

Action needed against U.S. war in Nicaragua

BY DOUG JENNESS

Washington is waging a war against the Nicaraguan government.

This fact is well-known to regular readers of the *Militant*. Yet, one would not get this impression from the big majority of newspapers or radio and television networks in this country. Their coverage, which most people are forced to rely on for news, has been downplaying U.S.-organized aggression in Nicaragua. And when they do refer to it, it's usually with low-key terms like "hostilities," "conflict," "pressure," and so forth.

It's necessary to take stock of this erroneous portrayal of Washington's war in order to better appreciate the challenge that is before antiwar activists in organizing a significant protest movement against this war.

If massive numbers of U.S. GIs were in Nicaragua and thousands of them were returning in caskets, it would be difficult to pretend that a war is not going on. But that's not what's happening.

The prevailing view in U.S. ruling circles today is that an invasion with U.S. combat troops could not quickly defeat Nicaragua's armed forces. And that it would rapidly provoke a massive international protest campaign. The overall political costs, Washington strategists judge, would be too high to warrant the use of U.S. combat forces at this time.

So, Washington is taking a different tack. It is conducting a grinding war against the Nicaraguan people by organizing and bankrolling an army of about

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Hormel strikers call for nationwide solidarity

BY BILL ARTH AND STEVE WATTENMAKER

AUSTIN, Minn., Jan. 22 — United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 President Jim Guyette today called on unions across the country to protest the presence of the National Guard here in Austin.

He also urged union members, peace organizations, and others concerned with social justice to come to Austin to find out for themselves about Hormel Co.'s union-busting. (See statement, page 5.)

Guyette's appeal followed a stepped-up attack by Hormel against Local P-9 strik-

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ers. This included Hormel's success in getting Democratic Farmer-Labor Party Gov. Rudy Perpich to mobilize the National Guard on January 21. The Guard is helping to herd scabs into the plant. Hormel also gave the strikers a deadline of Friday, January 25, to return to work or lose their jobs.

Five hundred Guardsmen wearing face shields and armed with three-foot-long riot batons lined the streets outside the Austin plant Tuesday morning, January 21, as 300 to 400 striking workers and their supporters demonstrated against reopening the plant. In spite of the Guard's presence, the plant remained closed that day.

In response to Hormel's escalation of its strike-busting effort, Local P-9 sent roving pickets to Hormel distribution centers and to the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa.

A team of P-9 pickets successfully shut down the Ottumwa plant on the morning of January 21. More than 95 percent of the Ottumwa workers honored the picket line



National Guard arrives January 21 at Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota. Ordered out by Governor Perpich, Guard is helping Hormel to herd scabs into struck plant. Workers are demanding Guard be removed.

and a number of them joined the pickets. Truck drivers also honored the picket line, parking trailers filled with live hogs outside the plant gate. The pickets were taken down at midday and the plant reopened in the afternoon.

Dan Varner, chief steward for UFCW Local 431, said, "It appears that the response is overwhelming. We've brought them to their knees. Now maybe we can get the company back to negotiating with Local P-9 in good faith."

Hormel responded by filing suit against Local 431 for \$333,000 in damages, the value it claims for lost production.

P-9 has announced plans to extend the roving pickets to other plants although the UFCW International officialdom has refused to sanction these pickets.

The 1,500 Austin workers walked off the job last August 17 in response to the company's refusal to restore wages to the \$10.69-an-hour rate that had been in effect before the company unilaterally slashed wages to \$8.25 an hour in 1984. The union also demanded improvements in work rules that had produced an injury rate of 202 injuries for every 100 workers each year.

The company, on the other hand, offered to raise wages to \$10.00 an hour, but demanded further concessions on work rules, medical benefits, and the implementation of a two-tier wage scale, as well as the right to hire part-time workers with no benefits.

Hormel has refused to bargain with the union since August. It calls its last offer before the strike its "final offer."

Nevertheless, the company agreed last December through a federal mediator to reword its final offer, keeping most of the demanded concessions in place. These included reduced medical benefits and gutted seniority provisions, as well as the elimination of "past practices" provisions on grievances and the two-tier wage scale. P-9 members have twice voted down this proposal by a 3-to-2 margin.

With the escalation of this battle between P-9 and Hormel, the top officialdom of the United Food and Commercial Workers chose to launch a public attack on the local in an effort to pressure P-9 members

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S. Africa rulers back Lesotho coup

BY HARRY RING

The government of the African country of Lesotho was overthrown in a coup spawned by the racist regime in South Africa. Lesotho's "crime?" It provided sanctuary for liberation fighters fleeing persecution by the bloody apartheid rulers.

Despite hammer-like South African pressure, the Lesotho government had refused to hand over activists of the African National Congress (ANC) who had taken refuge there. The ANC is the vanguard liberation organization fighting apartheid.

For the ANC, the coup is a blow. If the new military regime in Lesotho cooperates in closing its borders, an important escape route will be cut off for those whose lives and ability to continue the struggle depend on being able to get out of South Africa.

And some 11,500 South African refugees in Lesotho may be in danger of expulsion.

A Black nation of 1.4 million, Lesotho is geographically totally encircled by South Africa. It can import or export goods only through or over South Africa. On January 1 the Pretoria government imposed an economic blockade on Lesotho to blackmail it into complying with its demand for the return of wanted ANC refugees. The flow of food, medicine, and fuel was reduced to a trickle.

Despite this pressure, the government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan had stood fast. On the very eve of the coup, Jonathan was asked if he would hand over the ANC activists. He replied, "Never in my life. I would rather die."

With the January 20 coup, a military council was reported taking over. It is headed by Maj. Gen. Justin Lekhanya, head of Lesotho's 1,500-member paramilitary police force.

The first act of the military council was to dispatch a representative to South Africa to meet with its foreign minister. A statement by the ministry then said they had vowed to work hard toward "good neighborliness."

And, with the ouster of Jonathan, a trainload of goods from South Africa was permitted to cross the border into Lesotho.

The toppling of the Lesotho government by Pretoria was assailed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the noted South African opponent of apartheid now visiting this country.

Tutu branded the South African regime a "bully boy" that had "held Lesotho to ransom." He declared it distressing that "the international community had not acted more firmly" in response to the blockade.

On the eve of his ouster, Jonathan had urgently appealed to the U.S. and British governments to organize an airlift, as they did in West Berlin in 1948.

The Lesotho appeal went unheeded. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker met with South African President Pieter Botha and foreign minister Roelof Botha. He registered no protest against the blockade of Lesotho. But there was a response by Reagan — an ominous one.

On the day of the coup, the White House announced it would ask Congress to allocate \$100 million for its *contra* war against Nicaragua and an unspecified

amount to help the "rebels" in Angola. These are counterrevolutionary mercenary forces, Angola's contras. They are armed, trained, and directed by the South African regime.

The operation is part of Pretoria's drive to smash every Black government in the area that is not subservient to it.

By calling for open, official support to

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Atlanta conference: Tutu blasts Washington's ties to apartheid

BY GREG McCARTAN

ATLANTA — "The South African government has destroyed families and homes and placed children in areas where there is no food. Children don't starve accidentally. They starve by deliberate government policies, that is, violence and terrorism."

This is what Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa explained in a keynote address to the National Conference Against Apartheid held at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on January 19.

More than 900 people packed into the church, which seats 700. The conference was an official part of the first national observance of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a national holiday.

Tutu also addressed two church congregations and a cheering crowd of 2,000 at

Atlanta's Morehouse College during the course of the day.

In his speech Tutu repeatedly explained that it is the South African government and not the South African people who are responsible for violence.

"When the African National Congress [ANC] was founded, it espoused nonviolence for 50 years. Only two South Africans have ever won the Nobel Peace Prize, and both are Black. Blacks in South Africa have been peaceful to a fault!" Tutu declared.

"After the massacre of our people in Sharpeville [in 1960] and the banning of the ANC and the PAC [Pan African Congress] what else was left for them but the armed struggle? When it comes to Black people, the West finally wakes up as

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Selling the 'Militant' to Pittsburgh steelworkers

BY LEE TERKEL

PITTSBURGH — Fifty thousand steel mill jobs have vanished from this area in the last six years. The unemployment rate is nearly 20 percent.

What happened?

In the early 1980s, giants like U.S. Steel, Jones & Laughlin, and ARMCO decided that steel-making

doubt led to some demoralization. This is most apparent at U.S. Steel's Homestead works, which in its heyday employed over 20,000 workers. During the last year, the 400 remaining workers walked out the gate every day wondering if it was their last. This mostly older work force showed little interest in the socialist press.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

ing in this area did not fit into their profit picture. Shutdown or scaled-back mills mean that there are today some 20,000 laid-off steelworkers looking for a full-time job.

Some have found work at other plants. Through discussions with them, *Militant* sales-team members have learned a lot about working conditions and union life at the steel mills and plants where we sell the *Militant*. Knowing something about the plants bolsters the ability of salespeople to talk to these workers.

Militant sales at four different U.S. Steel plants are generally low. Year after year, these workers have been ground down by layoffs, wage cuts, and speedups. The absence of any successful fightback by the union has no

The looks on their faces and their comments expressed hopelessness, worry, and bitterness.

After a while, however, some workers would stop and chat. Although no papers were sold, such discussions made the sales attempt worthwhile.

The *Militant* is sold regularly at Allegheny Ludlum.

Allegheny Ludlum is a maker of specialty steel products, a product area that is highly profitable. The company employs some 2,000 workers. Only 200 are laid off. The majority-white, male workers are noticeably younger than those remaining at U.S. Steel.

Before the decimation of U.S. Steel's work force, socialists didn't see Allegheny Ludlum as a sales priority because of its relatively small size. Now it is the



Sign outside Jones & Laughlin blast furnaces in Pittsburgh. Fifty thousand steel-mill jobs have been lost in this city during last six years.

largest steel employer in the area.

It took a yearlong fight against the company and the police to establish our right to sell the socialist press at this plant.

We started selling early in 1984. Every time the sales team arrived, plant security called the Borough of Brackenridge police. Often, a squad car would arrive some five minutes later and make a scene of kicking the team off the public sidewalk where we sold. But the team would not be deterred, arriving almost every week. Sometimes nothing would

happen. At another time, socialists were threatened with arrest.

As soon as this harassment began, we immediately sought the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, who agreed to fight this infringement of guaranteed political freedoms. The civil liberties group enthusiastically pursued the case and was willing to go through as many legal steps as necessary to win.

Almost a year later, socialists received a letter saying that the Brackenridge Borough Council had backed off. The council prom-

ised that their police would no longer respond to Allegheny Ludlum requests to eject us from the public sidewalk near the plant.

During the last three months, a *Militant* team has visited the plant about every other week. The team has learned that Allegheny Ludlum workers face company attacks similar to those at U.S. Steel. Jobs are being contracted out and many of those on layoff have lost recall rights.

At this stage, sales are still rare, but the response of the workers is friendly and polite.

N.Y. activists beat back gov't frame-up effort

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — More than 100 people packed a federal courtroom in downtown Manhattan January 16 to hear Judge Robert Carter issue his final sentencing of the N.Y. 8+ defendants, as they are known.

For seven of the eight defendants, the judge imposed sentences of continued community service ranging from 200 to 400 hours to be completed over the course of two to three and a half years. Defendant Colette Pean was ordered to serve three months in jail in addition to the community service.

The defendants were convicted on charges of possessing weapons and using false identification, for which they could have spent as much as 10 years in prison. Last summer a jury acquitted them of the more serious charges of conspiring to commit robberies and jailbreaks.

"The court had rejected the government's contention that we are terrorists and dangerous criminals. Today represents another victory for the people and the Black liberation movement," stated N.Y. 8+ Defense Committee chairperson Michael Vaughn at a rally held on the courthouse steps.

Defendant Viola Plummer commented,

"We didn't go to jail, but they disrupted, they set back, they put fear in the hearts of a lot of people. That is a crime against us."

Throughout the course of this case, the government fought hard to frame up these political activists and put them behind bars for a long time. The government hoped to use this case as part of its drive to restrict the democratic rights of all working people.

Since 1982 the government spent millions of dollars on surveillance, harassment, and the use of informers against the defendants. In October 1984 the government staged a spectacular raid involving nearly 500 heavily armed FBI agents and New York City cops, arresting these Black activists at gunpoint.

The government immediately made use of the newly enacted so-called Bail Reform Act to deny bail to the defendants. The act guts the constitutional right to bail by giving judges the power to deny this right to anyone they label "extremely dangerous to the community" or who they claim poses a "substantial risk of flight." Mounting pressure, however, forced the government to eventually grant bail.

The capitalist press did its part with a sensationalistic campaign slandering the

defendants as terrorists. The burden of proof was thereby placed on them to prove their innocence, violating the democratic safeguard that one is innocent until proven guilty.

Supporters and spouses of the defendants were also incarcerated for months when they refused to cooperate with grand juries set up to indict the defendants.

The centerpiece of the government's case was the charge that the defendants were involved in "conspiring" to commit illegal acts. In essence this meant that it's not what you have done but what you *think* that is placed on trial.

In this case the focus of the government's case was the "illegality" of the defendants' political thoughts and dissenting ideas. Charging political activists with conspiracy is a tool the government would like to use more and more against those who oppose capitalist rule and various aspects of U.S. government policy.

What helped beat back the government's plan to railroad these activists to prison was the opposition to the frame-up among working people and other supporters of democratic rights, especially in the Black community.



N.Y. 8+ defendants. Despite government campaign, only Colette Pean (far left) got jail sentence, which was for 3 months. Others were sentenced to community service.

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Protests in Haiti: 'Down with Duvalier'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — New protests against tyrant Jean-Claude Duvalier flared in Haiti as schools reopened January 7. Demonstrators across the country demanded an end to the Duvalier regime, freedom for those arrested in earlier protests, and justice for students murdered by Duvalier's military troops and the Tontons Macoutes, his secret police.

Before schools closed in December, students had launched demonstrations and a boycott of classes to protest the murder of four students demonstrating in Gonaïves November 27 and 28.

Demonstrations demanding "Down with Duvalier" occurred again in Gonaïves on December 30 and on January 3, 6, and 7.

The *Miami Herald* reports effective student boycotts and large demonstrations in Gonaïves, Cap Haïtien, Jérémie, Petit Goâve, and Miragoane as schools opened on January 7. At least one person was killed when Duvalier's troops opened fire on demonstrators in Gonaïves.

Protesters attacked and burned government buildings in Petit Goâve.

Duvalier responded with widespread arrests and beatings and a military occupation of Gonaïves. On January 8 he ordered all schools closed indefinitely in an attempt to break up student organizing.

This wave of protests has opened up political debate and discussion in the country.

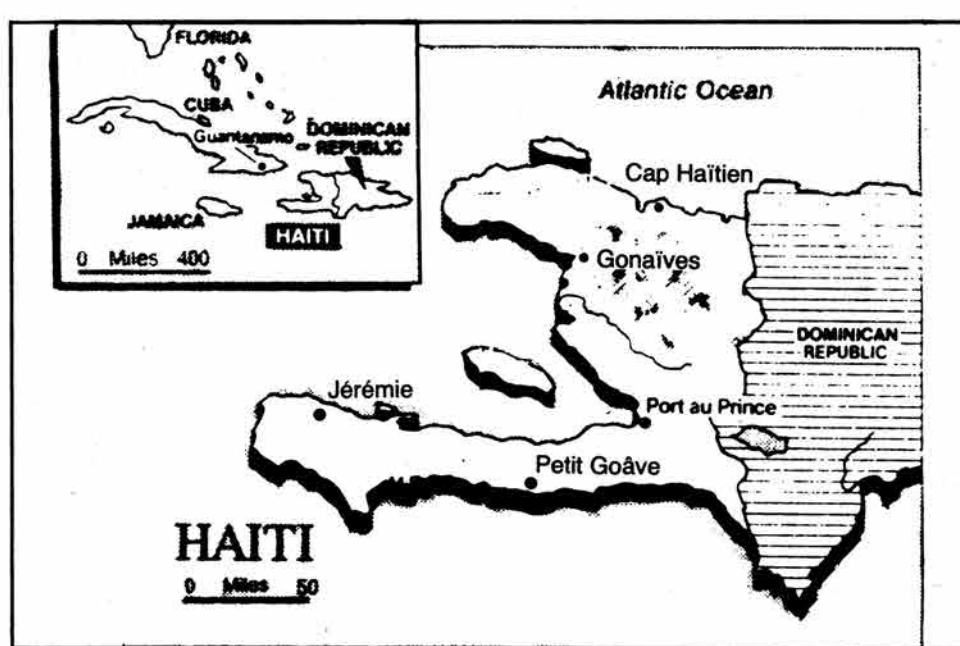
"Now even taxi drivers, hotel employees, and others openly criticize the government in casual conversations with strangers, something virtually unheard of even two or three years ago," stated an article from Port-au-Prince in the January 12 Spanish-language *El Miami Herald*.

On December 17, 354 mothers issued a declaration denouncing the murder of the students in Gonaïves. "We, 354 mothers from all over the country, have decided to join with all movements organized by Haitians who seriously want to avenge the children...."

"If we must take to the streets, we are ready."

"If we must strike, we are ready."

The *Herald* reports that declarations from underground organizations are circulating widely in Haiti. The January 1-7 issue of *Haiti Progrès*, published in New York, reprinted three such leaflets issued in Creole by the Haitian Revolutionary Forces, the Haitian Liberation Movement, and the Movement of Patriotic Youth of Haiti. All three call upon Haitians to unite to overthrow Duvalier. The Movement of Patriotic Youth of Haiti also called for a nationwide student strike until Duvalier is gone.



Young Socialists hold internationalist rally

BY ARGIRIS HARAS

NEW YORK — The members of the Young Socialist Alliance recognize that the political battles in this country against oppression and exploitation are directly linked with liberation struggles around the world.

This approach to politics was well illustrated by a special meeting sponsored by the New York and Newark, New Jersey, YSA chapters and held at the Socialist Books hall here December 28.

Speakers included the UN ambassador from the West African country of Burkina; representatives of Casa Nicaragua and Casa El Salvador; a spokesperson for the youth league of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), which is fighting for the liberation of South African-occupied Namibia; a representative of the Comité de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Youth Committee) of Quebec; a Columbia University anti-apartheid activist; and a leader of the YSA.

At the time of the meeting, the popular anti-imperialist revolution in Burkina had just come under armed attack by the regime in neighboring Mali. This act of aggression was discussed by Leandre Bassolé, Burkina's UN ambassador.

Josefina Ellizander of Casa Nicaragua expressed her appreciation to be "among brothers and sisters." She stressed the importance of activity here in opposition to the Washington-sponsored *contra* war against her country.

"If we haven't been directly invaded by U.S. troops yet," she said, "it's because of the solidarity we've received from people around the world, especially the North American people."

The representative of Casa El Salvador described the liberation fight of the workers and peasants of El Salvador and charged an escalating U.S. involvement in the conflict.

Carole Caron, from Montreal, Quebec, spoke for the Comité de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire. She is also a member of the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. She described the fight of French-speaking Québécois youth against the national op-

pression they face and explained their identification with the Nicaraguan revolution and the freedom struggle in South Africa.

The representative of the SWAPO Youth League discussed the struggle of the people of Namibia for independence from the colonial rule of the racist South African regime. He branded the present government of Namibia a "puppet" of South African apartheid.

Tony Glover of the Columbia University Coalition for a Free South Africa explained how he and hundreds of other students got involved in the campus sit-in and other actions last spring that compelled the university to divest its South Africa holdings.

The meeting closed with a speech by James Winfield, New York City YSA chairperson and a member of the New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council.

He declared that "a crucial role we youth can play is doing all we can now to tie the hands of the U.S. government in its war to overthrow the government of Nicaragua and crush the people's revolution there."

Winfield also pledged the YSA's continuing commitment to the anti-apartheid movement and the coming demonstrations for abortion rights March 9 in Washington, D.C., and March 16 in Los Angeles.

"We need to understand," he said, "that what we do, our consciousness, our organization, our outreach and mobilization, can make a difference. It was this kind of determined effort that led to the demonstrations this past April 20, which brought thousands into the streets against the U.S. war in Central America and against apartheid in South Africa."

Winfield announced that the YSA would endorse and campaign for the Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office around the country in 1986. The socialist campaigns, he said, will help to educate and organize workers and farmers to oppose the capitalist government and its attacks on working people here and around the world.

He called on members of the audience to join the YSA and help advance the fight to build "an alliance of workers and farmers against the U.S. capitalist ruling class — the enemy of humanity."

Eastern Airlines slashes wages of flight attendants

BY STU SINGER

MIAMI — On January 20 the owners of Eastern Airlines announced a new attack on the wages and rights of flight attendants. These workers are members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 553, which organizes 7,200 flight attendants.

Eastern consultants had urged management to force "draconian" measures on the

flight attendants, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The company refused to negotiate a new contract with the union. Instead it announced it would unilaterally impose new, slave-like working conditions starting February 1. The company also announced an indefinite layoff of 1,000 flight attendants beginning February 4. The 6,000 remaining workers will have to do the work of 7,000 and at rates of pay as much as 40 percent lower.

The company is changing the work rules so it can order flight attendants to do any other job around the airport. They can now be turned into servants of management, including being forced to do public relations for the company on their days off, with no pay.

In addition the company will have a four-tier wage scale for flight attendants who previously had three pay levels. Two upper pay tiers are for union members living in the United States. The third tier is for Latin American flight attendants living in other countries who are described as "foreign nationals." They are paid much less and are not allowed to join the union. The new, fourth tier at still lower starting pay is for newly hired U.S.-based attendants. They will never catch up with the top-tier workers.

The flight attendants took an 18 percent pay cut at the beginning of 1984 with a promise it would be restored in 1985. It never was. The pilots and machinists at Eastern also had a pay cut but it was gradually given back over the last year.

In a move to divide Eastern workers, the company now holds out the hope of recalling the laid-off flight attendants if the pilots agree to fly more hours with less pay.

The capitalist media reports as a fact that Eastern must get contract concessions or the banks will put it out of business. But Eastern took in \$4.3 billion last year. It was enough to keep current on all debts, line the pockets of top management, and amass a \$400 million cash fund to be used in case there is a strike.

Business Week reported the company strike fund was built up by issuing and selling stocks. On top of that Eastern admits to a profit of \$6 million for 1985.

Stu Singer is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 702 at Eastern Airlines in Miami.



New December-January issue of the *Young Socialist* contains an article on the campaign in the U.S. to collect 1 million signatures on the "Freedom Letter," which condemns apartheid.

Also in the issue are reports on the national abortion rights marches scheduled for spring, and on the development of plans for autonomy of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region, which has a large Black and Indian population.

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Leandre Bassolé, UN ambassador from West African country of Burkina, and Josefina Ellizander of Casa Nicaragua spoke at Young Socialist Alliance rally.

Interview with Hormel strike leader

The following are excerpts from an interview conducted by the *Militant* with United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 President Jim Guyette. In it, he explains some of his views on the local's current strike against Hormel, union democracy, the role of young workers, and the need for an alliance between labor and working farmers.

The interview was conducted by Tom Leonard at the National Rank-and-File Conference Against Concessions held in Chicago last December 6-8.

Question. How has the union been able to organize and maintain membership support for the strike against Hormel?

Answer. What had happened in past negotiations was that inaccurate information was being disseminated. And the rumor mill got to working to the point that, by the time the contract came, it wasn't as bad as the rumor mill had it, so people jumped on it. And then they would discuss it afterwards.

Since then, we've had a change on the local union board and people elected who said, "Enough is enough."

We've had tremendous rank-and-file participation because people want to win. People don't want concessions, but they need a viable avenue or alternative that makes sense. And when you involve people in the decision-making process, you don't create someone who is after your position. You create an ally. That's what the union movement was made of before.

We've got rank-and-file folks. We've got spouses who can articulate the positions of the union as well as I've heard articulated from so-called union leaders around the country.

What we did was... we told the rank and file, "Look, any proposal, good or bad, is going to be brought to you. We're going to explain it, and we're going to answer questions. Then we're going to have a day when the executive board comes to you, and you can ask them questions on a one-on-one basis. Then the following day we can vote on it. It isn't going to be a pressure vote. It's going to be a vote that everybody thinks about, and we encourage everyone to bring their spouses down." We found that a lot of wives make pretty good union members out of their husbands, and

vice versa.

In a union movement per se, a worker can't be dealing with the frustrations of the workplace and then come home and deal with a spouse who doesn't know what that person is going through. And, if you involve the spouses, you create a situation in which you really have a union.

Q. You have a younger work force than a lot of plants. Has this made a difference in your strike?

A. It's made a tremendous difference. They were able to look at things fresh. They wanted to know more about things that could affect them for the rest of their lives. I don't mean this as a slam against veteran employees. But I've found that people think a little differently when they are looking down a longer barrel than a shorter barrel.

Previously, we had a lot of people making what were, in my opinion, bad decisions based on the fact that they weren't going to have to work that long in the plant under those burdensome conditions.

Now we've got a younger work force that's saying, "Hey wait a minute. I've got a long time to work here now. I want this place to be a good place to work and not a bad place to work." I think it's really helpful.

Q. What about workers who don't support what you are doing?

A. Well, I guess you have differences of opinion, and that's what makes for a democratic union, and that's what makes for challenging meetings.

We've got some folks who don't like the direction we're going and want to cave in to the company. These are the same folks who wanted to cave in for years and years. However a different thing is happening. They're now in a minority, and the ones who want to fight back are in the majority. In our union the majority dictates.

Q. Why have you spoken at protests against farm foreclosures?

A. The farmers are getting their teeth kicked in. And the workers are getting their teeth kicked in. For a long time in the meat-

Continued on next page



Jim Guyette (center with microphone), president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, speaking at support rally for Hormel strikers last September.

1959: Minn. Nat'l Guard used against meatpackers' strike

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The calling out of the National Guard by Democratic Gov. Rudy Perpich against Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers is not the first time that a capitalist "friend of labor" in Minnesota's State House has used troops against striking meatpackers. A similar event 27 years ago holds some lessons for Local P-9 members and their supporters.

In 1959, Democratic Gov. Orville Freeman mobilized the Minnesota National Guard against 1,100 members of United Packinghouse Workers Union Local 6 in Albert Lea. The *Militant* had extensive coverage of this important class conflict.

The United Packinghouse Workers Union was one of several unions that, through a series of mergers, eventually formed the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in 1979. UFCW Local P-9 is currently on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. Albert Lea is 18 miles west of Austin.

On Nov. 1, 1959, management at the Wilson and Co.'s Albert Lea plant locked out the workers. The local union began to organize picket lines outside the plant in response to the lockout.

The company then hired scabs. City and county officials admitted that these scabs were carrying "a large number of weapons, including guns, knives, and blackjacks." These were used to attack strikers.

In response to the scab violence, the Packinghouse Workers local mobilized 1,000 members in mass picket lines outside the plant on December 9 and 10.

On December 11, the governor declared martial law and called out the National Guard to restore "law and order." One of the first things these troops did in Albert Lea was to disperse the union pickets.

At first, the National Guard closed down the plant. Three days later, the governor ordered the plant "temporarily" reopened to allow scabs to work on meat that was supposedly about to spoil.

The company then filed suit in federal court to have the plant permanently opened.

In a Dec. 21, 1959, editorial, the *Militant* denounced the calling out of the National Guard as a strikebreaking move by the governor.

The *Militant* explained that the Albert Lea strikers had witnessed two key features of union busting: company-organized violence and the intervention of the National Guard.

The editorial advised the strikers "to keep a sharp eye on Governor Freeman and

not trust him for a moment — 'friend of labor' though he is supposed to be."

The *Militant* pointed out that this "friend of labor" had "already permitted the company to resume production on meat 'already in process.'"

"The company officials," the editorial continued, "have filed a court suit for the permanent reopening of the plant. Should they win it, the governor will be off the spot. He can reopen the plant under court order without seeming to be on the bosses' side. Meanwhile, however, the troops will continue to keep the pickets away from the plant so as to 'prevent violence.'"

Sure enough, the company won its court suit. On December 28, the plant reopened. Hundreds of scabs were herded into the plant under the protection of the National Guard.

In the same editorial, the *Militant* had explained that collusion between "friend of labor" politicians and the bosses was long a part of Minnesota history.

During the 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers' strike, the editorial explained, another "friend of labor" governor also called out the National Guard. Supposedly, the Guard was there to stop trucks from running in the city during the strike. Later, however, the Guard allowed trucks to run. Finally, the Guard raided the strike headquarters and arrested its leaders.

The truck drivers won the strike, the *Militant* said, "despite the governor's double-dealing. The militancy of the truck drivers and their reliance not on the 'friends of labor' among the politicians, but on their own strength and on the support of the other workers, won the epic Minneapolis Teamsters' battle."

In a letter printed in the Feb. 22, 1960, *Militant*, Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strike, stressed the importance of solidarity with Packinghouse Workers Local 6.

In the letter, Dobbs recalled another strike in Albert Lea in the 1930s to win a union at the Wilson packinghouse. Cops and special deputies, Dobbs explained, had broken the picket line, herded scabs into the plant, and seized the union hall.

The strikers, Dobbs wrote, issued an appeal to the workers in the region for help. In no time, flying squadrons were sent to Albert Lea.

By the time the Minneapolis Teamsters squadron arrived, the goons had already been driven from the union hall, and the scabs were forced from the plant.

The Albert Lea strikers, Dobbs reported, had already been reinforced by the workers from Hormel's Austin plant.

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The article explains the character of the national, democratic revolution in South Africa, the vanguard role of the African National Congress, and the international impact of this struggle.

Also in this issue is coverage of the escalating U.S. war on Nicaragua, and Washington's aggressive moves against Libya.

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Minnesota farmers extend solidarity to meatpackers' strike

Organize tractorcade to Austin

BY JIM ALTENBERG
AND JOHN GAIGE

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Many union members and farmers in Minnesota responded to Hormel's attempt on January 13 to reopen its struck Austin plant by actively extending solidarity to striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9.

Five hundred unionists jammed the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 879 hall in St. Paul on January 19 in a spirited rally in support of the embattled packinghouse workers.

The rally was opened by Tom Laney, president of UAW Local 879. Laney said that the rally was also a commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday. If King were alive today, Laney said, "he would be with us on P-9's picket line."

The featured speaker was Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9. Guyette explained that King saw that the labor movement and Blacks fought for the same goals: human dignity and a decent, secure life. King knew that those who hated the unions were also racists. It came as no surprise, Guyette said, that Hormel refused to allow its workers to celebrate King's birthday as a holiday.

The company refuses to bargain with the union because it is convinced it can isolate and ignore P-9, Guyette said. He called on workers and farmers to join P-9 on the picket line, to stop buying Hormel products, and to continue pressuring First Bank Systems, Hormel's major creditor.

For weeks now, Hormel has claimed that farmers and laid-off iron ore miners can be recruited as strikebreakers.

A message was received from Bob Brautlich, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1938 on the Mesabi Iron Range. His local organizes iron ore miners. The message said, "Minnesota steelworkers believe in the sanctity of the picket line despite 3,000 who are on layoff. The only ones you'll see will join your picket line."

Ken Jurgens, a Minnesota farmer and activist, told the crowd, "Farmers today are coming closer to unions because we know we've got to get together to get something done."

Local P-9 has long pointed to Hormel and First Bank's ties to the racist apartheid system in South Africa. Fred Dube, a representative of the African National Con-

gress of South Africa currently touring the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, addressed the rally. "All people fighting to bring an end to oppression and exploitation are always on the side of the workers. It is the duty of every worker to be on the side of P-9," he said.

Other trade unionists present included Jim Coakley, president of UAW Local 1200 at the General Dynamics plant in Detroit; activists in the strike against the *Chicago Tribune*; and Marsha Mickens, president of Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers Local 326 in Detroit.

Many Minnesota unions, including local and district officers of the Letter Carriers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, UFCW, UAW, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and St. Paul Federation of Teachers, made contributions and pledged their continued solidarity with Local P-9.

Hormel strikers call for solidarity

Continued from front page

to accept the company's contract offer and end the strike.

P-9 Vice-president Lyn Houston had reported at a January 14 strike meeting that the UFCW locals at Hormel's plants in Ottumwa and in Fremont, Nebraska, had sent telegrams to UFCW International President William Wynn, requesting that he sanction P-9's projected picket line at their plants.

The UFCW top officialdom answered these locals' request with a public attack on P-9 and its leadership.

In a telegram addressed to Guyette, but sent only to the media, Wynn refused to sanction P-9's roving pickets and turned down the local's request that the International union back a boycott of Hormel products.

P-9's membership, Wynn wrote, needs "courageous leadership that will lead them away from mass suicide with their dignity preserved."

"Suicide is not an acceptable alternative," Wynn continued.

Fighting what he called P-9's "inflexible bargaining position," Wynn again demanded that P-9 accept a mediator's proposal that the local's membership had rejected in two separate votes at the end of December.

In the wake of the local's rejection of the

Interview with strike leader

Continued from previous page

packing industry, the farmer was told the reason he couldn't get a fair price for his raw material, or his product, or for his labors was because the working man was making all the money.

We were told that the reason workers had to take cuts was because the farmer was making it all. But in fact, if you look around, you've got the working man losing his home and the farmer losing his farm and who's making out like a bandit but meatpacking companies and the banks?

Really what you have going is a tremendous con game in the meatpacking industry because the work force is becoming a transient work force. Never getting benefits or enough time in at a plant in order to acquire a home and be able to retire. And you've got farmers who are getting their land stolen from them.

I personally think that, if a coalition can be built and bridges built — instead of barriers — between the farmer and the working man, you're going to see some tremendous changes because these people control a lot of what has to be done in this country.



Militant/Susan Apstein

P-9 leader addresses a farm foreclosure protest. Local's support for farmers has helped build solidarity for strike against Hormel.

Gene Earlbeck, chairperson of the farm protest group Groundswell, pledged his organization's support to P-9. "We as farmers will not cross any picket lines." Earlbeck invited everyone to join Groundswell in a rally at the State Capitol two days later.

After the rally at the UAW hall, Earlbeck joined 120 farmers gathered in Willmar, Minnesota, 100 miles from St. Paul. These farmers were part of a tractorcade scheduled to converge on St. Paul on January 21 for a farm protest rally demanding a moratorium on farm foreclosures.

When Earlbeck joined the Willmar meeting, he told the farmers that P-9 and other unions were supporting their fight. Farmers, he said, should not cross P-9 picket lines and take these workers' jobs. Farmers should also boycott Hormel products, he added.

Earlbeck pledged to drive his tractor to Austin, Minnesota, in solidarity with the striking meatpackers after the farm rally, and urged other farmers to join him.

Responding to the appeal, farmers drove 21 tractors south to Austin to join the P-9 pickets after the January 21 farm rally.

contract, Hormel tried to reopen the plant on January 13. Only a small number of union members returned to work.

Hormel announced that it planned to begin hiring massive numbers of replacements that day. In response, hundreds of P-9 members and their supporters mobilized across the street from the plant gate. In addition, they circled the plant with a line of cars more than a mile long. When some of the cars were parked on the street, it created such a traffic jam that many of the scabs were unable to get into the plant. The pickets also turned away a company doctor, who was coming to the plant to give physicals to the replacement workers.

The strikebreakers who did get in were forced to stay in the plant for several extra hours because of the traffic jam, which lasted for 10 hours.

Over the course of the week the number of strikers returning to work has grown by a small amount. The union now estimates that 59 of its members have broken ranks although a few of these have since rejoined the strike.

Hormel claimed to have about 130 workers on the job as of Friday, January 17. Union members report that production is limited and that the hog kill and slaughter departments have not been reopened.

In response to P-9's mobilizations against the new company strikebreaking move, Hormel officials asked Governor Perpich to call out the National Guard. Plant Manager Deryl Arnold said in the request, "There has been a complete breakdown of law and order. The police are powerless to control mob violence, mass picketings, and wanton destruction of property. Mob psychology has taken over."

But Hormel's claims of union violence are slanders. Local P-9 President Jim Guyette explained that the union's policy is to "have a presence at the gate to try to discourage scabs from going in. We don't believe violence will get us anything. For weeks the company has been trying to precipitate some violent burst by the strikers. They have refused to bargain with the union. They have opened the struck plant and invited poor Minnesotans and Iowans to parade through the picket lines to apply for strikers' jobs."

In fact, violence on the picket line has been minimal. While strikers have surrounded cars of strikebreakers in an effort to convince them not to go in, only one injury has been reported. A company photographer was treated at a local hospital and released following a confrontation that union members say was provoked by the photographer. A company claim that a car leaving the plant was struck by a bullet has never been confirmed.

Guyette has called for the removal of the National Guard troops. Pickets refer to the Guard as "Hormel's traffic cops."

This morning, 200 additional Guardsmen were added to the contingent. They formed a cordon from the plant gate to an exit from Interstate 90 in order to enable the scabs to enter the plant. The company succeeded in reopening the plant.

A protest rally at the State Capitol in St. Paul is planned for Saturday, January 26, to demand that the governor remove the National Guard from Austin.

Guyette demands removal of Guard

Following is the text of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 President Jim Guyette's statement to the labor movement appealing for solidarity with the Hormel strikers.

Telegrams and messages protesting the strikebreaking role of the National Guard and demanding their removal from Austin can be sent to: Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich, 130 State Capitol Building, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55155.

The statements by George A. Hormel and Company that Austin, Minnesota, striking meatpackers are engaged in "mob violence" and "wanton destruction of property" beyond the control of the local police are nothing but a fantasy contrived to break the strike of UFCW Local P-9.

Rather than protecting public order, the presence of the National Guard in the city of Austin, Minnesota, along with the regular flow of provocative statements by Hormel spokesmen, is leading to a breakdown of law and order.

Again we say that the National Guard are not needed here — they were never needed here. The only violence taking place in Austin is that of the Guard and the company.

Local P-9 calls on Gov. Rudy Perpich to remove the Guard immediately. Governor Perpich by his action of sending the highway patrol and National Guard into Austin has allowed Hormel to bring scabs into the plant. The Guard has become Hormel's private security force.

We intend to appeal to every labor organization in the country to help us in our struggle.

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The Philippines: fierce repression, mounting rebellion

BY HARRY RING

“An estimated 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line in the 14th largest food-producing country in the world.

“On the island of Negros, 300,000 sugar workers are unemployed and 150,000 children suffer second- and third-degree malnutrition.

“In Mindanao, 60 percent of the arable land is controlled by foreign corporations, many of them U.S.-owned; landless farmers face 40 to 70 percent unemployment when they migrate to the cities.

“The government provides no social security benefits and few social services.

“Farm laborers receive only \$1 to \$2 per day on locally owned plantations and foreign-run industries.”

These firsthand findings about conditions in the Philippines were reported in the December 27 *Boston Globe*.

The report added:

“Massive civilian protest has become routine throughout the Philippines, as has the systematic denial of human rights, the arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture of dissidents, and the increasing assassination and disappearance of opposition leaders.”

Philippine 'Update'

A graphic picture of the scope and nature of the savage repression directed against the rising rebellion of the Filipino people is provided by the magazine *Philippine Human Rights Update*. It is published monthly by the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, which was founded by religious activists to defend the victims of repression. It is published in Quezon City in the Philippines.

The magazine is filled with names, dates, and places where people have been “salvaged” (arbitrarily shot), mutilated, tortured, “disappeared,” jailed, and killed.

The Nov. 15-Dec. 14, 1985, issue of *Update* reports that of the more than 700 known political prisoners in the Philippines today, 70 percent are peasants. It adds that the terror directed against them is designed to “silence the peasantry’s struggle for a genuine land reform program.”

The issue features an eight-page roundup of repression in the countryside by various branches of the Philippine armed forces and ultraright death squads. The following are abridged excerpts from that roundup:

DAVAO CITY — Despite repeated at-

tempts by government troopers to break up its barricades, the Mindanao *Weling Bayan* (People’s Strike) held on Sept. 23-24 partially paralyzed public transportation and other economic activities.

The Davao City *Weling Bayan* was the bloodiest, leaving at least five people dead at the time of its lifting. Among those killed on Sept. 23 was Randolph Sunico, editor of the local newspaper, *Southern Philippine Chronicle*, making him the 10th Filipino journalist to be killed this year.

On the same day a young striker identified as Rolando Sam was killed when soldiers in a mini-cruiser jeep opened fire at some 300 protesters manning a barricade center.

The other fatalities of the *Welga* were a certain Ernesto Enguillo and Virgilio Doctor; the fifth victim remains unidentified.

ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR — Within one month alone, eight persons have been killed (three of them beheaded), seven arrested, and three families displaced when their houses were burned to the ground.

Early last August, Iboy Espilita, a 31-year-old farmer, was stabbed in the chest and beheaded by paratrooper Wennie Turecampo and his men.

Death squads

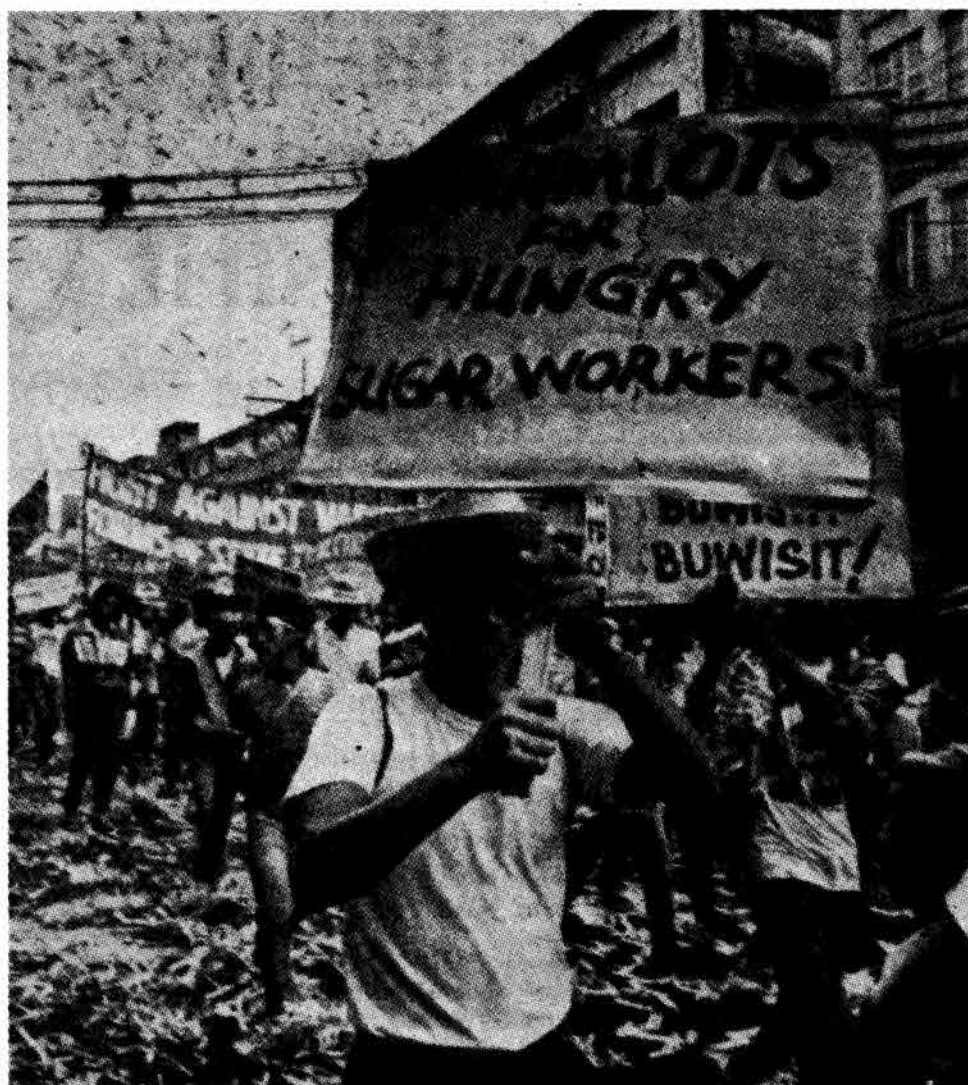
Also decapitated after being stabbed to death was Antonio Duran Paran. Witnesses said that Paran was on his way to nearby Aurora when he passed by the alleged sanctuary of the *lanahan* group, a fanatical counterinsurgency cult operating in the area. Without warning, a group of men attacked him.

In Pagadian City, Tomas Jenelo, a 40-year-old carpenter, was shot dead by three unidentified men believed to be secret marshals. Jenelo was at the public market gate when he was killed. He was suspected of being an NPA sympathizer. [NPA, the New People’s Army, is the Communist Party-led guerrilla force that is fighting to overturn the Marcos regime.]

On Aug. 26 a woman held suspect of being an NPA supporter was shot dead by unidentified armed men. Her 14-year-old son who was with her at the time was able to escape but his whereabouts remains unknown to this day.

LANAO DEL NORTE — Six persons were killed, 11 arrested, and 18 people massacred in separate incidents last August.

In Iligan City, churchworker Victoriano



Unionized, superexploited Filipino sugar workers have fought militant strikes in face of police massacres. Driven off land and forced to work on big plantations, they are demanding small plots to grow food.

“Pantoy” Pepito, 41, was on his way to report for work at St. Michael’s Parish when two unidentified men shot him with a .38 caliber pistol last Aug. 7. [Pepito had been a civil guardsman who quit to become a church activist.]

A celebrated mass offered for Pantoy and a funeral march was joined by some 5,000 human rights activists.

Benjamin Bayonas, 30, a mass leader of the urban poor organization LAKAS, was murdered by three armed men on Aug. 17 around 12:45 p.m.

On Aug. 20, a decomposing body later identified to be that of Paulo Lozano was found by Maigo police.

Lozano was last seen four days before when he was picked up by unidentified men in a red car. Eyewitnesses reported that his abductors manhandled him before pushing him in the car.

Lozano was an active student leader of the Mindanao State University — IIT, Iligan and was involved in sectoral rallies and mobilizations, his parents said.

'Mistaken identity'

MISAMIS ORIENTAL — Thirteen-year-old Alex Arizo was killed while his father was wounded during a shooting inci-

dent. Father and son were attending a neighbor’s wake when shots coming from armalite rifles were heard by the people present.

Upon seeing his father bleeding from a bullet wound in the head, Alex immediately ran toward him. One of the soldiers aimed at Alex and hit him in the chest, killing the boy instantly.

The soldiers then told the terrified people they were hunting NPAs. The military man who shot Alex approached his grieving father, saying it was just a case of mistaken identity.

Alex’s father has filed criminal charges against the trooper who shot his son.

* * *

The above is but a small sampling of the chilling reports in this one issue of *Update*. In the same issue is an editorial marking the 37th anniversary of Human Rights Day. The editorial declares in part:

“From time to time, the U.S. has reprimanded the Marcos regime for its contemptible human rights record, and urged it ‘to control the abuses of its own power.’ ... At best, however, the U.S. has issued such statements only as token complaints. ... It is, in truth, as supportive as ever of the Marcos regime; for one, the repression campaign is being fueled by millions worth of military assistance in various forms. ...

“Large economic holdings and strategic defense interests in the region must be defended at any cost against the possible rise of a pro-people government resisting any form of foreign domination.

“To the U.S., Marcos remains the best man for the job of safeguarding such interests. And, this administration must be insulated from running the course of Iran or Nicaragua where the liberation movement triumphed quickly after U.S. support was withdrawn. ...

“There can be no genuine end to the wanton disregard of our basic freedoms under a regime beholden to the dictates of a foreign power. ...

“On the occasion of the 37th Anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Filipino nation must seize their every right to express in the strongest possible terms, condemnation of the U.S.-backed Marcos regime for its direct responsibility in high crimes against the people. ...

“And solely by putting an end to the U.S.-Marcos administration can we finally end the widespread persecution of the Filipino people.”

'IP': Castro on building antidebt unity

The February 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press* will reprint two excerpts from remarks by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the conference of Latin American trade unionists on the foreign debt. The meeting was held in Havana last July.

In the first of these excerpts, Castro explained why he opposed the suggestion of some delegates to schedule the continentwide antidebt action for Columbus Day, October 12.

He pointed to the bloody history of European conquest of the Americas. “There can be no defense of the discovery and conquest without criticism,” he said.

Castro also had some suggestions on how to avoid sectarianism and build the broadest possible front against the foreign debt “without excluding any social sector.”

Drawing on the experiences of the Cuban fight against the Batista dictatorship, he noted that the program of that struggle was a very advanced one, but “a socialist program couldn’t have been put forth yet; it would have been unrealistic.”

In the case of the antidebt movement, he said, “Our promoting the struggle for social revolution at the same time would contradict the correct strategy and tactics.”

The current *IP* includes a background article by Will Reissner on the development of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

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Two abortion clinics firebombed in Ohio

BY LORRAINE STARKY

CINCINNATI — This city has been the scene of escalating antiabortion harassment and intimidation, culminating in the firebombing of two abortion clinics during the early morning hours of December 30.

One of the firebombed clinics, the Margaret Sanger Center of Planned Parenthood, had been picketed a few days earlier by Americans Against Abortion. About 100 members of the group, who are affiliated with the right-wing Christian Last Days Ministries based in Lindale, Texas, marched outside the clinic. They held a "memorial service" for what they claimed were eight aborted fetuses that lay in wooden coffins.

Two Cincinnati city council members also joined the picket line that harassed clinic clients and supporters of the Freedom of Choice Coalition. The coalition held a counterdemonstration in support of abortion rights.

Damage to the two clinics was extensive, about \$75,000 each. The Women's Health Care Center has been forced to shut down for three weeks while fire damage is repaired. The Margaret Sanger Center has moved to another location until repairs are made.

Ann Mitchell, Cincinnati's Planned Parenthood executive director, said that the Margaret Sanger Center "received many bomb threats Saturday, both by phone and in front of the building."

Faye Wattleton, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, told the media, "It is noteworthy that the firebombing in Cincinnati occurred on the heels of an antiabortion rally, calling for, among other things, the elimination of all family planning clinics."

Antiabortion pickets showed up at the Margaret Sanger Center just hours after the bombing while clinic workers were attempting to salvage what they could. "They were there for a little while scream-

ing how happy they were about what had happened," Mitchell reported.

Ohio antiabortion forces have wind in their sails after the recent passage of a state law requiring clinics or physicians to notify the parents of a woman under 18 who seeks an abortion. Only under special circumstances can a young woman prevent her parents from being notified.

The Saturday after the clinics were firebombed, antiabortion pickets gathered in force at two other clinics. One of their leaders stated that they decided to picket again "because we feel momentum is with us."

On less than 24 hours notice, abortion rights supporters organized a counterdemonstration of about 50.

In addition to their usual posters declaring that abortion is murder, one right-wing picket carried a sign that read: "All babies are by chance. No babies should be by choice."

The Cincinnati City Council passed an ordinance that prohibits hospitals, clinics, and laboratories from disposing of fetal remains without a permit from the city health commissioner certifying that aborted fetuses — including miscarriages — are cremated, buried, entombed, or otherwise handled in a "sanitary manner."

The obvious purpose of the law is to harass the clinics and hospitals and, in turn, to intimidate women considering an abortion.

The law will cost the city \$25,000 annually to establish the permit system and to monitor facilities for compliance. The health commissioner has the authority to request fees from the clinics and hospitals to offset the city's expenses. Further, city health officials could require expensive disposal systems, also adding to the cost of an abortion. If this happens, abortions in Cincinnati could be priced beyond the reach of working-class women.

Foes of abortion rights were jubilant with the passage of the "fetus disposal" ordinance. One antiabortion leader said, "It's a first step toward outlawing abortion in Cincinnati."

Planned Parenthood has announced that it will challenge the new ordinance in court.

The Cincinnati chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Women's Equity Action League initiated a news conference on January 7 to denounce the clinic bombings and the "fetus disposal" law. Also participating were speakers from the National Organization for Women, Women's Political Caucus, National Abortion Rights Action League, Planned Parenthood, and the Gay and Lesbian Alliance of the University of Cincinnati.

Other abortion rights activities planned included a news conference featuring testimony of women who have had illegal abortions, an indoor rally on January 25, and a fund-raiser for the firebombed clinics. Abortion rights picket lines at clinics that have been harassed by antiabortion demonstrators are also scheduled.

These activities will culminate in an all-out effort to get people to the national abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., on March 9.

Anti-Semitic attacks in 1985 reported

In its annual report of anti-Semitic incidents, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported 638 cases of vandalism against Jewish institutions and private Jewish homes in 1985. This count included bombings and arson in 34 states and Washington, D.C.

The league also reported 306 anti-Semitic assaults, threats, and harassments against Jews and Jewish property.

Although the number of anti-Semitic incidents was fewer than in 1984, Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the league, expressed concern for the continuing anti-Semitic activities of such right-wing and racist organizations as Posse Comitatus, the Ku Klux Klan, the Liberty Lobby, and various organizations associated with fascist demagogue Lyndon LaRouche.



Militant/Georges Sayad
Teachers in Oakland, California, school district are lowest-paid of any major city in state. Teachers' union reports 95 percent of teachers are on strike.

Students, parents back Oakland teachers' strike

BY TOM PARKER

OAKLAND, Calif. — A solid teachers' strike here has won overwhelming support from teachers, students, and parents.

Even the board of education concedes that more than 80 percent of the 3,500 teachers in the district are on strike. The Oakland Education Association (OEA), the teachers' union, puts the figure at 95 percent.

The 92 schools in the district were put on shortened days January 8, the third day of the strike, because of low teacher and student attendance.

The teachers are demanding that they be paid the median wage of the state's 20 largest school districts by 1988. They are now the lowest-paid among teachers in California's major cities.

Prior to the strike, a state arbitration panel had recommended that the board of education raise the teachers' pay to what they are now demanding.

The board refused the teachers' demands, however, claiming there was no money available. This claim was repeated by Mayor Lionel Wilson.

But at a highly charged city council meeting, council member Wilson Riles, Jr., revealed that the city had stashed \$15 million for the Oakland A's baseball team. Later it turned out that \$30 million has been set aside — possibly illegally — to pay for the city's purchase of the Raiders, the football team now based in Los Angeles.

Teachers and many other working people are outraged over the city's claimed poverty when it comes to education and the contrasting wealth available for profitable sports franchises.

The board of education's initial response to the teachers' union was to seek a state injunction against the strike. Later this attempt was dropped.

Then the board floated a trial balloon, threatening to flunk students who stayed out of school during the strike. That threat had little effect on attendance after the few returning students saw that most classes were not being held.

The OEA has held several rallies each week to demonstrate how solid the strike is.

Minn. Indians protest 'legal' land-theft law proposal

BY BILL ARTH

MINNEAPOLIS — A bill proposing to legalize the theft of thousands of acres of land from the White Earth Chippewa Reservation in northwest Minnesota is bogged down in Congress.

At a news conference at the American Indian Center here, American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt explained that the bill was stalled when the U.S. House of Representatives failed to act on it before a Dec. 31, 1985, deadline. The U.S. Senate had approved the bill by a 57-36 vote.

Anishinabe Akeeng (The People's Land), a coalition of allottees and heirs to the land of the White Earth Reservation, sponsored the news conference. It announced that it is seeking congressional sponsors for a bill that it has drafted to provide justice for the Indian victims of the land theft. The bill would call for the immediate return of government-held lands to the reservation.

The legislation seeks to prevent the disruption of the lives of farmers and others who currently hold reservation lands. It establishes a White Earth Land Fund to buy their land. Those currently using the land would be guaranteed lifetime leases.

Norm Larson, a leader of Groundswell, a grassroots farm protest organization, also spoke at the news conference.

"Groundswell is deeply concerned about the land because we are farmers," Larson said. "Along with Native Americans, we believe that there is life in the soil, that you

don't just throw it around like a little commodity. We are sad that it has taken the American farmer this long to realize that we're in the same boat, that we should help Native Americans get back the land that they've got coming."

Bellecourt announced plans to mobilize the Indian community for a January 21 march on the State Capitol called by Groundswell and other farm organizations. The march will demand that the state government take action to stop farm foreclosures.



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski
Indian leader Vernon Bellecourt

Racism in W. Va. bar protested

BY PATTIE SANCHEZ

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — About 200 students, mostly Blacks, grilled representatives of West Virginia University (WVU) and the Morgantown police chief at a meeting here December 16.

The immediate issue was Eric's Bar, one of several downtown clubs that require extra identification from Blacks. It was the scene of a fight the previous Sunday.

The local newspaper screamed "brutal mob riot" and a few days later five Black members of the WVU football team and the doorman were arrested for criminal assault. The players were immediately suspended from the team.

At the December 16 protest meeting, many spoke about discriminatory admissions policies at city bars and racist treatment by the cops and the press about this incident.

They also protested the firing of Frederick Wallace, chairperson of WVU's Human Relations Committee, for stating in the campus paper that the incident was the result of racial tensions.

"We are living on a volcano here and it's about to erupt," she said.

The meeting became a general speakout on cases of racist discrimination by the city, local merchants, and the university.

The WVU associate athletic director, Garrett Ford, called for a student boycott of bars that discriminate against Blacks.

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.

Actions needed to protest Washington's war on Nicaragua

Continued from front page
15,000 counterrevolutionaries (contras).

Former National Guardsmen from Anastasio Somoza's regime — long hated by the Nicaraguan people for their brutal methods — play a central role in the leadership of the principal contra outfit, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). An April 1985 congressional report admitted that 46 of the 48 positions in the FDN's command structure are held by former Guardsmen.

The Reagan administration is encouraging a host of U.S. "private" organizations to supply funds, advisers, training, arms, and pilots to the contras. These groups include, among others, the Civilian-Military Assistance, a private military group based in Huntsville, Alabama; *Soldier of Fortune*, a national magazine for mercenaries; and Air Commandos Association, 1,600 retired U.S. military pilots and special operations experts.

Washington is also getting a helping hand from the Israeli government in providing weaponry to the contras. From this source the mercenary army has received grenade launchers and automatic rifles.

Advances in the contras' firepower were registered in December 1985 when, for the first time, they used surface-to-air missiles to bring down a Nicaraguan helicopter, killing 14 people.

The Reagan administration announced January 21 that it will ask Congress for \$90 million to \$100 million in aid — the majority of it direct military support — to beef up the contras' fighting strength even more. In 1985 Congress approved \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid, which supplied these butchers with clothing, boots, and other supplies needed to continue their war.

The U.S. ruling families hope that this contra war will wear down Nicaragua's working people without provoking a big protest movement in the United States.

Their aim is to create and deepen divisions in Nicaragua and erode confidence in the government as economic shortages multiply and the casualty toll mounts. War weariness, they hope, will create conditions that could lead to an internal revolt against the Sandinista government, opening the door to overturning that government.

More than 15,000 dead

There is no question that the damage created by this war of attrition is severe.

In the past five years there have been more than 15,000 war-related deaths in Nicaragua, a nation of 3.5 million people. Proportionate to the population this amounts to more war deaths than the United States suffered during all of World War II. Moreover, there is an even greater number who have been maimed and permanently disabled.

Nearly 250,000 Nicaraguans have been made homeless by the mercenary war.

Schools, health-care centers, and agricultural cooperatives have been special targets of the mercenaries. Teachers, medical workers, and technicians who have gone into the countryside to help advance new social programs have been kidnapped, raped, tortured, and murdered. The contras have destroyed 321 schools and 50 health-care facilities.

Edgar Chamorro, a contra leader between 1981 and 1985, recently wrote a letter to the *New York Times* describing the savagery of the contras. "During my four years as a 'contra' director," he wrote, "it was premeditated policy to terrorize civilian noncombatants to prevent them from cooperating with the government. Hundreds of civilian murders, mutilations, tortures, and rapes were committed in pursuit of this policy, of which the 'contra' leaders and their C.I.A. superiors were well aware."

The Sandinista government estimates that the economic damages amount to \$1.3 billion, a staggering sum in a country that only brings in \$400 million a year in foreign exchange. The significant scale of this war can also be measured by the fact that

40 percent of Nicaragua's budget goes to defense.

This has forced heavy sacrifices on the Nicaraguan people. Many social programs aimed at improving standards of education, health, and housing have been shelved or cut. Economic development programs have been put on the back burner.

Tightening the economic screws

Moreover, Washington's trade embargo, imposed last spring, and its arm-twisting of international lending agencies have tightened the economic screws. For example, a proposed \$58 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, part of which was earmarked for fertilizer and tractors for 50,000 independent farmers, was blocked by the Reagan administration in 1985.

Along with its economic squeeze, the U.S. government continues its drive to isolate Nicaragua politically. It hammers away with three main lies: the Nicaraguan government is undemocratic, there are a large number of Cuban troops in Nicaragua, and the Sandinistas are helping to organize terrorism in other Latin American countries.

Despite the ferocity of Washington's war, which State Department official Elliott Abrams calls "applying strong pressure," Nicaragua's working people remain firm. Both in and out of uniform, they are conducting a valiant effort to hold off Washington's contra invaders and saboteurs.

In 1985 they dealt the U.S. rulers a setback when they defeated a major military offensive by the contras to capture a piece of territory in Nicaragua from which a "provisional government" could be set up. Improvements in the training and organization of the Nicaraguan military forces make this perspective even more remote today.

24-hour alert

But the war continues; and the Nicaraguan people are required to be on alert 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Washington permits no respite for this people who are defending the revolutionary government they placed in power after overthrowing the capitalist government headed by Somoza in 1979. They do not want to return to the system where landlords, bankers, big ranchers, and, above all, U.S. moneyed interests dominate their country and back up their rule with repressive terror.

They are fighting to live in peace to or-



Militant/Lou Howort
April 20, 1985, national antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. Today, more than ever, action campaign against U.S.-organized war on Nicaragua is needed.

ganize their political, economic, and social life as they choose, not as Washington dictates.

International antiwar campaign needed

Working people internationally, and especially in the United States, have a major responsibility and stake in getting Washington to end its aggression against Nicaragua.

More than ever an international campaign against this dirty war is needed. Waiting until there is a sharp escalation of the war, such as direct U.S. air attacks or the involvement of combat troops, would be a serious blunder. Government officials, in fact, are counting on this lack of action. It is a big part of their considerations in waging such a grinding war.

A central task of antiwar fighters must be to explain the truth about the war itself — the fact that it exists, its scope, and its heavy toll on Nicaragua. This effort is also needed to help answer the flood of lies flowing from the White House, which are echoed in newspapers and magazines and on radio and television stations from coast to coast.

Rallies, meetings, and broad distribution of educational material need to be organized to wage this get-out-the-truth campaign.

In addition to and connected with this activity, the struggle against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua can be advanced by broad, united protest demonstrations. On April 20, 1985, for example, the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, a coalition of many organizations, initiated a demonstration in Washington, D.C., and several other cities, which drew 125,000 protesters. Significantly, this action was sponsored by eight national trade unions.

Nationally coordinated actions like this —

whether focusing on Washington, D.C., or organized in many cities across the country — give the antiwar movement greater visibility. This is important for making opposition to the war better known and attracting new forces to the movement.

Moreover, such actions serve to unite organizations and individuals with diverse political views around opposition to Washington's war.

This helps to maximize the political striking force of the movement and its attractiveness to tens of thousands of prospective activists. Unionists, Blacks, students, farmers, Latinos, and women's rights fighters will be drawn to a broad antiwar movement of this type. So will many anti-apartheid activists, who recognize that a strong antiwar movement against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua will strengthen the fight against apartheid in South Africa.

There are scores of groups around the country, including many local coalitions, that are involved in activity aimed at getting Washington out of Nicaragua. In some cities there are inactive coalitions that need to be reactivated, and in others, the potential to draw together new coalitions.

The local initiatives and actions of these coalitions would get a significant uplift from a national action like the April 20 protests last year. This perspective is what's needed.

It is not inevitable that the U.S. rulers, even with the massive resources at their disposal, will succeed in wearing down the Nicaraguan people and imposing a government obedient to Washington's commands on them. The outcome of the war is not settled. A big antiwar movement, solidly based on support for Nicaragua's right to self-determination, can make a difference on what that outcome is.

N.Y. zinc miners' strike in 5th month

BY GEORGE KONTANIS

ALBANY, N.Y. — Some 350 zinc miners, members of United Steelworkers of America Local 3701, have been on strike for nearly five months against St. Joe Resources near Fowler, New York, close to the Canadian border.

Strike supporters packed the Steelworkers District 4 office here in Albany on December 18. They arrived with money, toys for the children of the striking miners, clothes, and foodstuffs. Brush workers from Hughes-Tek contributed 1,500 toothbrushes. The more than \$4,000 in financial contributions will help to break the isolation of the zinc miners and make it easier for them to hold out during the long, cold winter in upstate New York.

Representatives of the striking local had planned to meet with Albany area supporters and help them send the solidarity aid off to the north country, but the miners were snowed in.

The Solidarity Committee of the Capital District was born out of the 1983 Greyhound strike. It has supported many local strikes since, and joined with the Steelworkers to involve local unions in publicizing the plight of the embattled St. Joe zinc miners.

Richard Pasco, president of Steelwork-

ers' Local 3701, told the solidarity committee that St. Joe is owned by a company that broke its union in Missouri. The parent company, Fluor, from Irvine, California, Pasco continued, is also the owner of the J.T. Massey Coal Co. in West Virginia and Kentucky. Like the Massey workers, who were on strike for over a year, the St. Joe zinc miners face company security goons who have turned the small mining towns into armed camps.

The miners explained that an earlier strike there had lasted 17 months. The current one, they said, could go on for some time, and the Steelworkers in St. Lawrence County need all the help the labor movement can give them.

"There isn't anyone else," said John Funicello, a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and leader of the solidarity committee here. "If the locals don't help each other in time of need, there will be no other help. If we can't help others when they need it, who will be there when we need it?" Funicello said.

One person at the meeting, who brought donations and clothing from members of Local 165 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Albany, asked about the links of Fluor to the racist regime

in South Africa. Some participants discussed the importance of educating the union membership about the need for divestment from South Africa and about how companies like Fluor exploit miners here and in South Africa.



Militant/Andy Coates
Sign outside mine entrance No. 4 at St. Joe Resources in St. Lawrence County, New York. St. Joe is owned by Fluor Corp., which has big investments in South Africa.

Why Nicaraguan gov't closed 'Radio Católica'

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — When the Nicaraguan government closed down Radio Católica January 2, the action was condemned in the U.S. big-business media as further proof that the Sandinistas violate the right to religious freedom.

Radio Católica was an important voice of the Catholic church hierarchy here. It was run by Father Bismark Carballo, an aide to Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo. The Nicaraguan authorities charge that Carballo repeatedly violated the law. His station broadcast appeals for draft evasion and refused to air certain statements by the government, as all radio stations are required to do here because the country is at war.

Carballo says the station's failure to broadcast the government statements is due to "human error." He contends he is being victimized because he is a Catholic priest, not for violating the law.

A different picture was revealed, however, at a mass conducted by Carballo January 10.

The service, held at the Calvario Church on the edge of the capital city of Managua's Eastern Market, had been built through ads and announcements in the anti-government daily *La Prensa*. It was billed as a memorial service to commemorate the eighth anniversary of the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro by agents of Anastasio Somoza, whose tyrannical regime was overthrown here in 1979. Chamorro had been editor of *La Prensa* and a prominent figure in the capitalist opposition to Somoza.

Sponsoring the mass was the "La Prensa Workers Union."

Contrary to the impression one might receive from the U.S. capitalist media, there was no government harassment of those attending Carballo's mass. A single Sandinista policeman appeared outside the church prior to the service, conferred briefly with the event's organizer, and left.

If there was any intimidation, it was the line-up of very large men at the church's entrance, some of whom later went to the altar to aid Carballo in conducting the service.

The first arrivals for the mass were primarily women, quite a few of them well-dressed, but also a number who appeared to be vendors from the market across the street. Later, many men arrived, some presumably trade unionists employed by *La Prensa*. Others were members of right-wing political parties, and a few were workers. The crowd at its peak was about 300 people, including some foreign press.

Just before the service began, Violeta Chamorro, widow of the slain editor, walked in with a few members of her family and demonstratively strode to the front row. She had served briefly in the Nicaraguan government after the overthrow of Somoza, then quit in 1980, denouncing the Sandinistas for being undemocratic.

In his sermon, dedicated to Pedro Joa-



Father Bismark Carballo (right) at January 10 mass in Managua. Carballo had used Radio Católica to broadcast appeals for draft evasion, undermining Nicaragua's defense from U.S.-backed war.

quín Chamorro, Carballo barely mentioned the editor's name. The fact that the same kind of Somozaist thugs who gunned down Chamorro are today shooting and attempting to terrorize Nicaraguan working people as paid CIA mercenaries was never mentioned at all.

"It's not possible to construct the new world we want except based on love," Carballo said, "contrary to some people who say class struggle." His sermon was liberally sprinkled with vague appeals for "freedom" from an unnamed enemy.

When he finished his sermon, Carballo withdrew from the altar and let his "aides" present a more explicit message in the form of prayer. One man delivered a prayer "for peace, which can only be won through national dialogue and reconciliation." Another led a prayer "for freedom of the unions and Radio Católica."

A "spontaneous" fund-raising rally for Radio Católica followed. One man went to the altar and said he was from the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), a right-wing union associated with the former

Somoza regime. Some ex-CTN leaders are today part of the mercenary forces based in Honduras, particularly their urban terrorist squads.

The man said CTN members would be called to contribute a day's pay to the staff members of Radio Católica, who, he said, had been laid off because the station was closed. He appealed to the audience to help their fellow workers at Radio Católica who supposedly face starvation and loss of their homes.

Several other men who said they were trade unionists took the floor to call for donations to Carballo as an act of defense of "trade union freedom."

A woman got up and said she was a vendor in the Eastern Market. "We have nothing, no food, nothing to sell. There are no jobs. But I'm still going to give what little I have to Radio Católica," she said, pressing some bills into Carballo's hand.

Each donation received fervent applause from most of those in the audience.

The organizers of the mass clearly hoped it would provide copy for foreign newspapers about beleaguered trade unionists, women, and Catholics struggling against so-called persecution of the church by the Sandinistas.

The message aimed at Nicaraguan working people was summed up in the prayer for "national dialogue and reconciliation." This referred to the demand of President Ronald Reagan that the Nicaraguans lay down their arms and open peace talks with the U.S.-backed forces — in other words, give up the fight to defend the gains they have made through their revolution.

At no time during the mass did anyone offer evidence that the right of Catholics to practice their religion had been violated by the government.

What was really being demanded was that Radio Católica be allowed — in the middle of a war — to freely use the airwaves to organize desertion, draft evasion, and opposition to the economic measures necessary to win that war.

Sandinista Defense Committees hold elections

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) have been holding elections across Nicaragua to revitalize this important mass organization of the revolution. These elections for new leadership began last year and are expected to conclude at the end of January.

The elections are part of a broader political reorganization of the CDSs to strengthen them in the face of the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua.

In September 1985, Leticia Herrera, the general secretary of the CDSs, gave a speech outlining problems that were hindering the work of the organization.

She recalled that the CDSs arose as neighborhood defense organizations during the struggle to overthrow dictator Anastasio Somoza. Then called the Civil Defense Committees (CDCs), they protected neighbors from the National Guard, set up food and medical supply centers, and mobilized people in the battle to bring Somoza down.

After the triumph of the revolution on July 19, 1979, the name CDC was changed to CDS.

"The CDS's combativity was evident in the way we kept our links to the people, in the way our leadership bodies were not bureaucratized at any level. Plans were worked out according to the concrete reality of the community. That is, there was more involvement of people, more massive and active participation," said Herrera.

"All this began to be transformed by incorrect work styles and methods. The work began to be administrative, that is, the CDSs became separated from the masses. As a result, in general people's proposals were not listened to. No solutions to people's problems were given. Later, a schematic conception arose that included the CDSs taking on an almost party-like character," she continued.

Herrera explained why drifting into becoming a small group of supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, or any other party, cut across the purpose of a CDS, which is to organize all the residents of a neighborhood into the tasks of the revolution, regardless of their political views.

She went over the accomplishments of the CDSs in the six and a half years since the revolution. Thousands of people were mobilized to help carry out a national literacy campaign in 1980, which brought the illiteracy rate down from 52 percent to 12 percent. A national adult education program was started and continues to be carried out by the CDS as does a national health campaign.

The CDS is also responsible on a neighborhood level for assuring the availability of food supplies and guarding against speculation and overcharging.

Organizing the people to do revolutionary vigilance — patrolling their neighborhoods at night to protect the country from terrorist actions by the U.S.-backed mercenaries and local reactionaries — is one of the most important tasks of a CDS, along with civil defense and organizing people to join the militias.

In the recent period, revolutionary vigilance had fallen off or stopped in some neighborhoods. It was often the same neighborhoods where community problems were not being attended to.

"The CDSs are a mass movement of a community character," said Herrera, "and therefore, they have to respond to the needs and problems of the community regardless of the political, ideological, economic, or social position of people. They offer the alternative of finding a solution to people's problems through participation in action."

"In order to strengthen the power of the people it's necessary to achieve qualitative changes in our work as leaders. That is, the tasks of each CDS must correspond to the concrete reality of the neighborhood, zone, or region that it's dealing with. The work of each CDS must correspond to the necessities, problems, and sentiments of our people."

Herrera went on to explain the kinds of leadership problems the CDSs need to overcome. Some leaders of the CDSs were more interested in structural and organizational problems than in coming up with answers to the problems people were confronting, she said.

Herrera criticized some CDS leaders for putting pressure on people to participate in

community activity. She explained that "you have to let people do what they want as long as it's within the interest of the revolution."

She also explained how in some cases the coordinator of a CDS acted like a "little king" of the neighborhood. She said, "We're concerned about this and we believe that it is necessary to change these attitudes."

Herrera explained the purpose of holding elections in each neighborhood to select new CDS coordinators. "Elections will be an opening for all the social and political forces to get involved in the development of the community and the defense of the homeland," she explained. "They don't mean restructuring the CDS or getting rid of comrades who are willing to work within and with their community."

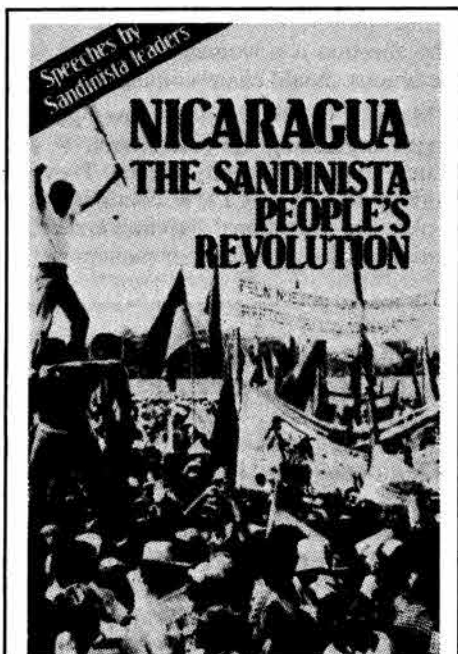
She underlined that a CDS leader "must be a representative of the masses. He or she must learn from the masses, must work with the masses, must feel things as they do, understand their problems, and struggle to solve them."

She added that the transformation of the CDSs must be based on the conscious participation of the people. "We call upon the whole population of our country to participate actively in the CDS meetings, where the transformations being carried out by the CDS will be discussed."

"From this moment on, we have to intensify the revision of our work at all levels and simultaneously instill new conceptions and content in our work."

Many neighborhoods have already completed their elections. In the city of León, before the elections started, residents held discussions to come up with better methods of work. These new methods generated greater integration of people anxious to solve community problems. The CDSs have already installed running water in a number of neighborhoods that did not have it.

In the Roberto González neighborhood in the city of Chinandega, people are working to repair a school and to build a children's park. They are also working to repair the streets. All of these are the result of reorganizing the CDSs.



Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. A new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. \$7.95 (include 75 cents for postage and handling). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Tutu blasts U.S. gov't ties to apartheid

Continued from front page
pacifist," he continued.

"Why, when you are a 'contra' against the government of Nicaragua, do you get the backing of the most powerful government on Earth?" asked Tutu. The Nicaraguan government is one "that the people support! How come when our people fight against a government that doesn't even pretend to represent the majority, they are called terrorists," he declared.

Tutu finished his talk with an appeal to those present to "change the climate in the world and in this country to make it totally impossible for the United States to do business with South Africa."

The conference was divided into four sessions.

Speakers included representatives of the government of India, the United Nations Commission on Apartheid, Organization of African Unity (OAU), South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), ANC, Free South Africa Movement, World Council of Churches, Washington Office on Africa, and South Africa Project, as well as musician Little Steven.

A session devoted to U.S. governmental policy in South Africa heard Congressman William Gray and William Robertson, Secretary of African Affairs for the State Department.

Robertson, in a speech full of praise for King, defended U.S. ties with South Africa and called for deepening collaboration between the two countries. Arguing against the call for complete sanctions against South Africa — which was made by every other speaker at the conference — Robertson claimed that "if sanctions were imposed it would hurt the independent countries who are economically dependent on South Africa. Eight or nine countries would go down the drain if South Africa goes down the drain."

He called for the expansion of cultural, educational, and business ties with the white minority regime. Robertson was repeatedly interrupted by boos, hisses, and laughter.

Representatives of the OAU, SWAPO, and the ANC defended the South African freedom struggle against anticommunist slanders and violence-baiting.

Oumarou Yousoufou, OAU general secretary, told the conference, "The ANC was founded in 1912, five years before the revolution in the Soviet Union. Communism is not the issue. The issue is a people's

movement to be free." He reported that he had been to Poland and the Soviet Union. "If apartheid is what the West has to offer to South Africa, then I tell you communism would be much better."

Mfanafuthi Makatini and David Ndaba spoke for the ANC. "Our organization holds the world record as far as nonviolence is concerned," Makatini said. "After so many years, it became clear that nonviolence would not work in the face of systematic tyranny. You have the obligation to revolt."

Makatini and Ndaba stressed that Blacks in South Africa are becoming increasingly "ungovernable." In response, people around the world are redoubling efforts to isolate the apartheid regime.

Makatini urged that a material support campaign be launched to support the ANC and the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions, which represents 500,000 workers.

Ndaba received loud cheers and applause at the end of his speech when he said, "If you lived the dream of Martin Luther King and imposed sanctions like he said, then apartheid will fall. Impose sanctions today and not tomorrow."



Anti-apartheid fighters at September 28, 1985, Atlanta demonstration. Militant/John Bixby

S. Africa rulers back Lesotho coup

Continued from front page

the South African mercenaries in Angola, the Reagan administration confirms its criminal complicity with apartheid.

Angola has been a special South African target ever since it won its independence from Portugal in 1975. Soon after independence, Angola had to call on Cuban troops to help crush a South African invasion. Since then, Pretoria has developed its efforts at subversion through the armed contra gangs, called UNITA, which enjoy Washington's favor.

Open U.S. aid to the Angolan counter-revolutionaries will help Pretoria, not only against the government of Angola, but against the liberation struggle of the South African people as well.

Other southern African nations at risk from Pretoria include Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, all of which are, to one extent or another, subject to its economic pressure.

But because of its geographical encirclement, Lesotho has been particularly vul-

nerable.

For the past century, Lesotho has suffered persistent South African assaults. Since its independence from Britain in 1966, this has intensified.

An underdeveloped, drought-afflicted country, Lesotho suffers special economic dependence on South Africa. Lesotho's main export is its workers.

Of the 300,000 foreign migrant Black workers employed in South Africa, 141,000 are from Lesotho. Nearly a quarter of South Africa's miners are from Lesotho. The threat to exclude these workers is a powerful club against that country.

Yet despite the economic power of its racist neighbor, and in the face of numerous armed blows against it, Lesotho has held onto a significant degree of independence.

It has resisted South African demands to end its declared political support to the freedom struggle in South Africa and in Namibia, which is fighting to end South African occupation.

It has also not yielded to South African pressure to give at least de facto recognition to the fake Bantustan "nations" created by Pretoria to further segregate Black South Africans and to strip them of citizenship.

As the liberation struggle in South Africa has mounted, Pretoria has escalated its demands on Lesotho. It sought, for example, an agreement requiring Lesotho to give it the names of all refugees entering

the country and hand back any it demanded.

Lesotho did not comply. The Jonathan government did agree it would not permit guerrilla fighters to use the country as a military base, and some refugees have been transferred to other countries. But many South African refugees have found sanctuary in Lesotho.

Cruel blows have been struck against the country. One especially scandalous example of this occurred Dec. 9, 1982. In the dark of night, five South African helicopters descended on the capital city of Maseru, dropping off a hundred white commandos, their faces blackened. They moved swiftly to 12 private homes where, according to their spies, refugee ANC activists were living.

Those in the houses, or caught in the line of fire, were slaughtered. Forty men, women, and children died in the sudden bloodbath — 28 South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho.

The act of barbarism was called a "preemptive strike" against the ANC which, Pretoria baselessly declared, was planning "deeds of terror" in South Africa from a base in Lesotho. The real reason was to force Lesotho to expel its political refugees.

Such savage deeds over the years, coupled with economic blackmail, have now climaxed with the overthrow of the government.

Massive turnout for King Day

Continued from back page

holiday will help put more attention on the Black struggle."

Many unionists explained that they were at the march because of the importance of the civil rights movement for the labor movement.

Walter Hopkins from UAW Local 10 said his union turned out because "the struggle by people for better jobs and better working conditions was what King was all about."

Paul Morris from the Machinists added that the civil rights movement "made it a lot easier for minorities to become part of the international labor unions. We are going to have to continue to try to get MLK's birthday off in our next contract."

A member of the Teamsters, C.M. Smith, said, "King gave his life for Blacks and all mankind. He supported the union wholeheartedly, and he gave his life to help organize the garbage workers. That's why my union is here today."

Many marchers felt like one member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers contingent: that the King holiday should be used "to continue to combat racism and attacks on the unions."

Jack Young and Kwami Alexander, two young students from Greensboro, North Carolina, commented: "I thank him for what he did to help Black people get our freedom."

"We are marching today because we support freedom," said Freedy James of the Delta Sigma Beta sorority. "We say 'no' to injustice, 'no' to apartheid. This holiday will continue to help us realize the dream."

"We need to come together a lot more

often like this," a group of nursing students from Tuskegee University emphasized.

Morehouse College in Atlanta had a large group of chanting and singing students. Frederick Graves commented, "We come to march against apartheid, in honor of Dr. King, and because we need to go a long way to realize civil rights today."

Bands and contingents from the Bahamas, Virgin Islands, and Jamaica were also in the parade. Participants from many countries in Africa also attended.

Before the march began, an ecumenical service was held at the Ebenezer Baptist Church. The featured guest was Desmond Tutu, who was presented with the Martin Luther King peace prize.

Tutu accepted "on behalf of those languishing in jail and those sentenced to life imprisonment because they have the audacity to say we are human."

Also attending the service were senators, congresspeople, and Vice-president George Bush.

Many of the area's schools and factories that refused to close for the holiday reported high absentee rates. The General Motors Lakewood plant had to close up because too few workers reported for the first shift to keep the line running.

Workers at the General Motors Doraville plant reported that the second shift was a sea of King T-shirts.

It was clear from the massive outpouring of workers and students that the first national march was not only a celebration of King's contributions. It also reflected the determination of Blacks and other working people to continue the fight against racism, attacks on the labor movement, and apartheid in South Africa.

Union women back abortion action

Continued from back page

ment and the Supreme Court rulings denying Medicaid payments for abortion."

The convention resolution also called on "the labor movement to take action to block any other antiabortion moves and to defend legal abortion" and strongly opposed the racist practice of forced sterilization.

In the face of mounting attacks on abortion rights, CLUW again adopted a policy statement at its 1982 convention.

It reads, in part:

"The Coalition of Labor Union Women reaffirms its commitment to: 1. the right of every woman to decide whether or when to bear children; 2. the right to learn about and use safe and effective birth control; 3. the right to choose to have a safe, legal abortion without discrimination based on ability to pay..."

The convention put CLUW squarely on record opposing any constitutional amendments or state or federal legislation preventing a woman's right to choose abortion.

It also called on the unions to negotiate contracts that provide health insurance benefits for abortion that are equal to benefits for all other medical procedures.

The resolution stressed the importance of educational activities in the unions on

why abortion is a woman's right and why the unions should champion that right.

Many CLUW chapters have already begun organizing for the March 9 and March 16 abortion rights actions. They are working to build a CLUW contingent and to organize educational activities and broad participation from the labor movement.

Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialist Publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Bernhard Goetz: racist hero of the ruling rich

Racist gunman Bernhard Goetz is getting away scot-free.

On January 16, Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Stephen Crane dismissed charges of attempted murder and assault handed down by a grand jury against Goetz.

On Dec. 22, 1984, Goetz shot four Black youths in a New York City subway. That made him the hero of the racist rulers of this city.

The government has now come up with some legal



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Rashaad Ali

trickery to get the major charges against this racist gunslinger dismissed.

Judge Crane claimed that the prosecutor made a "prejudicial error" in his instructions to the grand jury about Goetz' claim of self-defense and that two of the victims of this vigilante's bullets "strongly appeared to have" perjured themselves. This latter charge was based on one newspaper article that claimed to quote one of Goetz' victims saying he and his friends intended to rob Goetz.

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau announced that he would appeal the judge's decision, which he called "erroneous." "The facts should be fully litigated in a public forum and the question of Goetz'

guilt or innocence decided by a jury," declared Morgenthau.

Both the capitalist newspapers and television have pushed the false notion that what needs to be decided is whether Goetz broke the law in defending himself from an attack.

This is false! Goetz was never attacked by the four youths he shot.

The question here is not the right to self-defense. What is involved is a premeditated racist assault. This attack was fueled by the racist, anti-working-class "law and order" campaign of the U.S. rulers.

The big-business press showed their approval for Goetz' murderous action with headlines like "A Fantasy Come True: Death Wish Gunman Captured City's Imagination" and "Quiet Loner Fed up with Local Crime."

Let's take a little closer look at this "quiet loner."

The *New York Times* sympathetically portrays him as "an inward-looking, socially awkward man, who was raised in small-town comfort and educated in private schools, who divorced once, succeeded in his own electronics business, but was frustrated in his efforts to fight drugs, crime, and filth in the city."

It's Goetz, however, who is the criminal. He is a virulent racist who cold-bloodedly emptied his .38 revolver into Troy Canty, James Ramseur, Daryl Cabey, and Barry Allen on a subway train.

He was known by neighbors as an outspoken racist and had repeatedly told friends that "sooner or later, I'm going to get them," meaning Blacks.

On December 22, according to Goetz, four Black youths on the subway asked him for \$5. He responded, "I have \$5 for each of you," then pulled out his gun and shot all four — two were hit in the back as they ran away. He

said that he only stopped shooting because he ran out of ammunition.

He shot one of his victims a second time, saying, "You don't look so bad. Here's another."

These victims had no weapons and did not threaten to rob him. Goetz claimed that their "body language" frightened him.

The police reports stated that he "checked each of his victims after shooting to make sure they were hit."

To make perfectly clear that his intention was to murder some Blacks, he told reporters, "If I had more control, I would have held the gun to his head and blown his brains out. I wanted to kill those guys. I made them suffer any way I could." Goetz was also quoted as saying that he wanted to be "just an innocuous, gun-toting honky on the street."

The racism of the "anticrime" campaign whipped up around the shootings by Goetz is easy to see. We need more cops to keep "them" in line, further curtailment of civil liberties to put more of "them" in jail, and more restrictive bail requirements and longer sentences to keep "them" there.

The rulers try to use cases like Goetz' to convince all working people that the problems we face in this society are the fault of other workers — especially Blacks.

But Blacks and other workers are not criminals. We are the victims of capitalist crimes. The criminal greed of capitalists in their quest for profits victimizes working people around the world from Central America to South Africa to Manhattan.

It's the anti-working-class and racist policies of the U.S. ruling rich and their two political parties that have inspired and emboldened right-wing vigilantes like Bernhard Goetz.

Goetz should be put in jail where he belongs.

Latest 'New International' focuses on South Africa

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The latest issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, focuses on the unfolding revolution in South Africa. It offers readers a working-class perspective on the struggle to overthrow the apartheid state.

The facts and analysis about South Africa in this issue will be an invaluable aid for active opponents of apartheid in the unions, on the campuses, and in the various anti-apartheid groups that have sprung up. Circulating it is an important part of the activity that revolutionary workers can carry out in solidarity with the South African revolution.

The centerpiece of this issue of *New International* is a report by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, titled "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." The report was adopted by the party's national committee in August 1985.

In addition, the magazine includes other materials that serve to expand and develop the key political points made in Barnes' report.

Democratic, nonracial South Africa

The report begins by explaining that the South African revolution is aimed at overthrowing the apartheid state and replacing it with a democratic, nonracial republic.

This goal is codified in the Freedom Charter. The Charter is the program of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's vanguard liberation organization. It was drawn up and adopted by some 3,000 delegates at the 1955 Congress of the People. The Charter is reprinted in this issue of *New International*.

It opens with the declaration: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people." The Charter then demands such basic democratic rights as: one person, one vote; equal protection before the law; freedom of speech and assembly; the right to travel freely inside and outside the country; and an end to restrictions on land ownership based on race.

In a 1984 speech titled "The Future Belongs to the Majority," reprinted in *New International*, Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, explains, "The slogan, 'Power to the people' means one thing and one thing only. It means we seek to destroy the power of apartheid tyranny and replace it with popular power with a government whose authority derives from the will of all our people, both Black and white."

The South African revolution, Barnes explains, is a fight to open the door to forging a nonracial nation-state. "There is no South African nation-state," Barnes writes. "There is only a state of 'the white race.'" Within the country of South Africa, the overwhelming majority of people have no constitutional rights.

South Africa's rulers seek to perpetuate and intensify divisions among the Black majority, which includes Africans, Indians, and Coloureds.

Apartheid has turned the African population into an estate, "a part of the population whose legal and social rights are drastically limited in comparison to other sections of the population," states Barnes.

Apartheid's legal restrictions on Blacks' right to own land, originally stolen from them, blocks the development of modern classes whereby some South Africans "would become free farmers, producing and selling their

commodities on the market, while others would be able to sell their labor power on an equal basis with all other wage workers."

Central to forging the nation, continues Barnes, is conquering "the right of the Black majority to own, work, and develop the land from which they have been expelled by the apartheid regime. To win the right of Africans to become free farmers, producing cash crops for an expanding home market."

National, democratic revolution

The South African revolution, Barnes explains, is a national, democratic revolution. It is different from, but no less important than, the anticapitalist revolutions that have triumphed in Cuba and Nicaragua.

In countries like Nicaragua, because of economic underdevelopment and the small size of the working class, democratic tasks predominate in the revolutionary process. But the South African revolution has a qualitatively different job than the one in Nicaragua.

Nicaragua, Barnes explains, was a modern nation-state under the U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza. All Nicaraguans were citizens of the country, with the formal right to equal protection under the law. Nicaraguans had a right to vote even though the elections were rigged by the dictatorship. They could freely move from one city to another or from the countryside to the city.

While Nicaraguan workers in their majority did not have unions, they could change jobs. They could own land. Although the majority owned such small plots that they could barely survive, there were also big capitalist growers, middle-size peasants, and peasants who exploited labor. There was, in short, modern class development in Nicaragua.

This is not true in South Africa. "The oppressed South African toilers," Barnes writes, "have to bring a nation into being, guaranteeing universal citizenship rights to all who make up that nation. They have to establish a democratic republic. They have to draw the big majority of the toilers ... into commodity production and exchange."

Working class in the leadership

The economic development of South Africa, Barnes explains, has brought into existence a large working class. This fact doesn't determine whether a democratic or anticapitalist revolution is on the agenda in South Africa. But, Barnes says, it does mean that the working class can take the leadership of the national, democratic revolution.

Blacks in South Africa, Barnes explains, have been proletarianized — driven off the land and swept into the factories, mines, and fields. But, unlike workers in the United States, their ability to earn a living is severely restricted by the fact that, by law, they cannot live or work where they choose.

The development of this working class, Barnes explains, has helped to break down tribal and other divisions among the oppressed toilers that are key to the maintenance of apartheid.

This working class has suffered the massive expropriation of its land and cattle. Workers face legal restrictions on their right to own land. This, Barnes writes, means that "one of the goals of the South African revolution is

the 'deproletarianization' of a part of that class in the sense of winning the right to become property-holding farmers."

"A task of the alliance of workers and peasants in South Africa," Barnes writes, "is to conquer the right of proletarians who want to be farmers, to become farmers."

Turning to the question of the leadership of the revolution, Barnes explains that, in every revolutionary struggle, one organization establishes itself as the vanguard. "The ANC," he writes, "has won the leadership of the democratic revolution in South Africa. The Black masses look to the ANC. ... The Freedom Charter has become the recognized platform of the revolutionary anti-apartheid struggle."

The ANC bases itself on the workers and rural toilers as the only way to lead the national, democratic revolution to overthrow apartheid and establish a nonracial republic. This enables the ANC "to draw toward the movement, through many forms, those of any race, of any class, who will support in action the revolutionary struggle," explains Barnes.

Impact of South African revolution

"South Africa is a link in the world imperialist chain," Barnes writes. The price South Africa pays for wielding its imperialist power "is the deepening interpenetration of the world revolution and South African politics."

This was graphically demonstrated in 1975-76 when the Angolan people united with Cuban internationalist volunteers and successfully defended Angola's sovereignty against a South African invasion.

In the article, "Southern Africa: A Decade of Struggle," which appears in this issue of *New International*, Ernest Harsch explains the significance of Angola's victory. "For the first time," he writes, "the military forces of the apartheid state had been defeated in battle. For Africans throughout the region, Pretoria — despite its massive military might — was no longer the invincible power it had seemed to be."

This issue of *New International* also contains three excerpts from speeches and interviews by Fidel Castro explaining why Cuban internationalist volunteers are committed to help Angola defend itself.

Harsch's article also traces South Africa's history of aggression against the peoples of the region.

The impact of the South African revolution goes beyond Africa. "A new ally of the Nicaraguan revolution, a new ally of Cuba, a new ally of Salvadoran liberation fighters, has entered the battle," explains Barnes.

Barnes explains that the struggle in South Africa has opened the door to getting unions in the United States involved in action against the apartheid regime. This is an important opportunity for workers here to defend their brothers and sisters in South Africa and to advance their own struggle.

The task in the United States, Barnes writes, is to break all U.S. ties with South Africa. This "will take a mighty battle."

The U.S. rulers use their vast propaganda resources to slander the struggle in South Africa.

Revolutionary-minded workers, he explains, must answer this propaganda by getting out the truth about apartheid and the unfolding revolution.

This issue of *New International* will help to politically arm opponents of apartheid for this battle.

Funny how things work — A news item on the federal "budget balancing" cutbacks reports that "some programs that are not going to be cut this year because of the



Harry Ring

way the new law works are \$27 million in nonmilitary aid to the rebels fighting the government of Nicaragua and \$1.2 billion in economic aid to Israel."

Outpaces fiction and science fiction — According to a UNESCO bibliography, V.I. Lenin is the world's most translated author, with the Bible and science fiction writer Jules Verne running second and third.

Be prepared — The Boy Scouts were blasted by the National Right to Work Committee for developing a new labor merit badge to be earned by researching the history of U.S. labor. The "right to workers" see this as subversion by "Big Labor." They no doubt consider it particularly invidious that the program includes visiting a union and nonunion shop and making a comparison.

For the love of Jesus — The

Catholic Relief Services has come under fire for collecting \$50 million for Ethiopian famine relief and, so far, earmarking less than \$10 million for that purpose. Also, the agency's executive director was granted, without knowledge of the board of directors, a \$100,000 interest-free loan to help him move from D.C. to New York and find a pad.

The antiterrorists — A Wisconsin sheriff was found guilty of recklessly endangering the constitutional rights of five people among a group taken hostage in a police terrorist exercise. College students, playing terrorist, bound the hostages at gunpoint so they could be rescued by the posse. Damages will be awarded.

Probably so — William Sodhi of Toronto is enlisting members in "Landlords Against Rent Control" at fees up to \$5,000 by offering detailed files on tenants. He complains hostile forces are trying to do him in by citing his record, which includes "two or three months" for fraud plus some other charges, "most" of them dismissed. He says, "I see myself as a very ordinary money-motivated, money-oriented businessman."

Pretty slick — Harold "Hayseed" Stephens, a Texas evangelist, has sunk \$6 million of investors' cash into drilling for oil in Israel. He read in the good book: "And the vale of Siddim was full of slime pits, and the

kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and fell there." Stephens assures, "Those tar pits had to be pretty viscous or they wouldn't have fell in them and be captured."

Army intelligence — Hearing the case of an Orthodox Jewish army officer suing for the right to wear a skull cap on duty, a Supreme Court justice inquired why he couldn't wear a toupee. A Justice Dept. lawyer explained military regulations barred them for service members who are not bald.

Thought for the week — "The purpose of uniforms is to make everybody look alike." — Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Keep Abortion Safe and Legal. A panel discussion. Speakers: Kelley Hall, chairperson, Reproductive Rights Committee of Greater Birmingham National Organization for Women; Emily Norton, cochair, Women's Agenda; Betsy Farley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Bay Area

Socialist Educational Conference: Lessons of the Civil Rights Struggle.

Class 1. "Reconstruction, Migration, and the Fight for Equality." Sat., Feb. 1, 11 a.m.

Class 2. "Rise of the Civil Rights Movement," Sat., Feb. 1, 2:30 p.m.

Speaker: Mac Warren, National Organization Secretary of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and SWP. For more information call San Francisco (415) 282-6255, Oakland (415) 261-3014, San Jose (408) 998-4007.

Los Angeles

The U.S. vs. Libya: Who Is the Real Threat to Peace? Speaker: representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

What's Behind the AIDS Hysteria? Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

COLORADO

Denver

Namibia: How South Africa Exports Apartheid. Speakers: Solveig Kjeseth, executive director, National Namibia Caucus; Floyd Fowler, member United Auto Workers Local 1159 and Colorado Coalition Against Apartheid. Sat., Jan. 25, 7 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

Abolish the Death Penalty. Speakers: Michael Chamberlain, member United Auto Workers Local 766 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 1, 7 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

How to Defend Democratic Rights. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Fight for Abortion Rights. Speakers: Ray Payne, National Organization for Women-Task Force Women Against Racism; representative of Casa Nicaragua; Shelley Davis, member United Auto Workers District 65 and Socialist Workers Party; also, video rebutting the anti-abortion film, *Silent Screams*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5453.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Young Women and the Fight for Abortion Rights. A panel discussion. Sun., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

The Struggle for Free Ireland. A panel discussion. Sun., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend Women's Right to Abortion. Speakers: Saith Robinson, Detroit National Organization for Women; Angela Smith, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Two Films on Malcolm X. *Malcolm X* and *Tribute to Malcolm X*. Presentation to follow by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Freedom Struggle from South Africa to Central America. Speakers: Francisco Campbell, representative of the Nicaraguan embassy; Nmonbe Ngubo, National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; representatives of the

African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization. Sat., Feb. 8, 7 p.m. General Lectures Building, Wayne State University, Warren at Anthony Wayne Dr.

Teach-in on South Africa and Central America. Fri. and Sat., Feb. 7 & 8. Wayne State University Student Center. For information call (313) 577-5053 or 577-3146.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Stop U.S. Threats Against Libya: Who Are the Real Terrorists? Speakers to be announced. Sun., Jan. 26, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa, a Decade of Advances Against Imperialism. Speakers: Nana Ngobese, South African student at KU; Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Auto Workers Local 31. Sat., Feb. 1, 7 p.m.; preform dinner at 6 p.m. 4725 Troost. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. Donation: \$2. For more information call (816) 753-0404. Forum to be preceded by **Grand Opening of Socialist Books** beginning at 11 a.m. Videos will be shown during the day on struggle in South Africa.

St. Louis

A Socialist Talks About Libya. Speaker: Jim Foster, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 5007 Waterman (near Kings Highway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Keep Abortion and Birth Control Safe and Legal: Fighting Back for Abortion Rights. Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, Young Socialist Alliance national women's liberation work director; others. Fri., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Report-back from El Salvador: Salvadoran Trade Unionists Fight Back Against Government War and Repression. Speaker: Don Gurewitz, observed National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS) convention November 7-9. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m.

79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cleveland

Stop Racist Attacks! Speakers: Bruce Hurd, National Black Independent Political Party; Henry Scheer, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 300 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

OREGON

Portland

U.S. Government Threatens Libya. Who Are the Real Terrorists? Speakers: Connie Allen, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Donation: \$2. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

UTAH

Price

The Fight for Mine Safety: Mine Operators Put Profits First, United Mine Workers Fights for Safety. Speakers: Cecelia Moriarty, member Socialist Workers Party National Committee and UMWA Local 2176 at Wilberg mine; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Reagan's War Threats Against Libya: Terrorism U.S.-style. Speaker: Ed Fruit, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Crisis of Working Farmers. Speaker: Tom Headley, member of Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2331. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 1, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aida Oliver, attaché of Nicaraguan embassy. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 8, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Nica. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. **Socialist Books:** 226-8445.

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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Garment bosses cheat on 'lump-sum bonuses'

BY ANDREA BARON

JASPER, Ala. — The Arrow Shirt factory where I work is organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 865. Our current three-year contract, signed with cotton-garment manufacturers last September, provided for an annual lump-sum bonus for workers.

This provision was a setback for the workers. It enabled the employers to virtually freeze wages and benefits

UNION TALK

except for one miserly 25-cent-an-hour increase. The companies say the bonus is just as good as a wage increase, but this is false. We need hourly increases to meet weekly living expenses.

Moreover, any employee who quit or was fired or permanently laid off during the September 1–November 30 period is not eligible for the bonus. In an industry with a high turnover, the bosses were likely to try to cheat by firing and laying off workers or by delaying hiring.

The contract also included the beginnings of a two-tier wage system, with new hires receiving less than full vacation rights and starting out with a worse health-care plan than workers who have been employed longer receive.

Discussion on the contract was limited. Most members heard what was in the pact for the first time at quickly organized meetings where ratification votes were taken. Many voted for the contract because they had expected

one that was worse.

This year's bonus is \$500, which was to be paid by December 1.

In late November, Arrow Shirt told us they would pay the bonus late. In addition, it would not be paid to workers who were on temporary layoff until they returned to work. In some cases, this would not be for three or four months.

The workers in the plant were very angry and saw this as an attack on the union. They felt that we needed to defend the laid-off workers and force the company to respect the contract or there was no telling what the company would try to get away with next. Many of my co-workers commented that if we had gotten a pay raise in our contract, the company couldn't hold back our money this way.

Many workers in the plant wanted to strike over this issue. Although there was no strike, the idea of "no bonus, no work" was discussed throughout the plant.

The bonuses were paid on December 2, and the union is taking legal action to get the company to pay the laid-off workers their bonus money immediately.

The owners of the Arrow Plant in Atlanta laid off a whole shift of workers in the cutting department right before the November 30 deadline. They were fulltime workers and union members who worked a special 30-hour weekend "mini-shift."

Many of these workers were given other jobs in the plant, but when the bonuses were paid, they received only \$375. The workers were furious. The union is filing grievances to get all the workers the \$500 guaranteed in the contract.

Garment workers in other cities faced even worse at-

tacks. In the Newark, New Jersey, area, a number of bosses said they could not afford to pay the bonuses. They proposed that, in order to be "fair," all garment shops in the area would pay half the bonus in December and half in February. Workers were disgusted at being forced to make what amounted to an interest-free loan to the bosses.

In Philadelphia, one garment boss announced to the 100 workers in the plant that she had withdrawn from the Cotton Garment Manufacturers Association, was no longer bound by the contract, and was paying no bonuses.

Furthermore, she proposed a totally new contract with no bonus or pay raise. She told the workers if they didn't approve it immediately, they would receive no Christmas holiday or vacation pay.

In Louisville, the Enro Shirt Co. paid the bonus in early December, but then announced that workers on medical leave at the time would not be paid until they returned to work. After the union protested, the company agreed to give out the checks, but only if family members picked them up.

ACTWU members in Morgantown, West Virginia, received their bonuses in mid-December, at the same time as the company was cutting their piece rates in a "re-engineering" plan. Workers in Morgantown and other cities are beginning to see the problems with these lump-sum bonuses.

When the checks came, they realized this was it. You get your \$500 — minus lots of withheld taxes of course — but your paycheck stays the same for two more years. That is, if you are lucky enough to get the money on time and the company was not able to cheat you out of it.

Castro addresses Latin American film festival

BY NANCY BOYASKO
AND MARK FRIEDMAN

HAVANA, Cuba — The Seventh Festival of New Latin American Cinema ended here on December 15. In the closing speech of the festival at the Karl Marx Cinema, Cuban President Fidel Castro reviewed the history of the festival, which began in 1979. He pointed out that the number of entries had increased dramatically to 450 and that 800 foreign delegates and more than 100 journalists were in attendance.

Castro said that during the festival "we also exchanged views on the problems of Latin American cinema, on the transnationals' overwhelming control of the industry, not only in production but in distribution. We realize there is also a need to protect the human brain from contamination and poison. Because while they have poisoned the sea, the rivers, and the atmosphere, they are also poisoning the human brain to an incredible extent through grotesquely commercial and irresponsible films.... I feel this struggle, this new cinema movement, is a battle of great importance for our identity, our liberation, our independence, and our survival. Because if we don't survive culturally, we won't survive economically or politically either."

Since March 1959 when the Cuban revolutionary government created the Cuban Institute of Art and Film Industry, free development and expression of the arts has been the rule. Internationally, Cuban film has been widely acclaimed and has won many awards in all the major film festivals.

Unfortunately, because of the U.S. government's reactionary blockade against Cuba, few of these films have been shown in the United States. A few, such as *Lucía, Polvo Rojo*, and *Memories of Underdevelopment* have been seen by U.S. audiences. But hundreds of Cuban full-length films and documentaries dealing with wars of national liberation, as well as racism, sexual discrimination, and bureaucracy in Cuba, don't get into the United States. Nor do those on more traditional topics get in.

Winners of the first prize in the festival were *Frida*, by Mexican director Paul Leduc, and *Tangos*, directed by Argentinean Fernando Solanas.

Tangos is about the exile of Argentine songwriter Gardel and the popular cult that developed around him, which still exists today.

Frida is about the life and work of Mexican artist Frida Kahlo. Kahlo and her com-

panion, world-renowned painter Diego Rivera, were friends and political supporters of the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky in the 1930s. They were Trotsky's hosts in Mexico from his arrival there in January 1937 as a political exile until they politically broke with him in 1939.

The film favorably portrays Trotsky and his association with Kahlo and Rivera. It shows Rivera's break from the Mexican Communist Party in 1927 following the expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninists led by Trotsky from the Russian Communist Party.

Also shown in the film is the murderous May 1940 assault on Trotsky's house in Mexico, organized on Joseph Stalin's orders by Mexican CP leader and artist David

Siqueiros.

Commenting about the production of the film, Leduc told Soledad Cruz, a reporter for the Cuban Communist youth paper, *Juventud Rebelde*, "The truth was not an innocence on my part. I knew that I had powerful material in my hand."

Frida is particularly interesting because of the film's reliance on visual image with little speech. Kahlo's life and political work are thoroughly intertwined. The film shows her support of Mexican agrarian and labor struggles and of those who defended the Spanish republic against Francisco Franco's fascist forces in the 1930s.

Frida ends with Kahlo's participation in a post-World War II peace march after having reconciled her differences with Stalinism.

New book of Castro speeches hailed

BY SONJA FRANETA

People's World, the West Coast newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party, ran a major review on Nov. 9, 1985, of Pathfinder's *War and Crisis in the Americas: Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85*.

The headline called the book a "vital collection of Cuban leader's views."

Elaine Fuller, an economist and frequent writer on Cuba for *Cubatimes* and for publications of the Center for Cuban Studies, authored the review. "The latest book in the Pathfinder Press series on speeches by Fidel Castro includes 12 speeches and interviews plus an article from *Granma*, the Cuban newspaper, and the Cuban government's response to 'Radio José Martí,'" she reported.

"The U.S. media rarely presents the Cuban point of view. Three occasions on which it did are brought together in this volume." The three instances Fuller refers to are Fidel Castro's interviews with *Newsweek* in December 1983, the *Washington Post* in January 1985, and the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour in February 1985.

Fuller appreciated the inclusion in the book of Castro's address to the Cuban people on the Migration Agreement between the United States and Cuba. "It is an interesting lesson in political diplomacy and negotiation, practically a blow by blow account of the process leading to the Agreement, although with certain stated omissions. We U.S. citizens never receive such a direct accounting."

War and Crisis in the Americas also contains an important interview with the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, printed in February 1985, in which Castro called for cancellation of Latin America's enormous foreign debt. Fuller said Castro "demonstrates


that, just in mathematical terms alone, the debt cannot be paid."

The article concludes with the observation: "It is President Castro's thinking on international relations within this Hemisphere that is the relevant core of this book. Unless one knows Spanish and regularly reads the Cuban press, there is almost no other source in our country for this important perspective."

Pathfinder has also received favorable comments from economists and authors to utilize in promoting *War and Crisis in the Americas*. Edward Boorstein, author of *The Economic Transformation of Cuba and What's Ahead? ... the U.S. Economy*, said: "Fidel's speeches combine truly powerful insight with simple language. They are required reading for anyone who wants to understand the growing crisis in the Americas."

Arthur MacEwan, chairperson of the Economics Department at the University of Massachusetts in Boston and author of *Revolution and Economic Development in Cuba*, wrote: "This is a fine book, a very useful collection of Fidel Castro's speeches. Castro's statements provide an important perspective on major international conflicts of the day — U.S. intervention abroad, the Third World debt crisis, and the general problems of economic development. These speeches are an effective antidote to the falsehoods spread by the Reagan Administration and the U.S. press."


Pathfinder Press has also received positive statements on the book from Lee Lockwood, author of *Castro's Cuba*, *Cuba's Fidel*; James Petras, author of *Politics and Social Structure in Latin America*; and Andrew Zimbalist, economist at Smith College and author of articles and books on the Latin American economy.



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National Guard out of Austin!

Union members and all supporters of the right of workers to organize and strike should join United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in opposing the sending of the National Guard as strikebreakers to Austin, Minnesota.

The Guard was sent by Gov. Rudy Perpich to help Hormel Co. bring scabs into the struck plant. As P-9 President Jim Guyette says, the Guard "has become Hormel's private security force."

This is a serious escalation of the attack on P-9.

The union was forced on strike five months ago because the company insisted on a package of concessions, presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. Refusing to negotiate seriously, the company sought government backing to impose the package and, if possible, bust the union.

P-9's struggle for survival has wide support in Minnesota. On January 22, a tractorcade brought farmers into Austin to voice support. Other union locals, the American Indian Movement, and antiwar, anti-apartheid and women's rights activists have rallied to P-9's support.

The UFCW local at Hormel's plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, walked off the job January 21 in solidarity with P-9.

In demanding that Governor Perpich call out the National Guard, Hormel management claimed that the P-9 strikers were engaged in "mob violence" and "wanton destruction of property."

This is a lie. There has been no union violence in Austin. The P-9 strikers have opposed Hormel's scab-herd-

ing through the peaceful, legal mobilization of union members, their families, and supporters.

When Perpich went along with the company's demand for troops to "preserve order," he was threatening violence against the union.

Unfortunately, the UFCW International president, William Wynn, recently denounced the strikers in the media. Basic working-class morality demands that a union president stand with a local that is under a union-busting attack. And if he can't do that, at least he should stand aside and let the local fight its battle.

The labor movement — and the entire working class — have a stake in the Hormel battle. If the government and company get away with strong-arm tactics in Austin, these tactics will be used even more frequently in the future. An injury to one is an injury to all.

Union members and others should respond to the call by P-9 leaders for solidarity.

Urge your unions and other organizations to issue statements supporting P-9 and calling for the withdrawal of the National Guard from Austin.

Individual unionists and others can also send aid to P-9 and telegrams of protest to Governor Perpich.

Solidarity actions such as the tractorcade to Austin also help sustain strikers' morale and put the bosses more on the defensive.

A protest rally at the State Capitol in St. Paul is scheduled for Saturday, January 25, to demand that the governor remove "Hormel's private security force" from Austin.

King Day celebrates victories

The birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was celebrated as a national holiday for the first time January 20. Twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia have also proclaimed a holiday in memory of the civil rights leader.

Hundreds of thousands participated in marches, parades, church services, and other ceremonies marking the occasion. Millions had the day off from work — or took the day off when their bosses refused to close up shop.

Winning King's birthday as a holiday is a big gain for working people. When he was gunned down in Memphis on April 4, 1968, the leading Democratic and Republican politicians had no intention of establishing a national day to honor King.

When Blacks began raising the proposal, many of these politicians, in fact, opposed or strongly resisted it. North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms, for example, led a red-baiting attack on King in an effort to block the holiday. President Reagan also discouraged its approval.

The holiday was won through a persistent campaign initiated by Blacks that won the support of many unions and other organizations.

Only after several years of national demonstrations calling for a national holiday, including the Aug. 27, 1983, march of 500,000 people in Washington, D.C., did Congress finally approve it and Reagan sign it into law.

Even today, 21 state governments are holding out against a holiday in King's honor. And three state governments that have gone along set aside the same day to commemorate prominent Confederate generals who defended the slavocracy in the U.S. Civil War.

Moreover, fewer than 20 percent of the nation's businesses closed for the day.

Although the country's governing bodies yielded reluctantly to the demand for the King holiday, a wide spectrum of Democratic and Republican politicians leaped at the chance to speak at the ceremonies.

Shortly before the holiday, President Reagan met with Coretta Scott King and sent a message praising King to a meeting of federal employees.

The commemoration in Atlanta was addressed by Vice-president George Bush, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, and Sen. Edward Kennedy.

In Montgomery, Alabama, a gathering heard a proclamation honoring King issued by Gov. George Wallace. In the early 1960s, Wallace — under the slogan "segregation now, segregation forever" — unleashed his state troopers and dogs against protesters, led by King and others.

These politicians — who do not hesitate to arm former Nicaraguan National Guardsmen and other reactionary scum to wage war against the Nicaraguan government — heaped praise on King's advocacy of nonviolence.

They hypocritically sought to bury the real reasons why tens of millions of working people honor King's memory and the civil rights movement that he played a central role in.

From 1955, when he emerged as a leader of the boycott of the segregated bus system in Montgomery, Alabama, until 1968, when he was assassinated while supporting a strike of sanitation workers in Memphis, King was a prominent leader of the struggle that overthrew the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South.

By honoring King, the new holiday celebrates the end

of Jim Crow — a gigantic victory for all workers and farmers.

The civil rights movement of the late 1950s and 1960s was a working-class movement. It mobilized hundreds of thousands of Black workers, farmers, and youth in years of marches, picket lines, sit-ins, and boycotts in the face of the savage opposition of state authorities.

The ruling class did not permit this struggle to be non-violent. It responded to this movement for elementary democratic rights with brutal violence. The cops and extra-legal groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, which they protected, took many lives. Hundreds were beaten or tortured, sometimes with electric cattle prods. Thousands were jailed.

The federal government did nothing to uphold the constitutional rights of Blacks and their supporters, except under the explosive pressure of national and international protest.

In response to Washington's inaction, Black communities across the country were forced to defend themselves from racist terror, sometimes with guns.

The federal government did more than refuse to defend the Black rights struggle. It organized secretly to spy on, disrupt, and behead it. King was a major target.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered King's phone tapped.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover carried out a covert campaign to smear King as a "fraud, demagogue, and moral scoundrel."

An FBI memo, written one month before King was murdered, stated the government's goal was to prevent the rise of what the FBI author called a "messiah" who might unite the Black movement. The heavily censored memo appeared to cite King as one who might come to play this role.

The exposure of government operations against the Black rights struggle led to calls by Black leaders and others for an investigation into the government's possible role in King's murder.

The Black masses and their allies refused to give up the fight against segregation despite the racist terror. They hammered away at Jim Crow until it crumbled. As Blacks and their supporters gained ground, the federal government was compelled to register their gains in laws like the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

For the rulers, honoring King's role with a national holiday means further conceding the legitimacy of a mass working-class movement that overturned their racist laws and inspired other victims of oppression and exploitation to follow this example. No wonder their representatives at the ceremonies tried to hide the real story of this struggle with sweet talk about "nonviolence" and "reconciliation."

The system of institutionalized racism is a vital weapon of the ruling class for heading off and dividing the struggles of workers and farmers in this country. By dealing a death blow to Jim Crow, the civil rights movement profoundly weakened racism in all its forms. This victory placed all workers and farmers — Black, white, and Latino; male and female — in a stronger position to unify their forces in order to more effectively advance their interests against the ruler's racist, prowar, and anti-labor policies.

This is the real significance of establishing and celebrating a national holiday on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, birthday.

Beauty, labor, and capitalism: a Marxist view

How are standards of beauty determined in capitalist society? What role does human labor play in producing beauty?

These are some of the many questions that emerged from a lively debate over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women that took place in the Socialist Workers Party in 1954.

The entire debate is contained in *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, a new book from Pathfinder Press.

To introduce *Militant* readers to this important Marxist contribution to the fight for women's liberation, we are reprinting excerpts from one article in the book by Evelyn Reed entitled "The Woman Question and the Marxist Method."

To order the book, send \$4.95 plus \$.75 for postage and handling to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Beauty has no identity with fashions. But it has an identity with *labor*. Apart from the realm of nature, all that is beautiful has been produced in labor and by the laborers. Outside the realm of nature, beauty does not exist apart from labor and never will. For the beauty of all the products of labor, and of all the arts produced in and through labor, are incorporated within these products and these arts.

Humanity itself, together with the beauty of humanity, was produced in and through the labor process. As [Frederick] Engels pointed out, when the humans *produced*, they produced themselves as *humans*. They cast off their

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

apelike appearance and became more and more beautiful. When the capitalist social disfigurement of exploited labor is removed, the true beauty of labor and of the laborers will stand forth in their true dimensions.

It is only in class society that the myth has grown up that *labor* is identical with *exploited labor*. This myth serves the needs of the ruling class which maintains itself as a parasitic excrescence on the backs of the workers. Through the identity they make between labor and exploited labor, they perpetuate a split between *producers* and *consumers*, glorifying the latter at the expense of the former. The less you produce and the more you consume, the higher you rise in the world of the snobs and the idle rich.

But this did not always exist, despite their propaganda to the contrary. In primitive society, where exploited labor was unknown, there was no split between producers and consumers. Every member of society produced, according to his age and ability, and every member of society shared in consuming their productions and in the enjoyment of them in common. Social value and distinction were registered in the realm of production, and that is why the women of primitive society were so valuable and regarded so highly. They labored and taught the arts of labor and carried on the traditions of labor and advanced labor to ever higher levels of production.

To cover up their empty, vapid, parasitic existence, the idle rich of capitalist society propagate the notion that the idle life is the "good life" and the "beautiful life." As evidence, they hold up their flabby, lily-white hands with long red fingernails as tokens of "beauty," and the "good life."

What a mockery this is of the gift of labor — the primary creative force of humanity. The truth is, the idle life is the most corrosive and corrupting of all influences upon the mental, moral, physical, and psychological fiber of human beings. Without labor, whether of hand or brain — and these are interdependent — humans rot away. Without labor, the human is less than the potato in the ground and does not deserve the gift of humanity.

One of our tasks is to overthrow this bourgeois lie that labor is identical with exploited labor. Another is to restore labor to its rightful place as the most honorable, the most necessary, the most useful and beautiful of all human attributes. In the process we will destroy the split between art and labor. In primitive society there was no such split. These were two forms of labor and both forms created beauty. In the coming socialist society, we will make a return to this harmony between art, labor, and beauty.

Under socialism, when the workers take command of society, they will decide what labor is valid and what is not. They will make everything that is necessary, useful, and beautiful to serve their needs. But beyond that they will not be the slaves of *things* as the property accumulators of capitalist society are. They will be occupied with higher aims, loftier goals, and far more interesting occupations and preoccupations than the scramble after fashions in houses and clothing. There will be a new outpouring of productive, scientific, and artistic achievement for *social* advancement and not personal greed.

Women in apartheid S. Africa: triumphs and tears

"The African labor force must not be burdened with superfluous appendages such as wives, children, and dependents who could not provide service."

"There are single African women who could be usefully employed in the White areas, and, while there are white families who could not do without domestic help, the moment a Bantu woman starts a family, then she belongs in her homeland."

—G.F. van L. Froneman,
deputy chairman,
Bantu Affairs Commission, 1969

These words are not the ravings of an isolated bigot. They are the official policy statements of the apartheid regime. (In South Africa, Bantu is an insulting term for Africans.)

Froneman played a key role in implementing the notorious apartheid system, which includes using Afri-

can women against them.

Whether they live in Black townships like Soweto and commute into the white cities, or live on a white-owned farm, or in single-sex hostels, or on a Bantustan, or as "live-in" servants in separate accommodations on their white employers' property, African women face particularly intense oppression and exploitation.

They do not have the legal right to live with their husbands and children. "We do not want the Bantu women here simply as an adjunct to the procreative capacity of the Bantu population," explained a member of South Africa's parliament. For many, the apartheid system means long or permanent separation from husbands and children.

Once they reach the age of 16, children may not continue to live with their parents unless they qualify for urban residency in their own right. They are "sent back" to homelands they have often never known.

Under the migrant labor system, male workers who live together in prison-like barracks are given annual two-week leaves, during which they may visit their wives in the Bantustans.

Millions of "superfluous" women and children are dumped into the Bantustans, where they face the most extreme poverty, loneliness, and isolation.

Only a small number of women are able to find paying jobs — at rock-bottom wages. The barren land can't possibly support the population increase as forced removals are stepped up. And women, especially, suffer from "land hunger." Women are generally barred from land allotments in the Bantustans. Only widows with children have any hope at all of getting an allotment, and then it is set at one-half that given to a man.

Most African women are perpetual minors under the law and have no rights over property or children.

The vast majority of women try to scratch out a living for themselves and their children from tiny patches of land. The lucky ones are those whose husbands send them part of their wages.

The poverty in the Bantustans drives many women to violate the 1969 order barring them from leaving the Bantustans unless they have a contract for work, thus swelling the number of female "illegal aliens," who are vulnerable to the most extreme forms of exploitation and abuse by their employers.

Because African women form the biggest pool of the unemployed and their labor can be bought more cheaply than any other, more and more are being drawn into the work force and especially into some manufacturing industries, where their exploitation is extreme.

"Border industries" — factories set up at the edges of the Bantustans to take advantage of the cheap supply of labor — employ mostly women desperate for work. The wages are incredibly low and the conditions unspeakable.

Three quarters of a million women are domestic servants in South Africa. Almost all of them are Black, and the overwhelming majority — 86 percent — are African.

The word most frequently used by these women to describe their working conditions is *amakhoboka* — slave. Many domestic workers "live-in" with their employ-



Tony McGrath/Women Under Apartheid
Hundreds of thousands of African women employed as domestic servants do work of caring for white children, but are separated by law from their own.

ers, although their room has to be separated from or have a separate entrance from their employers.

At the beach, a Black woman can go into the water in order to care for a white child who is swimming, but she would be arrested if she wanted to use a white beach herself.

Black women do all the work of caring for white children, but it is illegal for them to have their own children live with them. Fines are imposed on both the servant and the employer if it is discovered that an African maid has kept her child with her, even overnight. Domestic servants must either give up their children or lose their jobs and face "resettlement" to the Bantustans.

Police raid servants' quarters to make sure that a woman's husband is not illegally spending the night. Even if a husband and wife are both domestic workers in the same household, it is illegal for them to live together.

Women have a long, proud history of resistance to the apartheid regime and participation in the freedom struggle.

Bernstein draws the title of her book from a song that commemorates the battle of women against the extension of pass laws:

Remember all our women in the jails.
Remember all our women in campaigns.
Remember all our women over many fighting years.
Remember all our women for their triumphs,
and for their tears."

WOMEN IN REVOLT Pat Grogan



cans as migrant labor, forced removals of Blacks from their homes, identity passbooks that Africans must carry at all times, and the infamous system of African reservations known as Bantustans.

It was Froneman who codified the official government categories of people "normally regarded as nonproductive," who were to be dumped in the Bantustans. These include: "the aged, the unfit, widows with dependent children. . . ."

The lie that the Bantustans — scattered, barren reservations — are actually African "homelands" is at the heart of the apartheid structure.

The great majority of Africans are assigned to one of 10 "homelands." Africans working outside of the Bantustans are officially transformed into migrant workers who have left their own "countries" to work in "white" South Africa. They must receive permission to do so. Those without valid passbooks are made into "illegal aliens" in their own land.

The effect of this barbaric system on the lives of African women has been devastating. An excellent source of information is Hilda Bernstein's book *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa*. A revised and enlarged edition was published in March 1985 by the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

All Africans over the age of 16 outside the Bantustans must carry passbooks, which strictly delineate where they may work and the "designated area" in which they are allowed to live — decisions made on the basis of the labor needs of South Africa's rulers. The pass laws were extended to women in the late 1950s, but not without an

LETTERS

Wants subscription

It has been a long while since I have had the opportunity to read your paper, particularly since Gary Tyler left from within this environment. [Gary Tyler was a Black youth who was framed up on murder charges and sentenced to life imprisonment.] He used to receive the only *Militant* subscription in this area.

Because he left, I would appreciate it if you would forward me also a free subscription so I may know what is going on out there.

Reagan is presently threatening Libya, flexing his muscles in Nicaragua, and giving Israel all sorts of green lights to expansionism in the Middle East. It is essential that I know what is going on; that is, from a revolutionary perspective.
A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana

Hunger strike

On December 20 I began a hunger strike that is to last until my demands are met or until I am martyred in the defense of Islam.

I have gone on this hunger strike for the following reasons:

1. In support of my formal renunciation of my American citizenship and the demand that I be deported out of this satanic country to the Islamic Republic of Iran;

2. In protest of the Texas Department of Corrections' oppression of the Muslims who are held segregated from the rest of the prison population. This oppression takes the form of:

- placing pork or its by-products on food trays;

- not allowing Muslims to be celled together or recreate together, which would enable us to hold Islamic services and study classes as the rest of the population does;

- the continued harassment, cell restriction, property restriction, visitation restriction, and the right of Muslims to grow and wear a beard in accordance to the Holy Koran;

- the denial of religious literature and books that come from the Islamic Republic of Iran and other Islamic countries;

- the denial of prayer caps and scarfs to be purchased and worn;

- the denial of cleaning materials for cells, adequate heating, and the denial of clean clothes daily.

A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas

South Africa film

I recently saw the film, *The Anvil and the Hammer*. This film shows the massive scope of the

struggle in South Africa like no other. It also gives a platform to the leaders of the African National Congress, United Democratic Front, and the unions.

It is available from Third World Newsreel, 335 W. 38th Street, 5th floor, New York, N.Y. 10018. Telephone (212) 947-9277.

John Erikson
Forest Park, Illinois

Profit hungry

Last winter, a 52-year-old Chicago woman was found dead in her home. She was discovered frozen to her kitchen floor.

Apparently a profit-hungry utility company had turned off her heat for nonpayment of bills. It's a very sad testimony about any society when profits are callously placed before people.

Public utility companies who deliberately shut off power resulting in the death of any individual should be held in criminal contempt, if not in a court of law, then in the hearts of the people.

The time for permanent revolution is now. We have nothing more to lose! Our backs are against the wall.

David Burford
Kirkwood, Missouri

PLO

In the January 10 *Militant*, the editorial on the attacks on Libya and the Palestine Liberation Or-

ganization states: "The PLO is high on the Israeli-U.S. hit list because it is the principal representative of the Palestinian people."

This, I feel, is an unfortunate formulation. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, not one of many. This is recognized by the UN, the Nonaligned movement, the Arab League, but most importantly, by the Palestinian masses themselves. It took years of obstinate struggle to win that right.

The *Militant* editorial leaves the impression there are other representatives of the Palestinians although in no way as important as the PLO.

This is a trap the imperialist enemies of the PLO and of the Palestinian people consistently push to the fore in order not to recognize the PLO and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Recently Syria has joined in the chorus, trying to take the mantle of Palestinian representation through groups it works with. Even the main opposition to Arafat within the Palestinian movement still recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Georges Sayad
Oakland, California

Reliable companion

I am still very interested in your newspaper. It has been a reliable

companion to me for these last few months.

The *Militant* has also proven to be resourceful when it comes to those of my brothers who only believe what they see.

I feel that the *Militant* is well worth a contribution but I am a poor Black man.

I will understand if you cannot continue my subscription, for I know that you, just as I, do not own any of the means of production. If and when possible the paper will be appreciated for it has often been the only mail I receive, not to mention the valuable information that I share with my fellow prisoners.

A prisoner

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

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

King Day: 500,000 march in Atlanta First national holiday for slain Black leader

BY GREG McCARTAN

ATLANTA — More than 500,000 people filled the streets of downtown Atlanta for the first national celebration of the Martin Luther King, Jr. national holiday. The march and parade capped a week-long series of political meetings, religious services, and cultural events. These activities honored the slain civil rights leader, condemned apartheid in South Africa, and reaffirmed "King's dream" of ending racism and unemployment and winning economic and social equality for all.

Coretta Scott King, Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and 250 veterans of the civil rights struggle led off the march. They were greeted by cheers of "Tutu, Tutu!" and "Free South Africa!"

The participants in the march saw it as a victory celebration of the 10-year struggle for a holiday to mark the massive movement that overthrew the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South and to mark the continuing struggle for Black rights.

The spirited march that followed took four hours to wind its way through downtown Atlanta — up Auburn Avenue where King grew up, past Ebenezer Baptist Church where King preached, and to the complex of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-violent Social Change.

The march included contingents of unionists; college, high school, and grade school students; political and Black rights organizations; church groups; and marching bands.

Tens of thousands of working people and youth lined the streets, clapping and cheering, and many joined the march.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees had the largest presence. Its signs read: "Freedom for southern Africa" and "Apartheid must go."

Other unions represented were the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Teamsters, Laborers' International Union, Postal Workers, United Auto Workers (UAW), American Federation of Government Employees, International Association of Machinists, Amalgamated Transit Workers, and Communications Workers of America.

Union locals from across the South and as far away as New York City participated.

Student contingents from up and down the East Coast chanted slogans from the civil rights movement. They carried banners that read, "Keep King's dream alive," along with numerous signs calling for an end to apartheid.

Black sororities and fraternities turned out large numbers of demonstrators, who led off the student groups from different college campuses.

A section of the march was made up of organizations demanding tenants' rights, welfare rights, an end to the death penalty, and gay rights.

The onlookers gave the Atlanta Committee on Latin America loud cheers and applause for their banner, which read, "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua."

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an organization that King helped to found, led the march down the street in a mule-drawn carriage. SCLC organizer Michelle Alexander told the *Militant*, "We are pleased that there was a march. We are also pleased that there is such an emphasis on apartheid and labor unions, which are as pertinent today as when Dr. King was alive."

"This is one step in the victory for equality of Blacks and whites," said Masso Craine from Local 709 of the Machinists union. "The King holiday will help focus on the racism continuing today. Maybe this

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Marches, parades, and other activities occurred across country to mark first commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as national holiday. Above, 50,000 march in San Francisco.

Antiracist march set for Phila.

BY MARK CURTIS

PHILADELPHIA — A national march against racism will take place here February 15. Efforts to build the protest are in full swing. The action has won support from many organizations and individuals who are outraged at recent attacks on Blacks and Puerto Ricans in this "City of Brotherly Love."

The action was called in response to mobilizations by racist mobs last November against the right of Blacks to live where they choose. On November 20, 400 racists chanted, "Get out," in front of the home of Charles Williams and Marietta Bloxom. They are both Black. The young couple decided to move. But before they were able to get their furniture out, their home was burned down.

On November 21, Gerald Fox, who is Black, and Carol Fox, who is white, faced a mob of 200 that chanted racial slurs and demanded that they move out. "I'm shocked that people could be allowed to do this, to go so far," said Carol Fox.

There was widespread public outrage against this attack on the right of people to live where they choose. Seeing such attacks as akin to South African apartheid, many were determined to make clear that Philadelphia is not Johannesburg.

This outcry finally forced the cops to take action. On January 7, four young whites were arrested and charged with arson.

The national march against racism will also protest other recent racist and anti-Semitic attacks in Philadelphia, including: the police bombing last year of the home of the Black organization MOVE in which 11 people were killed; a pipe bombing of a Black family's home in East Falls; the burning down of a Jewish community center in South Philadelphia in December; and the roundup and illegal detention of some 125 Puerto Rican youths by the police last May.

Initiated by the National Mobilization Against Racism, the march has attracted many young fighters. March organizers told the *Militant* that on Saturday, January 18, 40 young people came out to help build the action.

These youth have been fanning out

across the city, posting up leaflets and getting the word out. Organizers say that over 50,000 leaflets have been distributed throughout Philadelphia this way.

An appeal to anti-apartheid activists has been answered by coalitions in many cities. Buses are being organized from Detroit, Boston, Hartford, and Newark.

Endorsers in Philadelphia include: the Farm Labor Organizing Committee; Committee for Dignity and Fairness for the Homeless; Philadelphia National Organization for Women; poet Sonia Sanchez; All-Peoples Congress; Socialist Workers Party; Spring Garden United Neighbors; Students for Progressive Action at the High

School of Engineering Science; Rev. Paul Washington; and Young Socialist Alliance.

National endorsers include District 65 United Auto Workers New Jersey Region; Tom Turner, president of the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO Council; American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; African National Congress of South Africa; Alabama Black Belt Defense Committee; and Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

To get involved in this important protest against racism, contact the National Mobilization Against Racism, 4206 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104, (215) 387-7522.

Union women endorse abortion rights march

BY PAT GROGAN

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is among the first national organizations to become a cosponsor of the "National March for Women's Lives" scheduled for March 9 in Washington, D.C., and March 16 in Los Angeles.

Initiated by the National Organization for Women (NOW), the actions have been called to defend a woman's right to safe, legal abortion and birth control.

Other national organizations that have become cosponsors include: American Association of University Women, American Civil Liberties Union, American Friends Service Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Committee to Defend Reproductive Rights, and National Abortion Rights Action League.

Other cosponsors include: National Association of Social Workers, International Council of African Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Lawyers Guild, National Women's Political Caucus, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, Service Employees International Union, United States Student Association, and the Young Women's Christian Associ-

ation.

CLUW was founded in 1974 as a national organization of unionists, working within the framework of the union movement, to advance the needs of working women, both organized and unorganized.

There are 75 CLUW chapters in 39 cities, with members representing 59 unions.

CLUW has long been a champion of abortion rights.

As an organization of working women, CLUW was among the strongest opponents of the congressional Hyde Amendment, which cut off federal funding for abortions in 1977. This deeply affected the ability of working-class women to obtain abortions and struck hardest at Black women, Latinas, and other victims of racist discrimination.

A resolution passed by the 1977 convention of CLUW said, in part, "The Supreme Court decision of January 22, 1973, establishing the legal right to abortion was a landmark victory for women's rights. . . .

"CLUW reaffirms and makes known its unconditional support to choose abortion . . . and its opposition to the Hyde Amend-

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