock Haven spoke to more than 150 retirees from the Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers in Pittsburgh. They donated \$250 to the paperworkers' welfare fund and promised to help spread the word about the strike. The paperworkers also spoke to several other steelworkers' locals. As a result, plant-gate collections for the strike are scheduled at several large mills in the area. One steel local is also planning to donate food to the Lock Haven strikers' food bank from its own supply, which the local has maintained for six years for laid-off steelworkers.

Unemployment benefits for the Lock Haven paperworkers expire at the end of December.

For more information or to arrange a speaker, contact: UPIU Local 1787, P.O. Box 773, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania 17745. Telephone (717) 748-2097.

## Gov't rail agency targets strike

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Rail workers in New England who have been on strike since November 12 over gross safety violations at Springfield Terminal Railway Co. have become the target of a serious attack by the Federal Railroad Administration. The FRA is a government body that oversees the railroads.

On December 8 FRA administrator John Riley issued a report linking the 1,200 strikers, who are members of the United Transportation Union Local 1400, with "vandalism." He announced that FRA files on Springfield Terminal would be turned over to the FBI.

UTU local Chairman Mike Maloof rejected the violence-baiting of the union and questioned whether the incidents of vandalism cited by the FRA had in fact even occurred.

The safety conditions at Springfield are so bad, however, that the FRA report forced half of the railroad's fleet of locomotives, which the company had been operating in a state of increasing disrepair, to be removed from service.

FRA spokesman Riley went on to praise Springfield's engineer training program, while noting that some "newly hired engineers" — i.e., scabs — do not have an "acceptable" level of training.

This question gets to the heart of the issues in the strike.

On November 9 a young engineer with only 13 days of training caused an accident that resulted in the death of veteran UTU member R.L. Hopkinson. Three days later the rail workers struck.

The FRA said it found "traces of marijuana" in the bloodstream of the young trainee, who was devastated by the accident. Union members report that he's been fired by the railroad.

Springfield Terminal itself is escalating its union-busting drive. In early December, the company filed suit in federal district court charging that the UTU "had engaged in extortion and mail fraud" in violation of federal statutes supposedly aimed at organized crime.

The UTU is seeking an injunction requiring safe locomotives, equipment, and working conditions.

## Maine strikers plan Caravan '88

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Some 900 striking paperworkers, their families, and supporters marked the six-month anniversary of the beginning of the strike against International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill here by attending the December 16 weekly union/family meeting. On strike are some 1,250 members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Local 246.

Paperworkers from throughout New England, who have already contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the locals' strike fund, chipped in over \$19,000 more to buy Christmas presents for strikers' children, reported UPIU Regional Director Jim Dinardo. UPIU Local 80 from the James River Corp. mill in Old Town, Maine, contributed \$5,000 and more than half a ton of turkeys, originally intended for Local 80 members.

The December 16 meeting was chaired by Local 14 Executive Vice-president Felix Jacques. Jacques reported on the recent trip he and striker Sharon Gonyea took to the Albany area in upstate New York, where they secured support for the strike from a number of unions and labor bodies.

Jacques told the Jay meeting how he described the paperworkers' struggle when he was out speaking on behalf of the strike.

"After PATCO [Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, whose strike was smashed by Reagan in 1981], after all the concessions, somebody, somewhere, had to stand up," he said.

But, he continued, "our fight is not only for unions but for the workers of this country, because if we lose, working people all over the country will lose."

"We have to forget that we are individuals. We're really one union in this country, and it's a fight for all of us."

This message was well-received at a small UPIU local in Geneva, New York, where 65 members at an IP mill are working under a two-tier contract at some of the lowest wages in the paper industry.

The Geneva paperworkers at first thought that the Jay strikers were going to ask them to walk off the job in a sympathy strike. Jacques reported to the Jay crowd that there was a charged, "almost hostile" atmosphere in the room.

A long discussion took place. "You don't stand there and argue with individuals," Jacques said. "You have to explain what is going on, and try to convince and educate people." The Geneva workers ended up taking a collection for the Jay strikers.

Chuck Fullerton, recording secretary of Local 246, and Dick Dalessandro from Local 14's executive board spoke about their recent trip to the New York City-northern New Jersey area.

Fullerton described their meeting with Hispanic CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women), which took place in East Harlem, and the garment workers they met there. Noting the oppressive conditions faced by workers in the garment industry, he reported how inspired he and Dalessandro were by this meeting and the garment workers' response to their story. That's because, he explained, the Jay strike is not "our fight, but labor's fight, and there are fighters down there" in New York City.

Plans for Caravan '88 — the month-long, 26-city strike caravan, which begins January 6 — are moving ahead, reported Brent Gay, the locals' outreach coordinator, and Ray Pineau, who's heading up the caravan.

The caravan will be holding rallies, leafleting door to door and at mill gates, raising funds, and carrying out other solidarity

activities as it visits towns and cities across the state.

The December 16 meeting cheered anti-CIA activist Amy Carter, daughter of former U.S. president James Carter. She attended along with a group of students from Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island.

"We chased the CIA off campus," Neil Callender, one of the student leaders, said to applause and cheers. "The CIA is one of the biggest killers of workers around the world. If we can beat the CIA at Brown, I know we can beat IP."

BY CHERI TREMBLE

MOBILE Ala. — Some 800 paperworkers and family members from IP's mill here attended a mass rally on December 16 at which Bill Meserve, president of UPIU Local 14 from Jay, Maine, and Ray Rogers, head of Corporate Campaign, spoke. Rogers' Corporate Campaign helped organize solidarity in the 1985-86 meatpackers' strike against Geo. A. Hormel and Co., in Austin, Minnesota.

Representatives from striking IP locals in De Pere, Wisconsin, and Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, along with officials from the Alabama AFL-CIO also attended. The Mobile workers have been locked out by IP since March.

The following day, a negotiating session between IP and the Mobile workers took place. The company offered a "transition program" to the workers, which amounted to returning to work without a contract according to Frank Bragg, one of the local presidents. This was rejected by the unions. Another session has been scheduled.

A Christmas party is planned for the children of the locked-out workers. Unionists and other community supporters have donated money and toys.