

25,000 march in S.F. antiwar demonstration

BY DIANA CANTÚ
AND SAM MANUEL

SAN FRANCISCO — Some 25,000 people marched here April 19 to protest the escalating U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua and Washington's bombing of Libya. The march was organized by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice and was endorsed by a broad array of organizations throughout California.

The four demands of the action were: no U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; end U.S. support for South African apartheid; jobs and justice, not war; and freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race.

The size and breadth of the protest are an indication of the potential to build a massive national antiwar protest in the face of Washington's stepped-up war moves.

Marchers came from the surrounding Bay Area, all over the West Coast, and Utah.

Banners and placards saying "Hands off Libya" were carried throughout the march. A few days earlier, 200 people picketed at the Federal Building in San Francisco to protest the bombing. The General Union of Palestinian Students and the November 29th Committee, a Mideast solidarity organization, organized that picket and had a large contingent in the April 19 march.

The most prominent theme at the march was opposition to Washington's support for the U.S.-backed mercenaries, who are waging war against Nicaragua. The Reagan administration is driving to secure \$100 million in aid to these terrorist bands.

The Central America solidarity contingent was one of the largest. It included lots of student activists opposed to U.S. government intervention in Central America.

Chants included: "No aid, no way, stop



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Turnout for California march showed potential for building national action protesting Washington's stepped-up war moves against Nicaragua and in Mideast.

the contra war," "Who are the real terrorists? U.S.A.," and "Libya, Nicaragua: U.S. out!"

Carmen Olivares, a member of Casa Nicaragua, told the crowd, "Our only crime has been to strive for equality and justice for all of our people. We challenge a government that speaks of terrorism

while it finances terrorism by giving money to the so-called freedom fighters, who are nothing but assassins. We also challenge you today to continue to organize because here is where terrorism can be stopped."

Gustavo Acosta spoke representing the
Continued on Page 4

Britain: rallies hit bombing of Libya

BY ALAN FREEMAN

LONDON — Mass protests erupted throughout Britain within hours of Reagan's air strikes against Libya. It was the biggest immediate protest against a U.S. or British military action in many years.

By the evening of the day of the attack, April 15, there were protests in nearly all major British cities. More mass demonstrations were held in a number of cities on April 19.

The largest protest took place in London on April 19, where more than 10,000 people came together, on the initiative of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), in a highly militant demonstration, which at one point successfully blocked off London's main shopping street for more than two hours.

A clear mass current has emerged that wants all U.S. bases out of Britain and wants to end the 40-year partnership between British and U.S. imperialism that has served as a cornerstone of imperialist rule from 1945 onward.

A new public opinion survey indicated that 49 percent of the population opposes the presence of U.S. military bases in Britain. Previously the question of U.S. bases had been marginal to British politics.

In London, by noon on April 15, crowds had gathered outside the U.S. embassy and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's official residence at 10 Downing Street.

As several hundred mounted a vigil at 10 Downing Street by torchlight, 27 peace and political organizations were meeting in the House of Commons to form the "Campaign Against the War Threat." CND leaflets began flooding out, summoning people for the April 19 mass protest.

Opinion polls registered 69 percent of the British population against the bombing of Libya and 29 percent in favor.

The demonstration on April 19, built with only three days' notice, was huge — at least 10,000, mainly young people. Demonstrators blockaded Grosvenor Square, the site of the U.S. embassy, but

were kept well away from the embassy itself by police and crash barriers.

There was no trace of anti-Libya hysteria among the protesters. Banners from CND mingled freely with those from Palestine solidarity groups, Arab student societies, and Central America solidarity campaigns.

Fastened to the railings of Grosvenor Square were large photographs of a Libyan child killed in the raid, with the question "Is this child a terrorist?"

Placards reading "Reagan is the Real Mad Man," "U.S. Bases Out," and

Continued on Page 14

Nicaragua 'contras' force Indians to flee

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — U.S.-organized mercenaries have forced more than 11,000 Miskito Indians living on the Nicaraguan shores of the Río Coco to cross over into Honduran territory, reported Sandinista leader Tomás Borge on April 17. A member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Borge was speaking at a rally of 5,000 in Puerto Cabezas, the main city in the northern region of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, where the Miskito Indians live.

The 11,000 Miskitos represent two-thirds of all the Indians who had returned to the Río Coco over the last nine months, according to the Nicaraguan Institute of Social Security and Welfare. The institute es-

timates that 18,000 Indians had moved back to the river, and that 6,000 now remain.

In 1982, during a period of intense military conflict with U.S.-backed mercenary forces in the Río Coco area, the Nicaraguan government evacuated all Miskitos and other Indians from the river and moved them to resettlements where they would be safe. In the summer of 1985, as part of initiating discussions on establishing regional government autonomy for the Atlantic Coast, the Sandinistas honored the demand of the Miskitos that they be allowed to go back to their Río Coco community.

The return to the Río Coco had a big political impact among Miskitos, deepening their confidence in the possibility of over-

U.S. gov't plans new aggression in Libya

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. government continues to attempt to lay the groundwork for further attacks on Libya, in the wake of the April 15 bombing raid that killed dozens of civilians, including many children.

As more facts come to light, the attack is being exposed as an act of brutal state terrorism aimed at assassinating a head of state, crushing the Libyan people's right to self-determination, and imposing a government on Libya that would be responsive to orders from Washington.

The facts show that, despite President Reagan's claim that "we weren't out to kill anybody," a central objective of the raid was the assassination of Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi. "We hoped we would get him," an administration official told the *Washington Post*.

The barracks where Qaddafi lives was hit by four 2,000-pound bombs.

Prior to the raid, the U.S. National Security Council prepared a statement claiming that Qaddafi's death was "fortuitous." Publication of the statement was stopped when officials realized that the Libyan leader was alive.

Further assassination attempts are reportedly in the works. One U.S. official told *Newsweek* the administration has decided that "the demise of Qaddafi is an end in itself."

Qaddafi's year-old daughter was killed in the bombing raid on the barracks, and two of his sons — three and four years old — were seriously hurt. Reagan administration officials boast that they too had been selected as targets. "We were showing him that we could get people close to him," the April 18 *New York Times* quoted a "senior administration official" as saying, "and that's why members of his family were hurt during this thing."

Following the raid, White House officials urged a coup to overthrow the Qaddafi government.

The talk about hopes of assassinating Qaddafi and his family drew a mixed response in Congress. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and other Republican senators proposed amending the War Powers Act to permit the president to use U.S. troops or order assassinations to counter alleged terrorism without consulting Congress.

Walt Riker, an aide to Dole, said it would permit the president to organize assassinations of those whom he labels as guilty of terrorist actions against U.S. citizens.

Continued on Page 13

coming a legacy of racial discrimination by working with the Nicaraguan government, rather than taking up arms against it. The return also helped accelerate the process of armed Miskitos breaking with CIA and Somozaist mercenaries of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) to sign cease-fire pacts with the Sandinistas.

Determined to reverse the progress being made and reignite military conflict between Sandinista troops and Indians on the Coast, Washington organized Miskitos in the group known as Pro-War KISAN, which has rejected a cease-fire, to enter the Río Coco community this March. The Pro-War KISAN forces told residents they would invade in April; that there would be

Continued on Page 7

N.J. Campbell Soup workers interested in politics

BY LEAH FINGER

PHILADELPHIA — In an effort to reach members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) with news of their union's strike against Hormel

Philadelphia. The UFCW organizes the plant.

The 19 *Militant* sold the first week were not bought solely because of the coverage on the Hormel strike, but also because of the

force, with a large number of women workers. One Puerto Rican worker, who had bought the *Militant* the first time the team visited the plant, told me afterwards that he had sent in for a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A few weeks later we set up a literature table to give workers an idea of the books and pamphlets carried by the Pathfinder Bookstore in Philadelphia. When the Puerto Rican worker came out of work that day, he brought a friend over to show him *Perspectiva Mundial* and encouraged him to pick up a copy, which he did. We also sold a pamphlet by Nelson Mandela and some by Mal-

colm X. Since then, we've been selling at least one *Perspectiva Mundial* a week.

There's a large number of young people who work at the plant. The team has also sold the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Several workers who bought socialist newspapers in the last two months told us that the boycott list of Hormel products put out by the Austin strikers was posted throughout the plant.

We met a worker who had formerly been a shop steward and vice president of the local at

Campbell's. He was upset that William Wynn, the UFCW International president, had cut off strike benefits to Local P-9 in Austin. I told him that I was going to a strike support demonstration in Minnesota on April 12.

After we talked for a while, he decided to write a note to P-9 expressing his solidarity and giving them his phone number. He wants to organize a plant-gate collection at Campbell's, and he invited P-9ers to visit Camden.

I delivered the note. The next week, when I went to Campbell's, he told me he had been looking for me in the TV coverage of the demonstration.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

in Austin, Minnesota, socialists here have begun selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at the Campbell Soup factory in Camden, New Jersey. Campbell's is across the Delaware River from

articles on South Africa, Haiti, the Philippines, and Nicaragua. Since then, workers have bought an average of 11 papers a week.

The plant has a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican work

Why 1970s civil rights lawyer is on trial in Calif.

BY HARRY RING

In early April, an important trial got under way in Marin County, across the Golden Gate from San Francisco. The case stems from events that took place nearly 15 years ago, involving police entrapment, provocation, and frame-up.

On trial is Stephen Bingham, a former attorney, who surrendered in 1984 after 13 years as a fugitive.

Bingham was charged with smuggling a gun during a 1971 visit to a client, George Jackson, who was incarcerated at San Quentin prison. Subsequent to the visit, Jackson died in what police described as an aborted escape attempt. Two other prisoners and three guards also died in what became a shootout.

A Black revolutionary, Jackson had earlier won international acclaim as the author of *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. At the time of his death, Jackson had served 11 years of a one-year-to-life term for assertedly stealing \$70.

In the trial of Bingham the prosecution says it will rely on circumstantial evidence to prove that Bingham had smuggled the gun into prison during a lawyer-client visit with Jackson. Bingham faces two counts of murder and one of conspiracy in the death of two of the guards.

Bingham has pleaded innocent. One of his attorneys, Susan Rutberg, told the court her client had fled after the 1971 shootout "in panic and fear."

She said Bingham had believed that if he had surrendered, "he would not live to go to trial."

Bingham will testify, she said, that he feared for his life because he was convinced that prison officials were responsible for the gun being brought in and that it had been done because they wanted to silence Jackson.

Rutberg said prison records show that at least 10 guards and other prison staff members passed through the gate without a check on the same day as the Bingham visit. Any one of them might have brought in a gun.

Bingham's concern that the "escape" was set up by cops is entirely credible. Watergate-related revelations of the period confirmed that federal and local cops across the country had been engaged in a concerted drive to disrupt and destroy such Black liberation organizations as the Black Panthers. Other left-wing radical forces were targeted as well.

Individual activists were singled out for entrapment, frame-up, and murder.

All of these criminal methods were used in several cases involving George Jackson and those associated with him.

Jackson was first singled out for victimization in the wake of a Jan. 13, 1969, police riot in Soledad, a California state prison where he was an inmate before being transferred to San Quentin.

A fight had broken out there between white and Black prisoners. Guards responded by opening fire. Three Blacks were killed and one white wounded.

A grand jury then exonerated the guards. Soon after the verdict was announced on the Soledad prison radio, a white guard was found beaten to death.

Despite an absence of evidence, Jackson and two others, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, were indicted in the death of the guard. The three had been tagged "Black militants" by prison authorities.

A major defense effort developed around the three, who became known as the Soledad Brothers.

Jackson was killed a few days before their case went to trial. A jury found Drumgo and Clutchette not guilty.

Among those who had been active in the defense of the Soledad Brothers were George Jackson's younger brother, Jonathan, and Angela Davis, then an instructor at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In August 1970, in an apparent attempt to win freedom for the Soledad Brothers, Jonathan Jackson and several others took a Marin County judge hostage at gunpoint. As they tried to escape with him, guards opened fire. Jonathan Jackson, the judge, and two others were killed.

In the aftermath of this shootout, Angela Davis was charged with supplying the gun and masterminding the action. In a trial that drew world attention, she was acquitted.

It was 12 months after the courthouse shootout that the events in which George Jackson died and in relation to which Stephen Bingham is now standing trial occurred.

According to the prosecution, Bingham smuggled in a gun, ammunition, and an Afro wig for Jackson, with the wig then being used by Jackson to conceal the gun.

The shooting began, officials say, when the gun was discovered. Jackson had succeeded in making his way to a prison courtyard where he was gunned down from guard towers.

Several months later, Louis Tackwood, who had been an informer and provocateur for the Los Angeles police, charged that the local Red Squad had advance knowledge of both the Marin courthouse and San Quentin shootouts and permitted them to occur.

Later, in 1975, Frank Cox, the Marin County chief deputy public defender, filed a court affidavit citing evidence confirming Tackwood's earlier revelations about the police and adding to them.

Cox was then representing one of the San Quentin Six, a group of inmates indicted in the death of the guards during the Jackson "escape."

Cox named a former Black Panther who he charged had been pressured by the cops into helping to set up the doomed Jackson escape attempt.

Cox also suggested that an ex-Panther, James Carr, tricked attorney Stephen Bingham into smuggling in an inoperable gun provided by the cops. Cox's affidavit also said he had the name of the prison staff member who was party to the gun-smuggling operation.

While Bingham declares he is innocent of the gun-smuggling charge, he too is apparently convinced a setup did occur, with the police responsible for whoever did bring in the gun.

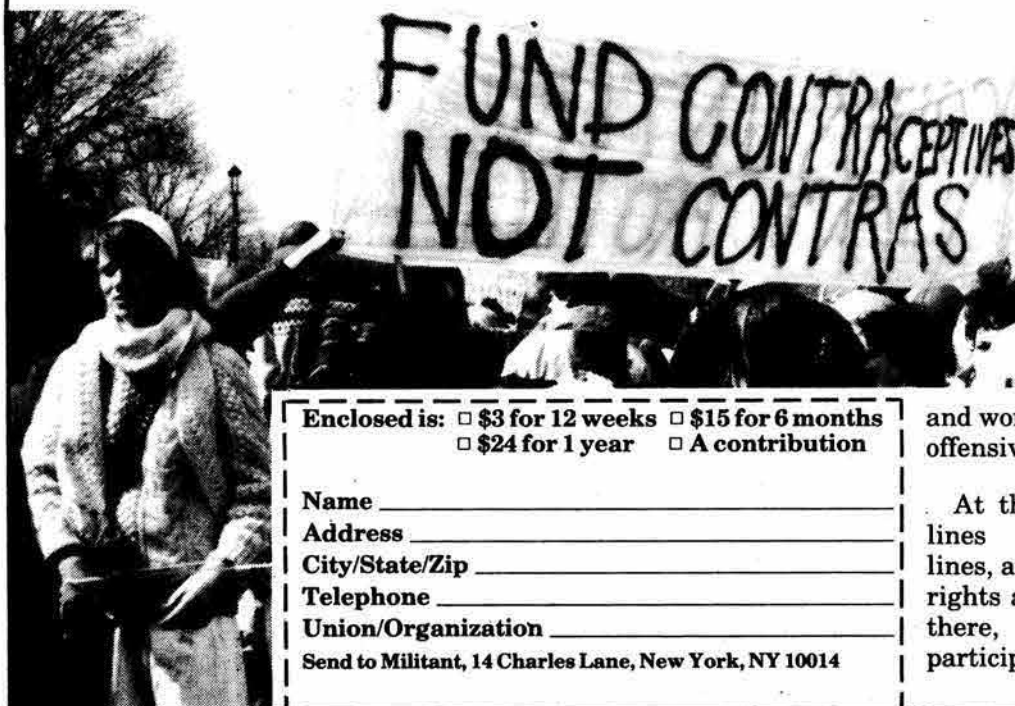


The Soledad Brothers (left to right): John Clutchette, George Jackson, and Fleeta Drumgo. Current trial of Stephen Bingham is related to their victimization.

The importance of the Bingham trial goes beyond the issue of a 1970s police entrapment and an attempt to add another victim to the list.

The Bingham trial coincides with a series of current prosecutions of Black and left-wing activists. These trials and the violence-baiting media propaganda surrounding them are intended to put a further curb on democratic rights and to give cops a freer hand in railroading opponents of racism. That's why the Bingham prosecution is being pushed.

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At the plant gates, picket lines and unemployment lines, at antiwar and abortion rights actions, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in struggle.

The Militant

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S. Africa gov't says it won't enforce pass laws

BY FRED FELDMAN

South African President Pieter Botha asserted April 18 that the apartheid regime will no longer prosecute Africans under current pass laws. Botha said those in prison for violating the pass laws would be "released forthwith." However, he warned Blacks that they should continue to carry the hated passes as "identification" until they are replaced with a supposedly uniform identity card for everyone in South Africa.

Botha's implicit admission that the hated pass laws have become unenforceable is a sign of the growing strength of the anti-apartheid movement.

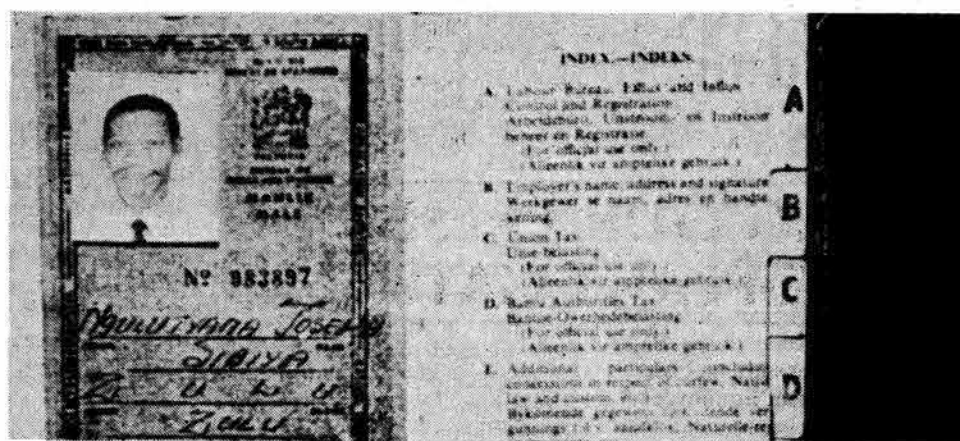
Under the pressure of the massive upsurge against apartheid that has been developing since August 1984, Botha announced in February that existing pass laws would be abolished July 1 and replaced with new legislation. Following this announcement, officials of the 500,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions said they would go ahead with plans to launch a campaign against pass laws. Federation General Secretary Jay Naidoo noted then that Botha's promise did not affect many other restrictions on Blacks' freedom of movement and residency.

Between 200,000 and 300,000 people have been arrested each year for violating the pass laws. Their cases are tried in special courts set up by the white rulers to enforce the array of restrictions that apply to Africans.

The pass laws have been an important component of the apartheid regime's effort to transform Blacks into rightless foreigners in their own country. South Africa's Black population is made up of 24 million Africans, 3 million Coloureds, and almost 1 million Indians. The white rulers monopolize political power and wealth through the system of apartheid which deprives the 85 percent of the population that is Black of all political rights and imposes strict segregation on it.

The current pass system is based on a law adopted in 1952 and subsequently extended. It requires every African over the age of 16 to carry a detailed reference book including photograph, fingerprints, ethnic background, tax receipts, work record, current places of employment, employers' signature (which must be updated monthly), and other information.

The passes of millions of African women must also include signed permission to live or work outside their home districts from parent, guardian, or husband.



Pass book that Africans are forced to carry in South Africa.

Any cop and many other officials can demand to see the pass at any time. Failure to produce the book is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

The pass laws were part of a system of measures called "influx control" aimed at barring a majority of Africans from settling permanently in the 87 percent of South Africa reserved by law for whites, while at the same time forcing them to work at low wages in the factories and mines of "white" South Africa.

The purpose of influx control was sum-

marized in a 1967 government circular: "It is accepted Government policy that the Bantus [a racist term for Africans] are only temporarily resident in the European areas of the Republic, for as long as they offer their labor there. As soon as they become, for some reason or another, no longer fit for work or superfluous in the labor market, they are expected to return to their country of origin or the territory where they fit in ethnically."

Although the regime may drop enforcement of the pass laws, other aspects of "influx control" will remain in effect. These include the Bantustan system, which forces 11 million Africans to live in desolate, overcrowded reservations that occupy at most 13.7 percent of South Africa.

Laws against "squating," aimed at blocking Blacks from setting up houses outside the slums established for Black workers in "white" South Africa, called townships, are still enforced. The Group Areas Act bars Blacks from living in residential areas reserved for whites. The system of migrant labor forces 2 million Africans to work in the mines, white-owned farms, and elsewhere, while denying them the right to live with their families who must remain behind in the Bantustans.

In 1960, a wave of protests against the hated pass laws culminated in the Sharpeville massacre where 67 peaceful protesters were gunned down by the South African cops.

The massacre was followed by the banning of the African National Congress, which is leading the freedom struggle today, as well as other organizations.

Continued on Page 17

New target weeks to boost sales drive

BY TOM LEONARD

Sales of both single copies and subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* took a sharp drop in the sixth week of our 10-week national sales and subscription drive. We sold a combined total of 3,028 single copies and 131 subscriptions. (See accompanying scoreboard.) This was quite a drop from the previous week's sales — April 5-11, a special target week — when we sold 5,611 single copies and 179 subscriptions.

The drive is now 11 percent behind in

single issue sales and 20 percent in subscription sales.

In order to reach our goal of 45,000 papers and 2,000 subscriptions by May 16, all *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters will have to make a special push to sell the papers between now and the end of the drive.

This means that during the remaining weeks, selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have to be made a central part of the many political activities that the paper's supporters participate in.

To this end, the weeks beginning May 3 and May 10 will be special target weeks during which areas would make ambitious plans — including doubling their weekly sales quotas where possible. Each city will decide which week best suits their political needs.

Some places have already begun to organize special local target weeks. A national effort, however, is necessary to allow us to reach our goal.

Sales can be an effective way to help build the May regional educational weekends being organized by Socialist Workers Party branches and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance. And the sales drive is already being successfully combined in several states with petitioning to get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot.

Salt Lake City sales director Mary Zins reported, "We made a decision at the beginning of the sales drive that we wanted to maintain high sales as well as collect the signatures needed to get on the ballot in Utah." Zins pointed out that people who signed the petition were given a leaflet about the campaign with a subscription coupon on it. After reading the leaflet, some people came back and bought a *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*.

One of the more successful efforts was at the University of Utah where a Pathfinder Books literature table was set up. In four hours, some 300 people signed nominating petitions and bought 14 copies of the *Militant*. In addition to involving all area *Militant* supporters, two new Utah campaign supporters helped out with sales while others petitioned.

The subscription blank on the campaign leaflet resulted in three people writing in for *Militant* subscriptions while others sent financial contributions.

In West Virginia, sales and petition teams fanned out across the Charleston area on Saturday, April 19. This was the beginning of an effort by Charleston and Morgantown campaigners to collect well over the 1,800 signatures required to put Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate David Salner on the ballot. They also circulated a leaflet calling for an end to the U.S. war on Nicaragua and condemning the bombing of Libya.

Introducing the *Militant* as a socialist campaign newspaper was an important way to keep *Militant* sales a part of the petitioning effort. While it took time getting used to both selling and petitioning, those who tried expected even more *Militant* sales the next time out. Another big help has been a number of young people who have volunteered to help petition and campaign in West Virginia.

As a result of these combined efforts, Saturday sales in Charleston totaled 100 *Militants* and 1,030 signatures on petitions.

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #6: Totals as of *Militant* issue #15, PM issue #7)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES			
	<i>Militants</i> and <i>Perspectiva Mundials</i> sold this week	Total sold so far	10-week goal	Subscriptions sold so far
Atlanta	144	620	1,040	9
Baltimore	72	479	815	24
Birmingham	58	307	900	4
Boston	102	722	1,000	60
Capital District, N.Y.	55	375	650	38
Charleston, W. Va.	58	441	600	11
Chicago	58	585	1,500	21
Cincinnati	38	216	600	3
Cleveland	43	337	900	20
Dallas	30	816	1,700	21
Denver	42	434	800	20
Detroit	201	1,114	1,570	26
Greensboro, N.C.	85	447	700	31
Houston	173	1,027	1,800	37
Kansas City	32	444	1,130	10
Los Angeles	226	1,255	2,200	51
Louisville	34	283	375	6
Miami	18	252	550	23
Milwaukee	44	394	750	26
Morgantown, W. Va.	69	464	700	6
New Orleans	61	384	650	33
New York	273	2,013	3,250	88
Newark	171	1,408	2,600	59
Oakland	58	482	935	10
Philadelphia	35	400	1,000	7
Phoenix	102	725	1,250	24
Pittsburgh	53	310	650	13
Portland	45	387	650	13
Price, Utah	*	68	250	0
Salt Lake City	58	417	640	14
San Diego	60	250	580	3
San Francisco	104	627	1,300	25
San Jose	40	577	1,000	27
Seattle	64	519	800	19
St. Louis	92	628	1,250	14
Tidewater, Va.	35	209	375	6
Toledo	23	287	500	32
Twin Cities	100	862	1,600	32
Washington, D.C.	72	582	800	35
Total sold this week	3,028			
Total sold so far		22,087		901
10-week national goal			45,000	2,000
Percent of national goal reached			49%	40%
To be on schedule			60%	60%

*not reporting

Rally for fired Ottumwa workers

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The fired Hormel workers of Ottumwa, Iowa, are fighting to get their jobs back. They and their supporters are calling on all working people to support this fight by coming to Ottumwa May 10 for a labor solidarity rally.

More than 500 workers at Hormel's plant in Ottumwa, which is organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431, honored the picket lines of their striking brothers and sisters from Austin, Minnesota, setting an example of union solidarity. The Local 431 workers had a contractual right to honor the picket line of the strikers from UFCW Local P-9. Nevertheless, Hormel fired them January 27 for exercising this right.

"The rally's going to be a great show of support," Robbie Wilson said in a telephone interview. Wilson is a central activist in the Ottumwa Support Group. The action "will let the people of Ottumwa know how much working people across the country believe in what they did in making the individual choice to honor the picket lines," she added.

The May 10 rally will begin at 1 p.m. at the Ottumwa Park Pavilion. Speakers so far include Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9; Dave Willoughby, president of United Auto Workers Local 977 in Newton, Iowa; Jerry Parker, mayor of Ottumwa; Bill Cook and Mike Dudley, fired members of UFCW Local 431; David Arian, president of Southern California Longshoremen's Council; and David Foster, chair of the National Rank-and-File Against Concessions.

For more information on the rally contact the Ottumwa Support Group at (515) 682-2208.

Protests hit U.S. aid to contras Detroit

BY ED JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — "We don't want to see another Vietnam in Central America," said Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees.

He was speaking to more than 50 trade unionists at a meeting here on April 15.

Blaylock was invited to Detroit by the Michigan Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Central America.

He urged the labor movement to speak out against U.S. government policy in Central America and to oppose sending any money to the "gang of thugs" known as the contras.

In El Salvador, Blaylock explained, the U.S.-backed government is waging "a war of terror against its people." He related his experiences in El Salvador in February 1985, when he visited huge areas in the countryside that had been burned out by government bombing.

Blaylock also described the killing of civilians by right-wing death squads there. "All the top union leaders in El Salvador are very, very young," he added, "because all the others have been killed." He pointed out that Washington's policy in El Salvador protects the interests of 137 U.S. companies, not the Salvadoran people.

Turning to Nicaragua, Blaylock urged the audience to distrust the U.S. government's charges against the Sandinistas. "Can we trust what we're told by our government? Hell, no!" he said.

Based on what he saw during his visit to Nicaragua, Blaylock explained, most Nicaraguans support the Sandinista government and are satisfied with the fairness of the 1984 national elections. "Everybody in Nicaragua is carrying a gun," he said. "Nobody will

control those people except who they want to control them."

Blaylock exposed Washington's hypocrisy in criticizing wartime restrictions on democratic rights in Nicaragua, while trying to subject thousands of U.S. government employees to lie detector and urine tests in the interests of "national security."

He expressed support for Nicaragua's demand for self-determination and urged the U.S. government to send material aid to the Nicaraguan people. He reported seeing farm equipment and medical and educational personnel in Nicaragua from Eastern European countries. "But what do they get from the Americans? The contras!" he said.

Blaylock underlined the importance of bringing the issue of Central America onto the shop floor and involving the union membership.

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit also spoke. He explained the human price of the contras' terrorist attacks on Nicaragua. "I do not believe the American people want our money to be used for those kinds of atrocities. We must stop it," he said.

The Detroit meeting was the first public event sponsored by the Michigan Labor Committee and was held at the headquarters of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600, whose president, Bob King, made a brief welcoming speech.

Among the unionists attending were members of the American Federation of Government Employees, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, UAW, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

DETROIT — More than 400 protesters marched through downtown Detroit April 14 calling for an end to Washington's support for the Nicaraguan contras.

The action was part of a national day of protest called by the Pledge of Resistance, preceding by one day the debate on contra aid in the House of Representa-

tives.

Students from at least four area high schools joined nuns, members of the Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Central America, and other Central America solidarity activists in a spirited picket line in front of Detroit's Federal Building.

Montreal

MONTREAL, Canada — About 150 people participated in a picket line outside the American Consulate office at the Desjardins Complex here to protest U.S. government aid to the mercenaries who are waging war against Nicaragua.

The picket line was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua and the Nicaragua Electrical Brigade.

Protesters carried placards demanding "Not one dollar for contra aid," "U.S. out of Grenada," and "Yankee go home."

Other organizations present at the action included the anti-apartheid La Coalition Amandla, Le Comité Quebec-Amerique Centrale, and Le Comité de la Jeunesse Revolutionnaire.

Atlanta

ATLANTA — Several hundred people demonstrated here April 12 to oppose the continuing U.S.-backed war of aggression against Nicaragua.

The themes of the rally, "No Vietnam in Central America" and "Let Nicaragua live," were repeated throughout the afternoon by a broad array of speakers.

Carlos Rygbi, an Afro-Miskito poet from Nicaragua, traced the history of U.S. government aggression against his country. He explained that the Nicaraguan government has been forced to spend large amounts of money on defense to insure Nicaragua's independence.

"We don't arm ourselves for arms' sake," he said, "but to defend ourselves because your money goes to kill, torture, and

murder our people like it did in Vietnam and Grenada."

"Tell your Congress, 'No aid to the contras,'" he added. "Nicaragua is not your enemy."

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) representative Rev. Timothy McDonald told the crowd "Our greatest enemy is the multinational corporations trying to invest all over the world, which seek to put profit above principles."

In response to charges by the Reagan administration that the 1984 elections in Nicaragua were fraudulent, McDonald said, "How easily America forgets its own history. Nicaragua had elections only five years after the revolution, but it took 200 years to let me, a Black man, have the right to vote."

McDonald has traveled to Nicaragua several times, and last spring, SCLC declared Atlanta a sister city of Nicaragua's Bluefields. He emphasized the fact that Washington "is already waging war" against Nicaragua.

"The contras are not freedom fighters. They are bloodthirsty murderers. If we love freedom, we must not support the contras," he declared.

Democratic State Sen. Julian Bond recently led a 10-person delegation to Nicaragua. "If ever there was a case where the U.S. ought to be supporting freedom fighters, it is not those trying to topple the Nicaraguan government. Rather, it is the ANC," he said, referring to the African National Congress of South Africa.

"The U.S. should be arming the ANC in South Africa," he stated, "to begin making friends and not enemies."

Tandi Gcabashe, from the Georgia Coalition on Divestment in South Africa and a member of the ANC, explained that the South African people are inspired by the revolution in Nicaragua. She drew a parallel between aid to the contras and U.S. aid to the counter-revolutionary forces in Angola.

"Aid to Angola is aid to South Africa," she said, "in a war designed, sponsored, and advanced

by the South African government."

Ed Loring, director of Open Door, an organization helping the homeless in Atlanta, also recently returned from Nicaragua.

Referring to the problems facing farmers in the United States, he said, "200 miles south of here, more and more mega-corporations are taking land from the farmers, but 1,200 miles south [in Nicaragua], 50,000 peasants have been given land."

Other speakers included Aaron Two Elk, American Indian Movement; Ann Coco, Clergy and Laity Concerned; and City Councilperson Debbie McCarty. Sponsors of the demonstration included the Atlanta Committee on Latin America and the Concerned Black Clergy.

Indianapolis

BY JOHN WARREN

INDIANAPOLIS — Both supporters and opponents of the U.S.-organized contras, who are waging war against Nicaragua, demonstrated here recently. Antiwar forces were able to outmobilize the backers of Reagan's "freedom fighters."

On April 13, a crowd of about a hundred supporters of the mercenaries gathered here from around the state.

About double that number held two subsequent anti-contra protests.

On April 14, the Pledge of Resistance held a demonstration against any aid to the contras.

Two days later, a march of young people from Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana — 70 miles from here — arrived. They lit candles and read the names of some of those killed by the contras. One of their main slogans demanded that the \$100 million Reagan is asking for the Nicaraguan terrorists be given to the victims of a recent tornado in Lynn, Indiana. The disaster caused tremendous damage to the homes of working people, but the federal government is refusing to give them any financial assistance.

25,000 march in San Francisco antiwar protest

Continued from front page

Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. "We are fighting for real peace in El Salvador," he explained. "We want to determine our own destiny, to be able to deal with the tremendous social problems of hunger and underdevelopment, which cannot be solved by the Reagan intervention."

Marta Alicia Rivera spoke on behalf of the teachers' union of El Salvador, ANDES. "Together the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador are defending themselves against U.S. aggression. In the name of the working people of Central America I call upon you to redouble your efforts to get the U.S. out of Central America," she said.

There was a prominent contingent of anti-apartheid activists. Many students from the University of California at Berkeley marched. The campus has been the site of a wave of protests against university investments in companies that do business in South Africa.

Many students said this march has inspired them to continue their efforts to get the university to divest. Pedro Noguera, Berkeley student government president and a leader of the anti-apartheid protests, reported that a candlelight march will take place May 8. He encouraged everyone to participate.

The labor movement played an important role in the coalition and march. All five labor councils in the area and dozens of local unions endorsed the action. The

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, International Association of Machinists, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Teamsters, Letter Carriers, Service Employees International Union, and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union were among those that had contingents.

At the head of the march were members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants who are on strike against TWA.

Anna Marie France spoke for the airline workers. "For many of us this is new," she said. "But we are glad to be among so many fine people, who are fighting for so many good causes. We ask that you not fly TWA until we have won a decent contract." She also expressed solidarity with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 members, who are on strike against the Hormel meatpacking company in Austin, Minnesota.

Several members of Local P-9 who are on tour in the area staffed a table at the rally. The table was surrounded most of the day with people wanting information about the strike. Many marchers wore T-shirts, hats, or stickers that read, "Cram your Spam," and "P-9 proud."

United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka also spoke. He called for support for the boycott of Shell Oil which has been initiated by the UMWA, AFL-CIO, and TransAfrica. "Shell is mixing oil and blood in South Africa and is making superprofits off the blood of Black

South African workers. We have the opportunity through this boycott to aid 24 million Blacks suffering under apartheid," he explained.

Jack Henning, secretary treasurer of the California Federation of Labor, told the marchers, "The California Federation of Labor and all the unions are proud to be a part of this march today. With it we are saying that we must seek peaceful solutions through dialogue. With it we are fighting for our real interests, which are not served by the bombing of Libya or aid to the contras."

Al Lannon, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and a coordinator of the co-

alition, explained why labor should be involved in opposition to war. "Workers are beginning to see the similarities between the issues of Central America and the unions. The policy that led to the busting of the PATCO [Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization] union is the policy that is used to try to bust the government of Nicaragua."

Other speakers included Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers; Abdeen Jabara, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Berkeley Mayor Eugene "Gus" Newport; John George, Alameda County supervisor and co-chair of the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement; and Jan Gruenebaum of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Young Socialists at antiwar march

SAN FRANCISCO — The Young Socialist Alliance was an energetic builder of the April 19 antiwar march in San Francisco. And the YSA had a lively contingent at the action. Young socialists from around California fanned out through the crowd, setting up literature tables and distributing the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

All told, 339 single issues of the *Militant*, 48 of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 30 of the *Young Socialist* were sold. *Militant* subscriptions sold numbered 27. Protesters bought \$700 worth of socialist books and

pamphlets as well.

Also participating in the march was Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, and other socialist candidates from throughout the state.

The socialists have been campaigning against the U.S.-organized war on Nicaragua and for an end to U.S. ties to the South African apartheid regime. Building April 19 has also been a central activity of the socialist campaign. Zimmermann marched with 20 members, mostly Chinese, of her union — the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Socialists run for Congress in W. Virginia

BY MARSHA LOU PARKER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The Socialist Workers Party announced that it is running Dave Salner and Kathy Mickells for Congress in the third and second congressional districts here.

Petitioners fanned out throughout the third district April 19 to begin collecting the 1,800 signatures required under state law to place Salner, who works at the John Amos Power Plant in Charleston and is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 8621, on the November ballot. More than 1,000 signatures were collected.

During a campaign barbecue after the first day of petitioning, Salner observed, "Our campaign is talking to the people of West Virginia about why working people must oppose U.S. government attacks on Libya and Nicaragua. We are going to expose Washington's support to the apartheid regime in South Africa and talk about the importance of solidarity with the striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota."

Days earlier, Salner had joined a protest march of 125 people from the Federal Building in Charleston to the main post office to oppose aid to the *contras*. Salner and others carried signs that also protested the bombing of Libya.

Kathy Mickells, the socialist candidate from the second congressional district, lives in Morgantown and works at the Kirby mine across the state line in Pennsylvania. She is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2300. She serves on the advisory committee of the Coal Employment Project and is program director of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in her area.

The socialist campaign is confronted by a series of recently adopted undemocratic laws aimed at preventing socialist candidates, or any candidates other than those of the Republican and Democratic parties, from seeking office. They also aim to intimidate West Virginians who might want to circulate or sign petitions for such candidates.

A 1985 law requires an independent candidate for Congress to pay a fee of 1 percent of the incumbent's salary in order to file petitions nominating that candidate.

The amount of the filing fee is now \$750, far more than 1 percent of Salner's income.

The State Board of Elections is refusing to certify Salner's petitions until he pays the \$750.

Another law, slated to take effect in 1987, states that in order to petition for a place on the ballot, additional petitions for the right to petition must first be filed, with a fee of \$1 for every four signatures collected.

A third law declares that anyone who signs a nominating petition is disqualified from voting in the primary elections and that each signer must be orally apprised of losing this right by the person collecting his or her signature.

Violations of this law are punishable by fines and jail sentences.

"My campaign will challenge these anti-democratic laws," Salner declared. "They are unconstitutional."

People interested in the campaign and ballot rights fight are urged to call the Charleston, West Virginia, campaign office listed on page 16.



Militant photos
Kathy Mickells (left), Socialist Workers Party candidate for second congressional district, and David Salner (right), Socialist Workers Party candidate for third congressional district.

'Militant' sales in Ottumwa, Iowa

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. LOUIS — Teams of trade union members from this city regularly drive the five hours to Ottumwa, Iowa, to visit with members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431 and distribute the *Militant*. More than 500 members of the local were fired by the Hormel Co. on January 28 when they honored a picket line at their plant set up by striking meatpackers from Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota.

Several members of Local 431 have subscriptions to the *Militant*. One fired worker said he had subscribed to the paper so he could compare its coverage of the Hormel strike to his own experience. He found its coverage of the strike and support for the strikers accurate and complete, and he really likes it.

On Saturday, April 5, we decided to sell

the *Militant* in downtown Ottumwa to find out what people thought about the strike and the firings. In a little more than an hour, two salespeople sold 13 copies. The headline on that issue was "Back Hormel strikers — all out April 9-12."

One older man said he'd been unemployed since 1979 and couldn't understand why people would be willing to lose their jobs to honor a picket line. He talked to a *Militant* salesperson for several minutes and left without getting a paper. Half an hour later he came back with three quarters in his hand. He said he had thought about what the salesperson said and wanted a copy. As he folded the *Militant* and put it in his back pocket, he said, "Keep up the good work!"

Another unemployed man said he only had \$3 to his name when people had come through town taking a collection for the Hormel workers fired at the Fremont, Nebraska, plant, also for honoring P-9's picket line. But he gave them \$1 anyway.

A woman whose husband is a fired member of Local 431 was happy to see people out selling a paper that supports the strike and bought one right away.

We also sold in a supermarket parking lot. One fired woman member of Local 431 bought the *Militant* after she saw the coverage from Austin. The back windows of her station wagon were decorated with handmade signs reading "431 proud." She said

she couldn't go to Austin for the strike solidarity march on April 12 because she had small children, but that her husband, also a fired member of Local 431, would be going.



Militant/Tom Jaax
Sign on building in Ottumwa, Iowa. Workers were fired for honoring picket lines of Hormel strikers from Minnesota.

Now is time to pay fund pledges!

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Pledges to the Socialist Publication Fund have topped the \$100,000 goal. The challenge now is to collect these pledges in the next two weeks to complete the fund in full and on time.

As we go to press, only \$36,162 has been received of the \$108,482 that has been pledged to the fund so far.

To meet this challenge, branches of the Socialist Workers Party are organizing to collect the outstanding pledges in their cities. Socialist workers in Newark have already made big progress. So far more than 50 percent of the \$5,740 pledged has been collected.

Salm Kolis, who is helping to organize the fund drive in Newark, told the *Militant* that "regular reports on the branch's progress in the drive have helped. In these reports," Kolis said, "we've stressed the importance of paying pledges on a regular, weekly basis."

An important factor in the success of the Publication Fund is the contributions from regular readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Early in the drive, the editors of these publications, along with the editors of Pathfinder Press and *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, sent a fund appeal letter to all their readers.

So far 61 people have responded to this appeal, donating more than \$2,500 to the fund. These contributions have come from a teacher in St. Paul, Central American solidarity activists in Kansas, a farm activist in Minnesota, a railroad worker in Baltimore, and a member of the Pakistan Democratic Alliance in Houston. Donations have been received from Boise, Idaho; Stockton, California; and Mt. Iron, Minnesota.

A second appeal has been sent to new *Militant* subscribers.

Your contribution to the fund enables the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to bring our readers timely reports on events around the world.

This week's *Militant* is an example of the kind of reporting that the fund makes possible. It includes a story from Britain on the protest against the British government's complicity in Washington's attack on Libya. We have coverage from Nicaragua of Sandinista leader Tomás Borge's recent speech at Puerto Cabezas, where he reports on a serious escalation of the U.S.-backed war on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. There is also an article from the team the *Militant* sent to Haiti in March on the background to the overthrow of Duvalier.

Your help is needed now to assure that the fund is completed in full and on time.

Scoreboard

City	Pledged	Paid
Atlanta	1405	150
Baltimore	1124	259
Birmingham	1740	
Boston	3740	535
Capital District, N.Y.	800	310
Charleston, W. Va.	1830	955
Chicago	4145	1705
Cincinnati	1580	683
Cleveland	1300	340
Dallas	4035	1195
Denver	1860	
Detroit	4315	930
Greensboro, N.C.	1405	437
Houston	7770	1500
Kansas City	1285	635
Los Angeles	8456	2242
Louisville	1012	417
Miami	1440	95
Milwaukee	600	
Morgantown, W. Va.	1510	495
New Orleans	2415	1980
New York	8005	2335
Newark	5765	3000
Oakland	4720	1575
Philadelphia	1800	
Phoenix	1060	
Pittsburgh	1380	575
Portland	1866	110
Price, Utah	600	
Salt Lake City	2075	575
San Diego	2095	520
San Francisco	3130	2770
San Jose	4250	1310
Seattle	2250	1075
St. Louis	3530	1150
Tidewater, Va.	450	
Toledo	1620	795
Twin Cities	4500	1970
Washington D.C.	2340	525
Other cities	3279	3014
Total pledged	108,482	
Total paid	36,162	

\$100,000 Socialist Publication Fund

On March 15 we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$100,000 by May 10.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant*, our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to:
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Enclosed is my contribution to the Socialist Publication Fund of \$_____.

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Nicaragua's agrarian reform reaches into a new region

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government is stepping up distribution of land to poor peasants in the country's Region V.

Thousands of peasants, organized by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), have held demonstrations here and in other cities in the region to press their demands for land. Since 1981, when the land reform began, 2,600 peasant families in Region V have received land. However, 13,500 more are still waiting for land.

In January 1986, Nicaragua's workers' and peasants' government decreed major changes in the nation's agrarian reform law. The new law gives the government greater legal authority to expropriate land. This is of great importance in this region where, according to the Ministry of Agricultural Development, land reform has been "almost nonexistent."

Region V is the largest of Nicaragua's nine administrative districts. It makes up 20 percent of the entire land area and stretches from Lake Nicaragua near the Pacific Coast to the town of Rama near the Atlantic Coast. It is predominantly a cattle-raising area; 60 percent of the national herd is here.

Danilo Salgado, UNAG president in Region V, said there are still 20 large plantations with more than 8,000 acres of land each in the region. One thousand wealthy families control 1 million acres.

The poor peasants, 40 percent of the population, have only 400,000 acres. Many people have no land at all and work as day laborers or sharecroppers.

According to Salgado, UNAG organizes 15,000 of the 40,000 poor peasants and 6,000 of the 10,000 owners of medium-sized farms. (Medium farmers are those who work their own land, but also hire some peasants or farm workers on a regular basis.) Fifty of the rich landlords also belong to UNAG, but the majority are allied with COSEP, the capitalist-landlord organization that opposes the revolution.

In February, the Nicaraguan government announced several new distributions of land totaling more than 40,000 acres in Region V. In all of 1986 they plan to distribute 175,000 acres — as much as was distributed from 1981 through 1985. Half of this land will come from the large private landowners and half from state-owned lands.

Government officials say they will distribute another 350,000 acres during 1987 and 1988. According to UNAG, this will mean that 70 percent of the 13,500 peasant

families now demanding land will receive it by the end of 1988.

Driving through this land reform will bring immediate benefits to the poorest peasants and increase their confidence and determination to defend the revolution. This is especially important in Region V, which was a stronghold of the Somoza dictatorship before the revolution. Today, it is the area where U.S.-backed mercenaries carry out the most attacks.

Maximo Roja Puchia, UNAG president in the Boaco Zone of Region V, said that some of the rich landlords are resisting the land reform. They are spreading rumors among small farmers and owners of medium-sized plots, saying the government plans to take their lands too.

UNAG has organized a series of meetings with medium farmers, Roja said, to explain that the agrarian reform is aimed at the large landowners. Others will keep their land and receive government assistance as long as they maintain their production.

Co-op takes over land of rich family

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — "We have faith in the Union of Farmers and Ranchers, the Sandinista Front, and the agrarian reform," Pedro Medina told me as we talked at the Quisala cooperative 15 miles outside of this town in south-central Nicaragua.

Medina and the other members of eight peasant families had just received authorization from the government to start their co-op on 100 acres of land. The government has promised them another 550 acres as soon as it finishes negotiations with the current landlord. The land has been taken from the Robleto family, one of the biggest landowners in the country.

While we talked, men and boys from the cooperative were building a simple hut nearby.

The land we stood on was dry and cracked, but Medina told us that there was a good stream nearby. The peasants were clearing land to graze cattle, which they will sell. And they also plan to plant food crops to feed the cooperative's families.

The new cooperative has a large school next to it. It was built in 1980, one year after the Sandinista revolution toppled the Somoza dictatorship.

"The school has nine classrooms," Medina told us proudly, after checking



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Peasants at new Region V co-op set up temporary shelter for members. Nicaragua's south-central region is still dominated by big ranchers, but now poor peasants stand to gain from redistribution of land.

with several of the boys working with him. The school provides primary education for the children in the zone and has adult literacy classes and training in carpentry, mechanics, sewing, and electricity.

Some co-op members lived in nearby brick houses, built since the revolution. They also have a large community building that they share with other peasants in the zone. A new windmill and watertank guarantee their water supply.

Medina told us that he and the other families had formed their cooperative group in 1981, two years after the revolution. They then requested land from the government, but were told to "be patient."

On February 22 of this year, Medina and 1,000 other peasants held a demonstration in Juigalpa to demand that they be given land. This was one month after the Nicaraguan government decreed important changes in the land reform law, giving them greater legal authority to take land from big landowners.

The February 22 demonstration, organized by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), was one of many that peasants have held recently to back up their demands for land. It was during this demonstration that local government officials agreed to give Medina's group 650 acres of land, and authorized them to start

working on the first 100 acres immediately.

Just across the highway from the Quisala cooperative, 25 more families had formed a group and were waiting for land. Medina told us that they would continue the peasant movement until everyone received the land they needed.

We asked how easy it would be to get the land.

"We have to take it from the rich landlords," Medina answered. "That's only fair. They used to make us work for them like slaves. But now, we won't work the land for them, and they can't work it themselves."

"You know," he added, "no big landlord ever wants to give up even a tiny piece of land. It doesn't matter to him if we peasants are sleeping under bridges or on the side of the road."

Medina explained that local landlords resorted to tricks and intimidation to try to keep peasants off their lands. They sold parcels of land to each other and to their family members, hoping that the government could not keep track of how much they actually owned.

After the Quisala co-op started, Medina said, the former landlord paid them a visit. He ordered them off the land, saying that the land reform was just a trick, and that the peasants would never own the land.

"We peasants told him to go away and leave us alone," Medina said. "The land is ours now. And with the help of UNAG and the Sandinista Front, we will keep it."

Myths about SWP answered in 'IP'

Many of the facts about the Socialist Workers Party's history are well-documented in books by James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and Joseph Hansen, who were longtime leaders of the SWP. These writings are readily available today from Pathfinder Press.

However, in an article by Michael Banda, a leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, which was reprinted in the March 24, 1986, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, these facts were ignored. In attempting to distance himself from disgraced WRP cult figure Gerry Healy, Banda repeats much of the Healyite mythology about the SWP.

In an article in the current May 5 issue of *IP*, editor Doug Jenness shows that these myths crumble when brought face to face with the truth.

Since its split with Healy in October and its subsequent repudiation of the 10-year Healyite slanderous agent-baiting campaign against the SWP and the Fourth Interna-

tional, the *Workers Press* has opened a public discussion on many issues facing revolutionists today. Jenness argues that it will not be able to seriously deal with the SWP's political views unless it insists on starting from the facts.

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Pedro Medina talks about new co-op

Nicaraguans prepare to discuss new constitution

"Notes from Nicaragua" is a column prepared by Cindy Jaquith and Harvey McArthur of the *Militant's* bureau in Managua.

Town meetings will be held across Nicaragua in May to gather the opinions of the population on the draft of a national constitution. The draft was drawn up by a Special

NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

cial Commission of Nicaragua's National Assembly. After it has been discussed by the Nicaraguan people, the document will be debated in the National Assembly and voted on.

There will be a special emphasis on organizing town meetings of workers and peasants. Meetings where women, youth, soldiers, and other sectors can air their views are also planned. Originally, the meetings were to begin April 14, but they have been postponed to May because preparations were not complete.

The entire text of the draft constitution has been published in *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). A summary of the document also appears in the March 13 *Barricada Internacional*, a weekly published by the FSLN in English and Spanish.

The Special Commission that drafted the constitution was open to all seven political parties with representation in the National Assembly. Six of them sat on the commission, while the capitalist Independent Liberal Party refused to take part, in protest of the state of emergency measures decreed by the government in late 1985.

The FSLN, which has a majority in the National Assembly, had 12 seats on the commission. The two capitalist parties participating, the Conservative Democratic Party and People's Social Christian Party, had four and two representatives respectively. Each of the ultraleft parties in the Assembly — the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Communist Party of Nicaragua, and Marxist-Leninist Party — had one seat.

The Marxist-Leninist Party deputy and one of the Conservative Democratic Party



Above, Carlos Núñez, president of commission that drafted constitution. At right, a scene on the Atlantic Coast island of Rama Cay, which has now been electrified for the first time.



deputies refused to sign the final draft.

A report by the commission's president, Commander of the Revolution Carlos Núñez, detailed how the various parties voted on different proposed articles in the constitution. In many cases, representatives of the same party voted different ways.

Núñez reported that on several articles concerning democratic rights, the FSLN deputies split their votes. For example, he said, four FSLN representatives voted against the draft article that reads: "the right to peacefully gather on private property requires no prior permission." Núñez said he himself had "reservations about the content of this article."

Rafael Solís, secretary of the National Assembly and also an FSLN representative on the constitution commission, told *Barricada Internacional* that "since it was a first draft there had been no decision to vote as a party bloc on each point: rather, there was a broad range of opinions." He said his vote differed from Núñez's on several questions and that two other FSLN deputies "who represent the Christian sector" had another point of view.

In the final vote on the constitution, Solís said, "the FSLN will probably vote as a party on the fundamental political points. On other social and economic matters, rep-

resentatives will be free to vote as they see fit."

Four thousand peasants marched on the Government House in the city of Masaya April 10 demanding land. The peasants were calling on the government to implement the country's revised land reform law before the month of May when planting must start. Federico López, the presidential delegate to the region, met with the demonstrators. He said the government and FSLN will carry through on their commitment to give land and weapons to all peasants who need them.

For the first time in history, electricity has come to Rama Cay Island, the home of Nicaragua's Rama Indians. Rama Cay is located off the port of Bluefields on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Thus far, the Nicaraguan government has installed lights in the schoolhouse, the local church, and on the main island pathways. They are turned on for four hours each night.

The next step will be to extend electricity to private homes.

A Sony color TV has been donated to the island by the National Directorate of the FSLN. The Ramas also hope to obtain a re-

frigerator and a record player.

In Bluefields, the Government House apologized for having distributed a 1986 calendar displaying a woman in a bikini. The woman appeared to have her hands tied behind her back. Beneath her photo were the words "Casa de Gobierno," (Government House).

The apology came after *Sunrise*, the local revolutionary newspaper, ran a photo of the calendar in its January issue. Many Bluefields residents, said the paper, considered the calendar "rather offensive." *Sunrise* reported that workers at the Hotel Bluefields had covered the woman's body with a dress.

Thomas Gordon, Nicaragua's presidential delegate to the region, subsequently made a statement reported in the February issue of *Sunrise*. Gordon said the Government House did not print the calendar in question. It had been a donation from Costa Ricans along with other calendars with different photos. Only a few copies of the disputed calendar had been distributed.

However, he explained, the calendar should have been destroyed. "I wish to state very clearly that the government as a revolutionary institution is against all kinds of oppression and exploitation," said Gordon, "especially those in which women are used as commercial objects or as vehicles for propaganda in a consumer society."

Contra terror forces Indians to flee Nicaragua

Continued from front page

"insurrection"; and that everyone should cross over to Honduras where they would be safe from Sandinista "repression."

In mid-March, some 2,500 Miskitos on the Río Coco were forcibly moved by Pro-War KISAN into Honduras. From March 25-27, there were armed clashes between Pro-War KISAN and troops of the Sandinista People's Army, who moved in to clear the mercenaries from the river community. Then, in the second week of April, the mercenary forces took another 9,000 Miskitos into Honduran territory, many of them at gunpoint.

The kidnapping was coordinated with a U.S.-orchestrated publicity campaign about Miskitos fleeing the river to escape supposed bombardment by Sandinista troops.

Borge denounced this as a lie. "We have dislodged the mercenary groups without a single person being killed or wounded," he told the Puerto Cabezas rally. "Those bringing genocide to these communities are the groups financed by the very U.S. government that has brought terrorism to Libya, murdering innocent children and civilians." He reported that a Miskito girl was killed in the course of the mercenaries' kidnap operations.

"KISAN groups loyal to the FDN and U.S. imperialism are kidnapping [Miskitos] to take them to Honduras, not as refugees, as they have tried to make it appear, but as captives," the Sandinista leader charged. He said that the Miskitos are being ill-treated in the Honduran camps and do not have enough to eat.

Borge, who is also president of Nicaragua's National Autonomy Commission,

called on the people of Puerto Cabezas to intensify their struggle for autonomy. "There will be autonomy here, in spite of everything," he declared. "Let no one have the slightest doubt."

To strengthen the autonomy process and the fight for peace in the area, a delegation from central government ministries had accompanied Borge to Puerto Cabezas to determine how best to improve social services there within the economic limitations imposed by the war.

A new hospital in Puerto Cabezas was dedicated. Originally built by the Ministry of the Interior (MINT) for its own use, Borge announced at the rally that the MINT combatants had decided instead to donate it to the people of Puerto Cabezas.

He also announced that a planeload of food, medicine, and clothing had left revolutionary Cuba that day, another donation to the people of the Atlantic Coast. The gift was in honor of the 25th anniversary of the defeat of the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. The mercenaries who carried out that attack 25 years ago had embarked from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua.

Borge also took up the U.S. bombing of Libya, pointing out that Washington was capable of carrying out a similar attack against the people of Nicaragua. He said the charge made by the Reagan administration — that the Libyan government had given Nicaragua \$400 million for weapons to carry out terrorist attacks — was false. Libya has made loans to Nicaragua, he explained, but has not given the Sandinistas "a single weapon."

He called on other governments to denounce the bombing raids on Libya, stating, "We are ashamed of the attitude of



Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge (center right) talking with baseball fans at the stadium in Puerto Cabezas during his recent trip there.

some governments that are remaining silent in the face of such criminal and savage deeds." Turning to the debate in the U.S. Congress over giving \$100 million to the mercenaries attacking Nicaragua, he warned, "The \$100 million or whatever amount means a first step toward direct intervention against our people. For this reason, we reiterate and insist on the need for a dialogue with U.S. officials."

Borge added, "We're not going to disarm. The weapons [here] belong to the people."

It is false, he explained, that Nicaragua

is a military threat to the United States. "Nicaragua does not have the economic capacity to attack the United States," he said. "We have no factories to make munitions here, or cannons, or tanks. Our navy is small. We don't have many airplanes. Our weapons are defensive. Here we manufacture only the uniforms and boots of our combatants."

"However," he added, "our army is powerful... because it has morale, it is courageous, and it is ready to defend the homeland, ready to defend sovereignty to the death."

Touring Hormel workers seek more strike support

Pittsburgh

BY CAROLINE LUND

PITTSBURGH — "Hormel workers bring boycott to Pittsburgh," read the headline in the April 3 issue of the *Pittsburgh Press*. The headline announced the brief visit to the area of Clarke Dehler and Carl Benson, two striking Hormel meatpackers from Austin, Minnesota.

The strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, were invited to southwestern Pennsylvania by locals of the United Mine Workers of America. Between visiting mine portals and UMWA union meetings, they were able to spend a few days in Pittsburgh.

Their first activity in the city was to participate in a march of some 300 people in support of striking TWA flight attendants.

The meatpackers next spoke to some 25 students and professors at Penn State University.

Benson and Dehler were warmly welcomed at the Rainbow Kitchen in nearby Homestead, a center that provides free groceries, dinners, and employment counseling for the many unemployed steelworkers in the Monongahela River valley.

They were able to meet leaders of the NAACP, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, members of the Steelworkers union from the Pennex pharmaceutical plant, and members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 61 invited the two strikers to speak at a potluck dinner attended by 50 unionists and pro-labor religious leaders.

"We would have been dead in the water if it hadn't been for the solidarity we've gotten from the labor movement," Clark Dehler told the shipyard workers, most of whom were laid off. "We've been called everything from militants to bandits, just for standing up for what's right," he continued. "The company claims we only have 'a few dissidents from society' supporting us, but we know different. We know that rank-and-file labor is ready to start fighting back."

One of the most important aspects of the tour was the two strikers' participation in a rock concert and rally sponsored by anti-apartheid organizations at the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie-Mellon University.

In their solidarity message to the rally the strikers explained how the struggle for freedom and dignity in South Africa was part of the same fight as P-9's struggle for

a decent contract and labor solidarity.

Before the concert, Benson and Dehler were able to speak with South African poet Dennis Brutus, a longtime opponent of apartheid.

Seattle

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — Anti-apartheid rallies, protests against U.S. aid to Nicaraguan contras, abortion rights marches, and meetings with unionists are some of the activities Mark "Bear" Martsching has been speaking at or attending in an effort to build solidarity for the Hormel strike.

Martsching, a member of UFCW Local 431, is one of more than 500 workers in Ottumwa, Iowa, who were fired by Hormel for honoring Local P-9's roving picket lines. He toured the Seattle area in mid-March.

Martsching shared a platform with Pallo Jordan, a member of the National Executive Committee of South Africa's African National Congress, at a March 15 anti-apartheid rally. The next day he spoke at a rally of 500 people protesting U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

Martsching joined 1,000 people at a March 22 abortion rights demonstration. "I support the right of workers to honor picket lines and the right of women to honor and control their own bodies," he told the *Militant*.

During the march, Martsching was joined by Seattle-area unionists at a Hormel boycott literature table. Most march participants already knew about the Hormel strike. Many were anxious to learn what was happening since the UFCW International Executive Committee withdrew official sanction for the strike. "The strike is still on," Martsching told one person. "We've just begun this fight with Hormel."

Martsching also spoke to a meeting of business agents from the painters' union and participated in a radio talk show.

A Washington State Rainbow Coalition meeting that Martsching attended adopted a motion to support the strike and the boycott of Hormel products.

Greensboro

BY JEAN RISHEN

GREENSBORO, N.C. — A delegation of striking meatpackers stopped briefly here on their way back to Minnesota from

Georgia.

With only three days' notice preceding their visit — and in a right-to-work state where only a small percentage of workers are unionized — the strikers won important support. They met many people eager to learn more about their struggle.

Just before they arrived here, the UFCW International Executive Committee revoked its sanction of the strike on March 14. This decision didn't change the openness of working people here to support this struggle.

The Central North Carolina Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) opened its headquarters for a community meeting. (The joint board has also become part of the "Adopt A P-9 Family" program.)

Two local television stations covered the event and ran footage on the evening news of striker Dennis Nelson explaining the facts in the strike.

Workers at the High Point textile plant organized a fundraising party for P-9. The meatpackers were invited to several local meetings of ACTWU.

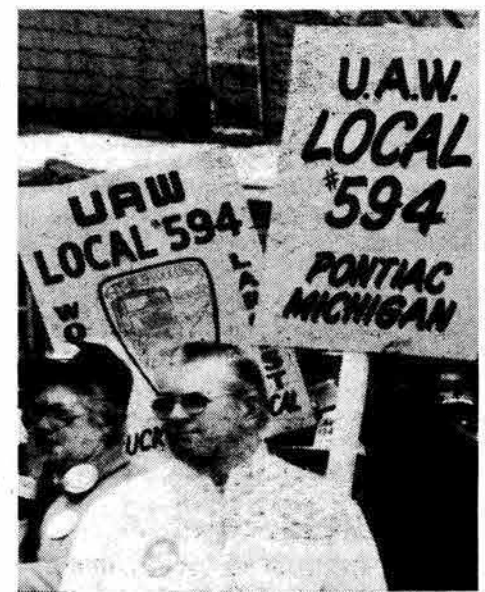
At a meeting of ACTWU Local 2376, for example, the textile workers explained they had recently fought off a company attempt to force a concession contract on them. After a lively discussion, the local took contributions and bought hats, shirts, and buttons. The textile workers promised to sell the P-9 hats and "Cram your Spam" T-shirts in the plant. They also voted to send a letter to UFCW President William Wynn protesting the top officials' decision to cut off strike benefits.

St. Louis

BY BOB MILLER

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — More than \$3,400 was collected at the gate at the General Motors assembly plant in Wentzville, Missouri.

The collection was to help the workers fighting the Geo. A. Hormel Co. in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Austin, Minnesota. The Hormel workers in Austin, members of



Militant/Adrienne Kaplan

Union locals in many cities have heard United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 members speak and are supporting their fight to win strike against Hormel. Above, they join solidarity action in Austin, Minnesota.

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, have been on strike since August 17. More than 500 workers at the company's Ottumwa plant, members of UFCW Local 431, were fired in January for honoring the striking workers' roving picket lines.

The day before the collection, March 20, a leaflet signed by the president of the union here, United Auto Workers Local 2250, was distributed motivating the need to give contributions.

The March 14 issue of the union's paper, *Local 2250 Newsline*, featured stories on the Hormel strike. The paper also carried reports on presentations made by members of locals P-9 and 431 at the February union meeting.

In another article, Rod "Hippie" Galey, the bargaining chairman, wrote, "This past month, we were very pleased to welcome Local P-9 and Local 431 as guest speakers. Their courage and dedication proved to be an inspiration to us all. They are the heroes of the labor movement and champions of freedom."

Referring to the members of Local 431 who refused to cross the P-9 picket line in Ottumwa, *Newsline* said, "All of us should recognize this as one courageous act, and tribute should be paid to those 500 people for their actions above and beyond the call of duty."

At the February meeting, a collection was taken totaling \$1,034.

UFCW officialdom presses trusteeship over Local P-9

BY TOM JAAX

MINNEAPOLIS — "I think the hearing was a farce. It was a sham," concluded Lynn Huston, vice-president of striking United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9. He spoke at an April 16 news conference that followed the conclusion of a three-day trusteeship hearing organized by the UFCW's International Executive Committee against the local. P-9 has been on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, for eight months.

The closed-door hearing was to determine if the local's members violated a March 14 directive of the International's top officialdom, which ordered P-9 members to end their strike and boycott against Hormel.

If the hearing officer decides that the local is guilty of this alleged violation of the union's constitution, the International Executive Committee could move to place P-9 in trusteeship. Such action would include replacing the local's elected leaders with appointed officials. It would also allow the top officials to go ahead with their announced plans to "preserve the union" by negotiating a contract for the scabs in the plant. Spokespeople for the International union had already admitted that they have been meeting with the scabs. Hormel Vice-president Charles Nyberg has welcomed this proposal by the officialdom. It is no wonder then that Hormel officials have been stonewalling negotiations with the local.

At the press conference, Huston re-

ported on some of the crooked aspects of the hearing. Only 10 exhibits out of the 48 introduced by the striking local were ruled admissible by the hearing officer. The International's officialdom refused to submit the records or produce the witnesses requested by the local. The hearing "was put on by the International with no intention of being fair or allowing Local P-9 to constructively present our side," Huston said.

Part of the testimony against the local was from individuals sent to Austin by the International's officialdom to pose as strike supporters. They gathered evidence to use against the local, evidence that dates back to the first week in February — nearly six weeks before the March 14 directive to end the strike. This, Huston said, "is just one of the many bald-faced moves on the part of the international union to undermine our strike."

Jim Guyette, president of the striking local, charged that the hearing was an attack on the local's democratic functioning. "Certainly we followed the democratic procedures and principles of our union," Guyette said. "We have abided by our rank and file."

The UFCW hearing officer, Ray Wooster, said that he would make a decision some time after April 28. Huston pledged that the strikers would continue to fight any attempt to put the local in trusteeship.

Meanwhile, the local is continuing to build support for its struggle. Strikers are traveling around the country leafleting plant gates, speaking to local unions, and organizing a boycott of Hormel products.

The Hormel strike at a glance

The 1,500 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9 were forced out on strike by the Geo. A. Hormel meatpacking company on Aug. 17, 1985. They are workers at the company's Austin, Minnesota, operation.

Several months earlier, Hormel had unilaterally slashed wages from \$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour. They were later raised to \$9.25. When the union's contract expired August 17, the company refused to return wages to their former level.

Hormel also demanded additional concessions, including gutting the seniority and grievance systems and instituting a two-tier wage system. The company has demanded the right to punish workers injured on the job. The injury rate per year at the Austin plant is 202 injuries for every 100 workers. Hormel is also demanding contractual restrictions on workers' democratic and political rights.

In the course of the strike, Local P-9 has had to face attacks by the company, courts, and governor.

In January and again in February Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich sent in the National Guard to herd scabs for Hormel. On April 11, cops from around the

state rioted against picketing strikers and supporters outside the Hormel plant.

The striking local has sent out roving pickets to other Hormel plants. On January 28 the company fired more than 500 workers at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, for refusing to cross P-9's picket lines.

Local P-9 has gone on a campaign to get solidarity for the strike from unionists and others around the country, an effort that has resulted in two national support demonstrations held in Austin. The most recent brought out 6,000 on April 12.

On March 14, the UFCW International Executive Committee revoked its sanction of the strike, ending strike benefits and ordering the strikers to cross the picket line. The strikers have voted overwhelmingly to continue their strike despite the fact that Hormel has 900 scabs working at the plant.

On March 28, the UFCW International officials announced that they were beginning proceedings to put the local into trusteeship. A hearing on the trusteeship was held in mid-April.

Donations and messages of support for the Austin strikers can be sent to: UFCW Local P-9, 316 4th Ave. NE, Austin, Minn. 55912.



South Africa: street committees challenge gov't in townships

Among activities of "street committees" is organizing mass funerals for victims of police shootings, such as above. Legacy of 1950s plan for block committees drawn up by anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela (left) aided development of today's committees.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

For four days in February, fierce street clashes raged through Alexandra, a Black township on the edge of Johannesburg.

On one side were the rebellious residents, with youths in their front ranks. On the other were hundreds of police and troops equipped with clubs, tear gas, and guns, striving to reimpose the edicts of apartheid.

When the shooting stopped, several dozen Blacks lay dead. But the government did not emerge from this clash as the victor. Its authority and control over the township lay in tatters. All resident Black policemen and members of Pretoria's local Black municipal council had to be evacuated.

Anti-apartheid activists in Alexandra were jubilant. "We have made very great progress over the past two weeks," one youth told the liberal South African journalist Allister Sparks. "I think it can be said that we are now in control of Alexandra. The majority of the people are behind us. The police may control the streets, but we control the people."

These youths, Sparks commented, "are filling the vacuum of public influence if not yet of actual power. They are organizing into street committees and they move from door to door..."

What is taking place in Alexandra is under way in some other Black townships as well. New forms of local mass organization, commonly called "street committees," are emerging. In conjunction with other popular bodies, they help coordinate and direct the struggle against the hated apartheid system. They seek to deny the white minority regime day-to-day control over political and other activities in the townships.

While still a new development limited to some parts of the country, this nevertheless reflects a significant deepening of the massive popular upheaval that has been rocking South Africa for more than a year and a half.

Making South Africa 'ungovernable'

To some extent, the formation of these street committees and the strengthening of other local township organizations has been a product of the campaign to make apartheid South Africa "ungovernable."

Key targets of this campaign have been Pretoria's community councils and Black local authorities, which function on a township level. Staffed by Black collaborators with the apartheid regime, these councils are responsible primarily for collecting rents and utility fees, issuing licenses, and carrying out other administrative tasks.

Provoked by sharp rent hikes imposed by these councils, residents of Black townships around the country have been actively mobilizing against them since late 1984. Several hundred councillors have been forced to resign under mass pressure, and some have been killed. Many municipal liquor outlets — a key source of revenue for the councils — have been burned down. Widespread rent and utility-fee boycotts have further dried up council funding.

The isolation and destruction of these councils has gone the furthest in the Vaal Triangle region south of Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape. Attempts to fill council vacancies in the Vaal Triangle townships failed when no one came forward to run for the posts. According to the March 16 Johannesburg *Sunday Star*, "Fewer than half the 45 community councils operating

in the Eastern Cape are fulfilling their duties and there are many vacancies. The higher local authorities are either not functioning or have been severely hampered by constant attacks by their antagonists."

As in Alexandra, residents of other townships have driven out Black policemen as well. Often the police are only able to return in force for periodic sweeps. Some Black policemen have also resigned under pressure from community organizations.

As the government's effective administration and control in many townships ground to a halt, popular organizations began to take on more and more authority.

A defense against repression

Another factor influencing the greater emphasis on building up local township organizations has been the need to find new ways to resist Pretoria's sweeping repression.

When President Pieter Botha proclaimed a state of emergency over parts of the country in July 1985, hundreds of top anti-apartheid leaders and organizers were detained. Most of those picked up by the security police belonged to affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the 2-million-member anti-apartheid coalition that has been leading most of the mass mobilizations. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the UDF's high school student affiliate, was outlawed. The regime's aim was clearly to behead the mass movement in the hopes of undercutting it.

This crackdown was a blow. It suddenly removed a layer of the most experienced leaders and made the coordination of national actions more difficult. The UDF was forced to close down its national offices in Johannesburg for at time.

But imprisoned activists kept in touch with each other through jail-cell study groups. They maintained contact with the movement outside through those who were released after brief spells of detention.

UDF leaders who managed to evade arrest developed newer, semiclandestine forms of functioning. "We have an elaborate system of communication with our executive, our activists, and our members in the community," declared Naseegh Jaffer, organizer of the UDF's interim executive committees in the Western Cape. "We began developing alternative methods of organization before the state of emergency was declared. We have grown used to working under an effective state of emergency since the first major wave of detentions began in August [1984]."

During the seven months of the state of emergency — which was finally lifted in early March — UDF national and regional executive committees continued to meet. Detained members were temporarily replaced. "We have devised ways and means of operating that enable us to withstand extreme repression," Transvaal UDF General Secretary Mohammed Valli said. Although the UDF will take full advantage of the end of the state of emergency to conduct more public activities, Valli went on, "We won't go back to the way we were working before the state of emergency. Next time the state clamps down on us, they'll find it much more difficult to weaken us."

One of the changes in the UDF has been a greater decentralization of leadership structures, with activities being organized and coordinated more on the local and regional levels. This places greater responsibility on the township-based organizations — student and youth congresses, civic associations, parents' committees, trade

unions, women's associations, and other groups. Hundreds of such organizations existed before the state of emergency was imposed, but new ones have been formed since then, particularly in smaller townships in more rural parts of the country. Many are affiliated to the UDF, but some are not.

The street committees emerged as part of this growth in township organization.

Mandela's legacy

Street committees developed initially and most rapidly in Black townships around Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock, East London, and other cities in the Eastern Cape. It is no coincidence that this is also a region that has long been a stronghold of popular support for the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the organization leading the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

South African police and newspapers have commented on the similarity between today's committees and those originally projected more than 30 years ago as part of an ANC reorganization effort spearheaded by Nelson Mandela (who has been imprisoned by the apartheid regime since 1962).

Mandela first outlined his proposal for creating block committees at a September 1953 Transvaal provincial conference of the ANC, at a time when the ANC was still a legal organization. Popularly known as the "M-Plan," this called for the formation of ANC cells organized from the block level upward, with leaders elected at cell meetings.

Mandela told the conference participants, "The hard and strenuous tasks of recruiting members and strengthening our organization through a house-to-house campaign in every locality must be done by you all. From now on the activity of Congresses [ANC members] must not be confined to speeches and resolutions. Their activities must find expression in wide scale work among the masses, work which will enable them to make the greatest possible contact with the working people." (The full speech, entitled "No Easy Walk to Freedom," is in *The Struggle Is My Life*, published by International Defence and Aid Fund. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. \$4.95 plus 75 cents postage and handling.)

Although the main goal of the M-Plan was to boost the ANC's mass membership and organization, it was also designed to strengthen the organization against government repression, in particular the possibil-

ity that it could be outlawed and forced underground.

The M-Plan was actually implemented in only a few areas and to a limited extent. The most success was achieved in Port Elizabeth. This helped the ANC in the region better withstand Pretoria's 1960 crackdown, in which the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups were banned following the Sharpeville massacre. But even in Port Elizabeth much of the ANC's organization was broken up through mass arrests and detentions. Mandela, who operated clandestinely until his own capture, visited Port Elizabeth in April 1961 to try to reactivate the cell committees.

Later that year, Mandela and other ANC leaders launched Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) as the ANC's armed wing. Its first military actions were carried out on Dec. 16, 1961, in Port Elizabeth and several other cities. Over the next few years, Umkhonto fighters in Port Elizabeth led the way in the number of guerrilla actions against the apartheid regime. But then, for more than a decade, security police action succeeded in crushing most ANC and Umkhonto activity within the country.

As the ANC's support and prestige has grown once again over the course of the current popular upsurge, activists have looked back to see what they can learn from the experiences of its past struggles. This has been facilitated by the direct participation of former ANC members in the leadership of the UDF and some of its affiliates.

While today's street committees may have emerged anyway, without the previous experience of the ANC's M-Plan, that legacy has certainly been a factor in the speed with which the committees have developed, particularly in the Eastern Cape.

One Eastern Cape UDF leader, Edgar Ngoyi, openly acknowledged that the street committees are based on the "M-Plan" proposed by Nelson Mandela more than 30 years ago. The cells are to teach residents and to learn of their problems and ideas."

'Democracy for the people'

The first street committees were established in 1984 in Lingelihle, a township of 17,000 Blacks outside Cradock, in the Eastern Cape. The initiative came from Matthew Goniwe, a leader of the Cradock Residents Association (Cradora), a key UDF affiliate in the area. According to Goniwe, "Democracy for the people in

Continued on Page 15

New from Pathfinder Press



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Tells the story of the fight over land, which has been at the center of the struggle between South Africa's white rulers and its subjugated Black majority.

This pamphlet is an important tool to help build the movement to break all U.S. ties with the apartheid regime.

It is available at the Pathfinder Bookstore nearest you (see directory on page 16) or from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 56 pp., \$1.25. Please include \$.75 for handling.

How Haiti's dictatorship was overt

New political winds in Caribbean inspired fight against Duvalier

Harvey McArthur and Margaret Jayko spent a week in Haiti in March as part of a *Militant* reporting team. Jackie Floyd, national co-chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, also participated.

McArthur is part of the *Militant's* bureau in Managua, Nicaragua. Jayko is managing editor of the *Militant*.

BY HARVEY MCARTHUR
AND MARGARET JAYKO

On January 31, Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier went on national television to declare that he was firmly in power and holding on as "firm as a monkey's tail." One week later, he was whisked away to exile in France aboard a U.S. Air Force C-141. The Haitian people had cut off the monkey's tail.

Prior to Duvalier's departure, Haiti had been swept by months of demonstrations and student strikes calling for his overthrow. Peasants and city poor had ransacked and burned government buildings in the cities of Gonaïves, Jacmel, Cap-Haïtien, and elsewhere.

In some cases, the army and police had refused to fire on the demonstrators. Even Duvalier's hated private police force, the Tontons Macoutes, began to lose their grip. In much of the country, they had fled or gone into hiding as the popular protests grew.

Haiti's Roman Catholic bishops supported the protests and opposed Duvalier's desperate attempts to hold on to power. Sixteen Protestant church leaders made a call for democratic government and respect for human rights. And even the conservative Association of Haitian Industries issued a statement in the final weeks before Duvalier's overthrow calling for a "democratic solution" and "respect for human rights."

In the face of this mounting opposition, the U.S. government, which had always supported Duvalier, finally backed off. On January 30 it said that it was suspending aid to the regime. The following day the White House announced — a bit prematurely — that Duvalier had gone into exile.

But one week later, it really was over. Haiti, after 29 years, was finally freed from the tyranny of the Duvalier family.

The collapse of the dynasty was unexpected. But it was not the result of a sudden and spontaneous uprising. It was the cumulative product of a series of economic, social, and political changes and struggles over several years that isolated Duvalier and led very broad layers of Haitian society, involving virtually all social classes and layers, to mobilize against his regime. His overthrow was the result of a truly national struggle to get the Duvalier boot off the neck of the Haitian people.

To understand how Haiti got rid of this tyranny, it is first necessary to take a concrete look at what "Duvalierism" actually was.

Modern class development stunted

The three decades of Duvalier-family rule were an obstacle to social and economic progress in Haiti. The development of all modern social classes — workers, peasants, small merchants, capitalists — was stunted and retarded.

François Duvalier became president on Oct. 22, 1957. He immediately moved to eliminate any and all possible opposition to his rule. "Papa Doc" established a dynasty, declaring himself president-for-life and later passing this position on to his son, Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc"), in 1971.

The Duvaliers relied upon the dreaded Tontons Macoutes to back up their rule. The Macoutes were founded by Papa Doc, and his son retained them.

Recent estimates of the size of this private army range from 15,000 to upwards of 35,000 armed thugs. They were reinforced by a broad network of informers and collaborators, perhaps as many as 300,000 people in a country of 6 million. Many worked with the Macoutes out of fear or

desperation for a job.

Leading Macoutes became government officials and local police chiefs. They were tax collectors and extortionists for the regime. Some received a salary, but most did not. They were expected to steal from peasants, merchants, workers, and market vendors.

The Macoutes arrested, tortured, and killed on the Duvaliers' orders. François Duvalier soon eliminated potential political rivals among the capitalists and landlords, crushed a nationwide student movement, destroyed the few existing unions, and purged the Catholic church hierarchy. His son continued in his bloody footsteps. In all, an estimated 50,000 people were murdered or disappeared during the three decades of Duvalierist rule.

A 'kleptocracy'

No one knows exactly how much money the Duvaliers and their cronies stole from the Haitian people. Estimates of Jean-Claude's "worth" run as high as US\$900 million.

The Duvaliers were neither big landowners in Haiti nor did they have large financial holdings in factories or industry. They amassed their fortune through control over the state apparatus itself. These parasites siphoned off large amounts of cash from taxes, foreign aid, bribes, pension payments, and extortion money. The government didn't keep records on much of what it collected. A big chunk ended up in Duvalier's private bank accounts.

Corruption and extortion became the hallmark of the regime. This led a 1982 Canadian government report to dub the Duvalier administration a "kleptocracy."

Examples abound.

The March 18, 1986, *New York Times* reported, "Employees at a Government pension and Social Security fund announced this month that they were required to contribute large and varying sums to the palace and to 'the charities of the First Lady,' Michèle Duvalier."

Duvalier cronies headed government ministries and state-owned industries — another source of enrichment for the dictator. Duvalier received 50 cents for each sack of cement produced at the state-owned cement factory, and \$1 for every sack of flour milled at the country's only flour mill, also state-run.

On Dec. 3, 1980, the *Times* reported that "there is still no public accounting of 50

percent of the profits from the Régie de Tabac, the Government agency that collects taxes on everything that is sold, a sum that is thought to be as much as \$45 million a year.

"This money is believed to go to the Duvalier family and to support the militia, or Volunteers for National Security," the Tontons Macoutes. The sales taxes imposed by this agency were outrageously high.

Until his overthrow, the Haitian Central Bank permitted Duvalier to help himself to up to \$1 million every month, without accounting for the money.

As a result of this massive theft of public funds and the high taxes, the prices of basic items widely used by workers and peasants have long been much higher in Haiti than elsewhere in the Caribbean.

"The cost of all these products was driven up at the expense of the consumer," said Claude Lévy, head of the Haitian Association of Manufacturers, "and then the profits were siphoned off."

Reliance on foreign aid

The Duvaliers depended on foreign aid to keep their government afloat. During the first six years of Papa Doc's rule, he received \$100 million from Washington. U.S. aid continued for the rest of his reign, amounting to from one-sixth to one-fifth of the annual government budget. The U.S. government backed Baby Doc also, turning over some \$50 million a year to his government, right up until the end.

Much of the money from imperialist governments and bankers went into Duvalier's pocket.

In December 1980, for example, the International Monetary Fund granted Haiti a \$22 million loan. Twenty million of that sum disappeared within days after it reached Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital. It was never accounted for.

The Macoutes and Duvalier also profited from emergency relief aid rushed to Haiti in August 1980 when Hurricane Allen devastated the country's southern coast. Food and blankets were stolen by soldiers, police, and government officials — presumably to be sold on the black market.

The corruption was so widespread that even this large quantity of foreign aid offered little relief to the Haitian people. A 1982 U.S. government report concluded that conditions in Haiti "have actually regressed since the 1950s." U.S. agricultural

programs, it admitted, failed to benefit even "a single group of small farmers."

The meager development and relief projects that were implemented were mostly undertaken by private and church agencies, not by the Haitian government. More than 300 such agencies operated in Haiti by 1985, the United Nations reported. They provided half the medical care, two-thirds of all the schools, and much of the scarce safe drinking water.

In addition to whatever fortune Duvalier is now sitting on in his villa on the French Riviera, there are the many millions more amassed by the president's father-in-law, Ernest Bennett, and other close friends of the regime. Bennett, a wealthy coffee exporter, became even wealthier after his daughter's 1980 marriage to Duvalier.

As a result of this wholesale robbery, Haiti was left with barely \$1 million in its treasury when Duvalier fled.

U.S. capitalists plunder Haiti

Duvalier and Company weren't the only ones who profited from "Duvalierism." U.S. capitalists also made big bucks.

In the mid-1960s, U.S. corporations dominated sugar and sisal production, copper and bauxite mining, and meat packing.

Altogether, U.S. companies controlled 40 percent of Haiti's exports by the early 1960s. They paid very low wages and almost no taxes. Reynolds Mining, for instance, only paid 2.4 percent in taxes on its bauxite mining operation in 1963. In 1982, when the bauxite ran out, Reynolds simply closed up shop, throwing thousands out of work and leaving Haiti with nothing but a large hole in the ground.

During the 1970s, Duvalier encouraged U.S. and other foreign corporations to open up new factories. They were guaranteed low wages, union-free conditions, and long-term tax exemptions.

As a result, 300 factories opened up in Haiti, employing 5,000 workers. They included electronic assembly, garment, toys, and sporting goods plants. Most Haitian workers receive less than the \$3-a-day official minimum wage. The goods produced by Haitian workers and the profits they generate go to fatten U.S. businessmen's bank accounts.

In exchange for Duvalier's cooperation with the U.S. corporations that exploit Haiti's natural resources and squeeze big profits from the labor of its workers and peasants, Washington provided weapons and training to Duvalier's military and police. The Leopards, a counterinsurgency unit of the army, notorious for its brutal methods, was set up in 1971. It was trained by U.S. advisers at bases in Panama.

Famine strikes the peasantry

While Duvalier and the U.S. exploiters prospered, Haitian society stagnated. The very survival of millions was threatened by the ruin of the peasants and the decrease in food production.

Three out of four Haitians live in rural areas.

A handful of wealthy landowners dominate Haitian farmland. One percent of them controls 60 percent of the land.

The World Bank estimates that 78 percent of the rural population lives at or below the "absolute poverty level." The overwhelming majority of peasants work tiny plots, with only the most rudimentary tools. The average plot size is about one acre. Some farmers work two or more widely separated plots as a way of spreading the risks of production. Still their total land holdings average only about an acre and a half — and this figure is declining.

More than 50 percent of the rural population own their own property, though the absence of a clear land registry system means that their holdings are never secure. Many peasants also engage in sharecropping, farming land belonging to someone else, to whom they must give half their production. There are also many agricultural workers, who own no land at all.



As part of their new-won freedoms, these Haitian technical school students protest conditions they face. Sign at left reads, "Women must be respected in industry."

rown

Haiti's chief export crop is coffee, which is cultivated by 400,000 peasants on steep mountain slopes. The high taxes that were a hallmark of Duvalierism hit these peasants very hard. Combined with rip-offs by middlemen and speculators who export the coffee — many of them cronies of Duvalier — these high costs forced some peasants to stop growing coffee. Consequently its production has declined.

U.S. imperialist intervention into agriculture, both through direct land ownership and through a variety of "aid" programs, increased under the Duvaliers. U.S. capitalists encouraged the cultivation of export crops at the expense of food production. This, combined with the necessity of peasants to sell, rather than consume, much of the food they produce, is one reason that 90 percent of all children in Haiti suffer from varying degrees of malnutrition.

Lack of government investment in, sorely needed irrigation, mechanization, and fertilization all have contributed to the decline in agricultural output. It is estimated that, on the average, each peasant's production is declining by 2.5 percent every year. Today there is 36 percent less irrigated land in the country than there was in the mid-19th century.

The impoverished Haitian peasants get very low prices for their products. Only 3 percent have access to any source of credit.

Soil erosion: national disaster

Soil erosion in Haiti, due to deforestation, is a national disaster and getting worse each year. As much as 4 percent of Haiti's topsoil is washed away annually, according to recent studies. In the past two decades, 80 percent of Haiti's trees have been cut down, some for export by wealthy merchants and the rest for use by exploited peasants who have no other source of fuel.

The big landlords worked hand-in-hand with the Tontons Macoutes to wring more labor, taxes, and rent out of the peasants. Those who had a good piece of land stood in constant danger of losing it to a greedy Macoute or other Duvalier crony.

A famine broke out in 1974 and hundreds of Haitians starved to death. Only quick shipments of food by international relief agencies prevented an even worse disaster. Haiti has become increasingly dependent on this food aid. For example, more than half the wheat consumed in the country is donated by the U.S. government.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants have left the countryside, looking for work and a future in the cities. Most now live in the vast shantytowns of Port-au-Prince. The capital city quadrupled in size in the last 20 years, growing from 250,000 in 1965 to approximately 1 million today. In a city with an unemployment rate of over 50 percent, only the distribution of food by private agencies prevents mass starvation.

One out of every six Haitians now lives outside the country, having opted to leave Haiti altogether to escape the political repression and to find a way to support themselves and their families.

The money sent back to relatives by those who find work in the United States, Canada, Latin America, or Europe amounted to some \$100 million by 1980.

Haiti's poverty, especially in the countryside, is often blamed on its high population density and lack of natural resources and fertile land. But a study of Haiti published by the United Nations in 1985 pointed out that "Haiti is a country of considerable potential. It can be relatively self-sufficient in food production." The problem is not a natural one but a social one — decades of imperialist domination combined with 29 years of Duvalier plunder and neglect.

New currents in the Caribbean

Despite Duvalier's repression and the omnipresent Tontons Macoutes, Haiti was not impervious to the winds of change and new currents stirring in the Caribbean by



Street scene in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Three decades of U.S.-backed thieving and bloody regimes of "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier has left Haiti poorest country in Western Hemisphere.

the 1970s. Haiti is part of the Caribbean and Latin America — the region of the world where the fight against imperialist domination and exploitation is today at center stage.

The 1959 Cuban revolution had been a big inspiration and impetus to anti-Duvalier forces. The fact that the neighboring people of Cuba were able to overthrow Duvalier's fellow dictator, Fulgencio Batista, gave hope to Haiti's opposition forces. The new Cuban government, led by Fidel Castro, gave material and political support to Haitian freedom fighters.

Most importantly, Cuba's example — of a people who broke imperialism's grip on their country, won the battle against illiteracy, disease, starvation, unemployment, and land hunger, and aided liberation fighters around the globe — was hated and feared by Duvalier and his U.S. backers. Because oppressed people everywhere are attracted to the Cuban revolution, the Duvaliers made virulent anticommunist propaganda — and laws — a key element in their system of rule.

In March 1979, the sister Caribbean people of Grenada, led by Maurice Bishop and his New Jewel Movement, overthrew tyrant Eric Gairy and established a popular workers' and farmers' government. Until its overthrow in October 1983, the Grenada revolution was a beacon of hope for the peoples of the Caribbean, especially those who are Black.

The overthrow of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua just four months after Gairy's demise was also closely watched and cheered by the Haitian people. They followed the blow-by-blow accounts of the Sandinista-led insurrection on their radios. (Port-au-Prince is probably one of the few cities in the world that still has an avenue named after Somoza — a testament to Duvalier's close identification with that butcher of the Nicaraguan people.)

The Catholic church in Haiti was also not exempt from the effects that these revolutionary events were having on clergy and lay activists all over Latin America and the Caribbean. The great majority of Haitians are Catholics.

In 1966, the pope gave Duvalier the power to appoint Haitian bishops, thus bringing the top clergy under his direct control. By 1980, however, the church authorities began to speak out against government repression and the impoverishment of the Haitian masses.

Because of the years of severe repression against political parties, trade unions, student and peasant organizations, and other independent groups that made it very difficult if not impossible for them to function openly, the church became a central vehicle for organizing protests against Duvalier. Some of the clergy became prominent anti-Duvalier spokespeople. This also made the church a target of Macoute violence.

Even some elements of the capitalist

class, who saw profits to be made in encouraging more U.S. investment as well as in developing some Haitian-owned industry, were frustrated by the extent of the arbitrary acts and parasitic functioning of the government. Roads, schools, adequate supplies of food and water — all were necessary to expand industrial production. These businessmen began to feel the need to end the worst corruption and give those who weren't part of the Duvalier clique a voice in government.

The U.S. administration of President James Carter, elected in 1976, put pressure on Duvalier to clean up at least some of the most blatant violations of human rights in order to make it easier to continue giving Haiti massive amounts of aid — and in order to head off possible revolutionary developments.

Duvalier 'liberalizes' the dictatorship

Faced with these pressures, Duvalier and his U.S. backers announced, with much fanfare, a "liberalization" in 1977.

Political parties, a free press, elections, union activity, an end to corruption, and freedom for political prisoners were proclaimed the order of the day.

Nothing, however, would be allowed to threaten Duvalier's right to remain president-for-life, and the regime intended that the reforms should remain largely on paper. Political repression was lessened, not ended.

Under the impact of international events, and with this political opening, a new generation of young activists emerged in Haiti. Small left-wing groups developed — though they remained underground.

The United Party of Haitian Com-

munists (PUCH), which was formed two decades earlier from a series of splits and regroupments in the workers' movement, was among those that functioned clandestinely.

Workers began to fight for higher wages and to organize unions. The labor federation, Independent Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), was organized openly in May 1980.

Newspapers and radios reported on the misery of the peasants and the unemployed, criticized the corruption and repression of the government, and began to discuss solutions to Haiti's problems. Two small capitalist opposition parties — the Christian Democratic Party and Social Christian Party — were organized, the first open parties since 1957.

Some political prisoners were released — the first ever under the Duvalier dictatorship. The Haitian League for Human Rights was founded by Gérard Gourgue to expose repression and torture.

The rigidity of the Duvalier system was such that even this small opening posed a threat to the whole ruling structure. On Nov. 28, 1980, hundreds of labor and student activists, journalists, and political leaders were arrested. Many were tortured and beaten. Some were expelled from the country; others were thrown into Duvalier's prisons.

The unions were broken up, their supporters driven underground or arrested. Workers lost their jobs for suspected union sympathies. Outspoken newspapers and radio stations were closed.

A severe economic crisis hit Haiti after 1980. The worldwide recession brought

Continued on next page

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La dynamique de la Révolution cubaine par Fidel Castro

How Haitians got free from tyranny

Continued from previous page

Haiti's small industrial expansion to a halt. The combination of a hurricane, drought, and epidemic of swine fever had a devastating effect on the already severely reduced agricultural production. The country's bauxite reserves gave out, ending mining operations in 1982. Tourism declined sharply.

By 1985, according to the report of the Pax Christi International mission, 50 percent of agricultural laborers and 65 percent of industrial workers were unemployed. Ten percent of the entire population lived by begging.

Duvalier's response was to call for more foreign aid and borrow heavily from U.S. and European banks. Grants and loans to the government increased from \$80 million in 1980 to \$120 million in 1984. This amounted to one-half the government's annual budget.

Haiti's foreign debt to imperialist bankers grew from \$266 million in 1980 to \$494 million in 1984.

Duvalier's marriage

In 1980, Duvalier married Michèle Bennett. She was the daughter of Ernest Bennett, a wealthy businessman whose interests included coffee and cocoa exports and importing a wide range of goods, including luxury cars. This brought a new group of capitalists into the dynasty.

The Bennetts were part of the layer of Haitian businessmen who are mulattoes. Five percent of Haiti's population is mulatto, or lighter-skinned. They tend, on the whole, to be economically better off than the Black Haitian majority.

The marriage led to some frictions between the large Black landowners who traditionally were the Duvaliers' base of support and the Bennetts.

Ernest Bennett used his relationship to the dictator to shove aside competitors and enrich himself at the expense of other importers and capitalists.

Michèle Bennett — like Imelda Marcos of the Philippines — became a hated symbol of the corruption and extravagance of the regime. Haiti was rife with stories about the "First Lady's" obscenely expensive shopping trips to Europe.

Duvalier's growing isolation

Despite the brutality with which the "liberalization" was abruptly brought to an end, Duvalier could not keep the lid on things indefinitely. As Haiti's economic crisis worsened and his isolation increased, more sectors of the population were beginning to draw the conclusion that Duvalier must go. And they were beginning to gain the confidence to act on their convictions.

Priests and nuns began to organize Christian base communities among the peasants and city poor, which had as one of their purposes social and political action to improve the lives of the Haitian people.

The Catholic hierarchy issued statements condemning the arrests of 1980 and protested subsequent repression against church, labor, and political activists. Radio Soleil, the Catholic church radio station, became a widely listened to voice of opposition to Duvalier.

In March 1983, Pope John Paul II visited Haiti. The pope publicly rebuked the government for "the injustice, the excessive inequality, the degradation of the quality of life, the misery, the hunger, the fear of many people" in Haiti. His declaration that "it is indeed necessary that things change" encouraged many church activists to step up their political involvement.

In the biggest wave of arrests after the 1980 crackdown, some 20 businessmen and professionals, most of them of Middle Eastern origin, were arrested in August 1982. They were questioned about some clandestine anti-Duvalier activities that had occurred. But the main reason for the arrests was that a layer of capitalists was beginning to openly denounce the corruption and incompetence of the government.

The previous month, economic affairs minister and former World Bank official Marc Bazin had been ousted from his office after trying for five months, under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, to end some of the most glaring financial irregularities of the Duvalier administration.

In 1984 the public protests exploded in a qualitatively new way, explicitly raising the idea of overthrowing Duvalier.

Gonaïves takes the lead

In May 1984 a popular rebellion broke out in Gonaïves against army brutality. Demonstrations demanded: "Down with Duvalier! Down with hunger! Down with misery!" Some 2,000 people from Gonaïves signed an open declaration calling for free presidential elections.

A group of mothers from Pétionville, a well-to-do suburb of Port-au-Prince, signed a public appeal supporting the Gonaïves declaration. They stated they were willing to risk their lives to "liberate our country from the empire of evil."

Alongside these public protests, small, clandestine groups distributed leaflets, exposing the crimes of the regime and calling for its overthrow.

These protests spread to other cities and parts of the countryside. Peasants demanded the return of land stolen from them. Angry crowds sacked food warehouses and government buildings before Duvalier's troops and Macoutes restored control.

In February 1985 tens of thousands of young people marched in demonstrations organized by the Catholic church as part of International Youth Year. They called for a better future for young people. In some cities, these actions also openly called for Duvalier's overthrow.

Opposition continued to mount. The Nov. 28, 1985, murder of three students by Duvalier's soldiers in Gonaïves unleashed the wave of anger and protests that finally forced Duvalier to flee the country Feb. 7, 1986.

Capitalists unprepared

Nobody was less prepared for Duvalier's exodus than the capitalists in Haiti and their backers in Washington. The mass upsurge that forced the Duvaliers to jump ship also did away with the Tontons Macoutes and destroyed much of the old government apparatus in towns and villages around the country. Since the central government had mainly served as an instrument of repression and robbery on Duvalier's behalf, the ouster of Duvalier and his cronies left a vacuum of governmental power, institutions, and authority.

The Haitian ruling class did not have time to organize an orderly transition. There was no credible bourgeois opposition party or politicians ready to be put in Duvalier's place. And Duvalier's departure fueled, rather than dampened, the rise of mass mobilizations and political organizations.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Haitian peasants near Gonaïves. Crisis in countryside can only be resolved by thoroughgoing agrarian reform and emergency measures to stop soil depletion.

Duvalier named a six-member, military-dominated National Council of Government as he was running out the door. But this could only be a holding operation, until something substantial could be put together.

Its instability was displayed rather rapidly. A wave of antigovernment demonstrations and strikes led to the collapse of the Duvalier-appointed junta on March 21. The army immediately designated a three-person council as its replacement. The new ruling body included Gen. Henri Namphy and Col. William Regala, the two remaining members of the first junta and high-ranking officers under Duvalier. The third member is Jacques François, an elderly Haitian diplomat.

Since then, however, even this arrangement has begun to disintegrate. The government has barely functioned except to make a few feeble proclamations of its good intentions and to repress demonstrations when the high command feared things might get totally out of control.

'Operasyon Dechoukay'

The popular uprising that drove out Duvalier is known in Haiti as *Operasyon Dechoukay* — Operation Uproot. Most Haitians want to continue this uprooting so they can make the fundamental changes necessary to develop their country in their own interests.

A central demand of the Haitian people is for an elected, civilian government to draft a new, democratic constitution. To elect a constituent assembly that really reflects the will of the people will require the legalization of all political parties, universal suffrage, the right of every exile to return home, and the unrestricted freedom to debate and discuss political ideas.

Because of the lack of any government initiative on burning social questions, private citizens have begun to jump into the breach. The Catholic bishops have announced they are organizing a literacy campaign — in Creole, the language spoken by all Haitians. Some 80 percent of Haiti's people can't read or write. The literacy campaign has gotten an enthusiastic response from Haitian students, many of whom plan to participate in the project.

Businesspeople, religious figures, and others have organized Konbit Solidarité — a national and international effort to raise money to rebuild the schools that were destroyed in the anti-Duvalier fight. Tens of thousands of Haitians have donated money and are helping to organize the collection.

Radio Soleil has called on youth around the country to form neighborhood committees to deal with the problems facing the workers and unemployed who live in urban slums. These committees are being formed and have begun to organize people to clean up the streets.

Crisis in countryside

How to solve the crisis in the countryside is now being broadly discussed in Haiti. Many peasants have begun to take

back lands stolen from them by Macoutes. The large farms owned by big landowners — many of which lay idle — could be a source of much-needed fertile land for many poor peasants and agricultural workers. Small peasants also need irrigation, credit, tools, fertilizer, and better prices for their products, as well as food, drinking water, schools, medical care, and electricity. And a top priority of Haiti's government will have to be an emergency effort to halt and reverse the erosion of the soil.

In the cities, especially Port-au-Prince, emergency jobs, food, and housing are desperately needed.

One of the most deeply felt grievances against the post-Duvalier ruling council is its failure to prosecute even a single one of Duvalier's henchmen for their crimes, which range from murder and torture to robbery and extortion. The demand to bring these thugs to justice is a popular one in Haiti today.

Within the struggle of the entire Haitian nation to develop after decades of Duvalierism, the independent organization of the workers and peasants — the only social classes that have the power and interest to free Haiti from imperialist domination and wretched poverty — is crucial. This is a right that has not yet been won.

Initial strikes and union-organizing efforts have been sometimes met with firings and other victimizations by the bosses and repression by the military. Duvalier's law that makes it a crime punishable by death to be a communist is still on the books.

To finance both emergency food and medical aid, as well as longer-run projects, the imperialist bankers should cancel Haiti's debt. The borrowed money was largely appropriated by the Duvalier elite. Payments on the principal and interest simply transfer wealth created by Haiti's workers and peasants into the pockets of U.S. and West European businessmen.

And Washington, which propped up Duvalier and organized his getaway, should help the Haitian people recover the money he stole and still holds on to.

In addition, the U.S. government should provide massive emergency food and medical aid to the Haitian people with no strings attached. This would simply be a small repayment for the billions that U.S. profiteers have stolen from this nation over the decades.

Washington, instead, has rushed emergency military aid to Haiti's generals, while maintaining a massive military presence in the Caribbean. The Haitian people don't need — and don't want — U.S. military intervention in their country — in any form.

The Haitian people, in their millions, are beginning to write a new chapter in the history of their country and of the Caribbean. Washington opposes and fears their entry onto the political stage. All opponents of U.S.-backed war and repression in the Americas, however — from Nicaragua to Grenada to the United States — have been encouraged and inspired by the struggle of their Haitian brothers and sisters.

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George Breitman: lifelong socialist

Nearly five decades in revolutionary struggle for world socialism

BY MALIK MIAH

George Breitman, who had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party for 46 years, died of a heart attack in New York on April 19. He was 70 years old.

Breitman was first attracted to the socialist movement in the mid-1930s. After leaving high school in Newark, New Jersey, Breitman enlisted in the Civilian Conservation Corps — a government agency for youth, especially unemployed youth. He spent a year in Alabama working on the building of a fire tower.

Upon his return to Newark in 1935, after coming to the conclusion that he wanted to fight for a better society, Breitman joined the Spartacus Youth League. The League was a youth group in political solidarity with the Workers Party, a forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party. A few months later, he joined the Workers Party.

In the 1930s he was a leader of the Workers Alliance of America, an organization based on the unemployed and Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers, who worked on government-sponsored jobs. He was New Jersey state organization secretary of the alliance.

While leading an important Workers Alliance-organized struggle in Burlington County, New Jersey, in 1936, Breitman was arrested for allegedly inciting to riot. The charges were later dropped.

Delegate to founding SWP convention

In the spring of 1936 the Workers Party dissolved and its members joined the Socialist Party, in which a substantial left wing was developing. The Newark branch of the SP, which Breitman joined, was led by left-wing forces.

In July 1937 the Socialist Party leadership bureaucratically expelled all the left-wing branches, including Newark.

On Dec. 31, 1937-Jan. 3, 1938, the expelled left-wing branches of the Socialist Party held a convention in Chicago. That convention launched the Socialist Workers Party.

Breitman attended the founding SWP convention as a delegate from Newark and served on the Credentials Committee and Unemployed Commission.

At the 1939 convention he was elected to the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. He remained a member of the national committee until 1981.

Breitman carried out many tasks in his long service to the revolutionary movement. This included being elected by the branch executive committee to serve as branch organizer for the SWP in Newark and Detroit on several occasions between 1935 and 1967.

The Detroit branch executive committee, which Breitman was a member of, placed special importance on organizing weekly Militant Labor Forums and running professional socialist election campaigns to get out the party's views.

While in Detroit, he worked for a number of years as a proofreader for the Detroit *Free Press* and was a member of the International Typographical Union.

Breitman was initially assigned to the editorial staff of the *Militant* in 1941.

That year, the government indicted 28 leaders of the SWP and Teamsters General Drivers Local 544 in Minneapolis. The defendants were charged with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence under the recently passed Smith Act for their opposition to World War II and U.S. government preparations to enter the war. Teamsters' President Daniel Tobin joined with the government in attacking the democratically elected local union leadership.

Eighteen defendants were convicted. They were sentenced to prison Dec. 8, 1941, the day Washington declared war on Japan.

It was in this context that the party leadership asked Breitman, who was then Newark branch organizer, to join the *Militant* staff. Because Felix Morrow, then editor of the paper, was one of the Smith Act defendants, Breitman soon became acting editor. In January 1942 he was named editor.

He remained editor until 1943 when he was drafted into the army. After the war,

he resumed the responsibilities of editor from 1949 until 1954.

Breitman's other editorial and writing responsibilities over the years included being assigned to the editorial staff of Pathfinder Press from 1969 until 1983. He was the editor, co-editor, or consulting editor on a number of writing projects.

Breitman was the main editor of the speeches and statements published by Pathfinder Press of Malcolm X, the Black revolutionary who was assassinated in 1965. This included editing the books *Malcolm X Speaks* and *By Any Means Necessary*. He also wrote *The Last Year of Malcolm X*.

Breitman was an editor of the series of Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky's 1929-1940 writings. This project included 12 volumes and two supplementary books. He also helped prepare many of the volumes of letters, speeches, and articles of James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the SWP.

In the 1970s, Breitman wrote an occasional column in the *Militant* on the publications of Pathfinder Press, as well as reporting on the progress of the Trotsky Writings series.

Fourth International

Breitman was also active in building the Fourth International, an organization of Marxist groups around the world, which the SWP played a major role in founding in 1938.

After being drafted, Breitman was sent to Europe by the army. Like other SWP members stationed abroad during the war, he sought to make contact with Fourth Internationalists. In much of Europe, revolu-

tionary Marxists had gone underground and joined the resistance against Nazi occupation.

Breitman arrived in France in June 1944 where he was able to participate in meetings of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International. The European Secretariat was an executive committee set up to coordinate work on a Europe-wide scale. Breitman attended the meetings as an observer. (The SWP, after the passage of reactionary legislation in 1940, was forced to disaffiliate from the Fourth International. The party maintained fraternal relations, however, including on a leadership level.)

In March 1946 Breitman attended a conference of the Fourth International in Paris as a fraternal delegate representing the SWP.

Breitman was elected to the new International Executive Committee, the leadership body of the International that was chosen at this conference.

He was nominated by the SWP for public office in a number of election campaigns. In 1940 he was chosen as the party's candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey. He campaigned nine other times for public office between 1940 and 1954.

Breitman also was active in many party defense efforts. This included the famous case of James Kutcher, a legless veteran, who was fired in 1948 from a clerical job at the Veterans Administration in Newark because of his socialist beliefs and membership in the SWP. After winning broad public support, Kutcher won his case and was reinstated to his job in 1956.

In 1981 Breitman was one of the SWP leaders called by the party to testify at the



George Breitman in army uniform during World War II. He was drafted in 1943.

trial of the lawsuit brought by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance against government spying, disruption operations, and harassment.

Breitman remained active in the SWP until January 1984 when he left the SWP as part of a split over political and organizational differences.

George Breitman will be remembered as a revolutionary who devoted his life to the struggle for socialism and for his many contributions to building the Socialist Workers Party for nearly five decades.

U.S. plans new moves against Libya

Continued from front page

Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn, who supported the bombing, was embarrassed by the assassination talk. He said it "raised serious questions about whether Congress and our allies were properly informed" about the purposes of the raid.

The efforts to legitimize assassination and use of troops, bombers, and hit squads against anyone the Reagan administration decides to call a terrorist shows that the government is using the war against Libya as a precedent for actions it would like to take against the Nicaraguan government and others that politically disagree with Washington's policies.

The U.S. rulers claim that civilians were not targeted. But a Voice of America broadcast warned the Libyan people that Washington held them "collectively responsible" for their government's actions.

Reports from Benghazi, Libya's second largest city, indicate that civilians were as hard hit in the savage bombing there as in the capital city of Tripoli.

The Benghazi Rehabilitation Center for the Disabled was hit by a bomb.

Twenty-four people died in Benghazi. Many, if not all, were civilians.

In Tripoli, a target described by Washington as a terrorist training center turned out to be a high school for naval cadets aged 13 to 17.

"The damage reporters were allowed to see today was heaviest," admitted the April 21 *Washington Post*, "at a building . . . that appeared fairly certainly to be a mess hall."

The attempt to terrorize the Libyan people into abandoning their support for the Qaddafi government against U.S. imperialism appears thus far to have failed. On April 18 a crowd of thousands rallied at a Tripoli cemetery to bury 20 of the bombing victims, four of them children. The coffins were draped in Libya's green flag as mourners chanted "Unity! Unity!"

"We are not afraid of the Air Force of America! We are not afraid of the 6th Fleet," said a funeral orator. "This storm will devastate imperialism."

The bombings have inspired outrage all over the world. (See pages 1 and 14.)

Except for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who allowed Washington to use U.S. bases in Britain as launching

pads for the attack, most European imperialist governments have criticized Washington's actions. This is a reflection of mass opposition in their own countries to the bombing. These governments also doubt that Washington's attacks on Libya will succeed in bringing down Qaddafi.

But the foreign ministers of the 12-member European Economic Community voted April 22 to restrict and reduce Libyan diplomatic missions. Only the Greek government publicly rejected the proposal. In Britain, 21 Libyan students were seized by police and ordered deported.

The government of François Mitterrand in France said April 22 that it had urged Washington to launch a bigger military move to topple Qaddafi. When the Reagan administration went ahead with its own plan, the French government claimed, it decided to bar use of its air space to the U.S. bombers.

The actions of the European governments against Libya are helping Washington set the stage for another military attack on Libya.

Despite worldwide protests, "Washington plans to keep U.S. naval forces off the Libyan Coast," reported the April 28 *Newsweek*. "For now, they will probe Qaddafi's air defenses . . . but they will also be poised for another assault. Reagan's military planners are reviewing targets for a second strike inside Libya."

As part of preparing further attacks on Libya, the U.S. and British governments and the big-business media are attempting to blame Qaddafi for the deaths of two of the three hostages recently killed in Lebanon and the alleged attempt to plant a bomb on a plane in London, even though there is no evidence to support the claim.

The *Washington Post* published what it said was the "irrefutable" evidence that Washington claimed to have, proving that Qaddafi had planned the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin discotheque in which two people, one of them a U.S. soldier, died.

The so-called proof consisted of brief disjointed quotations supposedly from intercepted messages between the Libyan diplomatic mission in East Berlin and the Libyan government. In one, the mission purportedly told Tripoli April 4 that it "will

be very happy when you see the headlines tomorrow." In the second, according to the *Post*, the mission said that something was "happening now." Correspondent Bob Woodward admitted that the messages were "somewhat ambiguous." In fact, they prove nothing.

The April 23 *New York Times*, however, quoted U.S. officials as saying that the quotations cited in the *Post* were either inaccurate or nonexistent and refusing to supply the actual wording. The officials interviewed differed among themselves about what the supposed Libyan messages said.

Like the U.S.-organized terrorist war against Nicaragua, the bloody attacks on Libya demonstrate once again that the U.S. government is the world's number one terrorist. The real cause of the conflict between the U.S. and Libyan governments is the Libyan people's refusal to accept U.S. imperialist domination.

Before the Qaddafi regime came to power in 1969, Libya was firmly under Washington's thumb. A monarchy had been imposed on the country by U.S., French, and British imperialism, and the vast bulk of the country's oil wealth flowed out of the country and into the coffers of big foreign-owned oil companies. Since Qaddafi came to power, the Libyan people have increased their living standards and expanded health care, education, and housing.

In a speech a week before the U.S. bombing raid, Maj. Abdul Salam Jalloud, an important figure in the Libyan government, stated:

"The United States fights us because we say no to the United States and because we defy the United States and because we do not kneel."

An April 23 statement by Qaddafi highlighted some of the issues on which Libyans dare to express views opposed to those of the imperialists.

"We will continue to fight imperialism until peace returns to the Earth," Qaddafi said.

"We will fight America in a single trench with the besieged people of Nicaragua until America lifts its hands from them and lifts its hand from Palestine, South Africa, and Angola."

Raid on Libya sparks world protests

BY WILL REISSNER

Throughout the world the U.S. bombing of Libya on April 15 has been met with protests.

In Italy, more than 100,000 people rallied in Rome and 80 other cities on April 16. A second wave of demonstrations took place on April 19, as 10,000 people took to the streets in Rome and 15,000 more in Milan.

In Khartoum, Sudan, 10,000 gathered on April 16 to protest the bombing attack on neighboring Libya. Sudan had recalled its ambassador to Washington as a protest against the attack.

In Barcelona, Spain, police reported that 10,000 people took part in a demonstration April 20 at the U.S. consulate. Protesters chanted slogans against British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as well as Reagan.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, an April 17 demonstration that included students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America took place at the U.S. embassy.

In the Philippines, in Manila, a chanting crowd of about 1,000 people demonstrated in front of the U.S. embassy on April 18. "If the U.S. can do it to Libya, it can do it to the Philippines," a speaker warned the protesters.

The U.S. embassy in Lagos, Nigeria, was closed to the public after students there protested the U.S. attack on Libya, according to Lagos radio.

In Warsaw, Poland, Arab students demonstrated at the U.S. mission.

In Tunis, Tunisia, demonstrators staged protests April 16 and 17 against the Tunisian government's refusal to condemn the U.S. raid on neighboring Libya. Hundreds gathered in downtown streets April 16 to vent their rage at what they described as a "cowardly regime — accomplices of the Americans."

All five of Tunisia's opposition political parties supported the anti-Reagan protests.

More than 50,000 people marched on the U.S. embassy in Athens, Greece, on April 15 in a protest organized by the Greek Student Federation, the country's two Communist parties, and several labor federations. Marchers also called for the withdrawal of U.S. military bases from that country.

On the Greek island of Crete, site of

large U.S. military bases, a long caravan of cars and motorcycles staged a seven-mile horn-blowing protest, and demonstrators gathered in front of a missile range to hang and then burn an effigy of President Reagan.

In Vienna, Austria, 4,000 demonstrators also burned an effigy of Reagan on April 19.

In Cairo, 100 Egyptian lawyers burned U.S., British, and Israeli flags to protest the U.S. bombing raid.

In Pakistan, where the Reagan government is very unpopular due to its support for the dictatorial regime of Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, thousands took part in demonstrations in Lahore, Karachi, and other cities.

In West Germany demonstrations took place in more than 50 cities on the night of the U.S. air strikes against Libya, and larger actions were mounted the following day, April 16.

On April 19 up to 80,000 people took to the streets in West Germany with the largest marches taking place in Berlin and Hamburg. Many protests took place in small cities and towns where no previous organizing had taken place for the peace movement or anti-imperialist struggles.

Protests and demonstrations have also taken place in Israel, Argentina, Puerto Rico, Ireland, the Dominican Republic, and many other countries.



April 16. Some of the 100,000 demonstrators who took to the streets in Italy that day to protest U.S. aggression against Libya.

Britain: rallies hit bombing of Libya

Continued from front page

"Thatcher is the Real Conspirator" were everywhere.

At 4:00 p.m. the protesters moved off to link up with a rally in Hyde Park addressed by CND leaders, Labour Party Member of Parliament Tony Benn, and others.

On route the march passed Oxford Street, the city's main shopping thoroughfare, and there it stopped. For over two hours demonstrators blockaded the thoroughfare as traffic backed up for miles in both directions.

Police could not bring up transport to conduct mass arrests, so they decided to

clear the peaceful demonstrators by force alone. Shocked witnesses saw police haul protesters out by their hair, ears, or necks and kick and punch them.

At 5:30 p.m. the police tried to move buses through the traffic. The driver of the front bus refused to move the vehicle on the grounds that the streets were not clear and it was a danger to public safety to drive forward.

A policeman climbed into the driver's seat but could not work the controls. Then, as demonstrators jeered the police, the driver disconnected the spark plugs and fuel feed and walked off.

Demonstrations also took place in most of the major cities in Britain, the largest being in Manchester on April 19, where 5,000 people marched through the city

square on the initiative of the Greater Manchester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

National Union of Mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill, at a meeting of 1,000 people in South Wales, blasted the U.S. use of military bases in Britain "to bomb cities and towns in a foreign country on the pretext that they were challenging state terrorism." The April 18 meeting was organized by Women Against Pit Closures.

Scargill argued that U.S. financing of counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua shows that Reagan and his administration "are past masters in state terrorism." He declared that "the Labour Party, within 24 hours of taking office, should tell the United States to take its filthy bases and nuclear weapons back to their own country." **From Intercontinental Press**

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' covers Hormel strike

Austin, Minnesota, city cops, along with sheriffs' deputies from counties across the state, attacked striking meatpackers and their supporters at the main gate of the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant on April 11. Seventeen people were arrested, some badly beaten, and the peaceful crowd of 400 protesters was teargassed.

Among those on hand to back the strike were unionists from as far away as Bath, Maine, and Portland, Oregon. Striking cannery workers from Watsonville, California, and TWA flight attendants also came. About 30 farmers from Missouri participated in the protest, as did students — some as young as 12.

As the cops approached, protesters chanted: "Go home, scab patrol!" and "Hormel company, have you heard? This is not Johannesburg."

Perspectiva Mundial staff writer Paco Sánchez was on the scene for the April 9-12 national actions called to build solidarity with the eight-month-long strike against Hormel.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* also has coverage of the April 12 demonstration of 6,000 in support of the strike.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of

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Gran acto de solidaridad con huelguistas de la Hormel

EU lanza acto de guerra criminal contra Libia

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Emergency actions in Seattle, Detroit

BY KAREN RAY HORNER

SEATTLE — Chanting, "Hey, hey, Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam," and "Yes to diplomacy, no to confrontation," more than 300 demonstrators gathered at the Federal Building here April 18 to protest the U.S. bombing of Libya.

Speakers from different antiwar, religious, Palestinian rights, and community organizations addressed the crowd. They reflected different views on the situation in Libya, but all were strongly opposed to Washington's aggression.

Nan McMurray, Seattle coordinator of the Pledge of Resistance, said, "We have come together to express our collective outrage at the senseless and barbaric attack on the Libyan people. Where is our respect for law and justice?"

A group of high school students attended the rally from the Northwest School and carried a banner that said, "U.S. hands off Libya." Other signs read, "No contra aid, U.S. out of Libya" and "Negotiate, don't annihilate."

Earlier in the day, the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the War on Libya, which organized the picket line and rally, held a press conference at the offices of the Church Council of Greater Seattle. Fourteen religious and community organizations spoke out against the April 14 bombing of Libya.

Dr. William Pate, director of the Church Council, slammed "the bully image we are nurturing in our foreign policy, first in Grenada and Nicaragua, and now in Libya."

Organizations that helped form the ad hoc committee were the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Pledge of Resistance; North-

west Action for Peace, Jobs, and Justice; Peace and Solidarity Alliance; November 29 Committee for Palestine; and the Socialist Workers Party.

There were two other demonstrations organized earlier in the week to protest the U.S. war drive.

On Wednesday, April 16, a group of students from Bellevue Community College organized a picket line at the Federal Building to protest the attacks on Libya.

On Monday, April 14, there was a rally of more than 300 at the Federal Building to protest the contra aid vote that had been scheduled in Congress that week. Minutes after the rally began, word came that Washington had just bombed Tripoli. Rally participants were outraged, and some speakers addressed this latest war move.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, a leading Nicaragua solidarity activist, linked the bombing of Libya to the U.S.-backed contra war on Nicaragua and explained that the real terrorists are in the White House.

DETROIT — Nearly 60 antiwar activists defied a chilling rain to protest the U.S. government's terrorist attack on Libya April 15.

Chanting "Stop the U.S. terrorist bombing, hands off Libya" and "Reagan is the real terrorist," the pickets received encouraging honks from passing motorists. Most of the local press attended.

Among the participants were members of All Peoples Congress, Witness for Peace, National Organization for an American Revolution, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers Party.

Cromwell, English revolution, and Ireland

His role in history and negative consequences of Irish massacre

BY FRED FELDMAN

Recent issues of the *Militant* have published several letters on Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the English revolution that began in 1642.

Cromwell's role was well summarized by reader Derrick Morrison in a letter published in the April 11 *Militant*. Morrison pointed out that Cromwell led the struggle that broke the political power of the British monarchy "and in its place established the rule of another class — the bourgeois landowners and merchants. The revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie allied themselves with and relied upon the small peasants and urban artisans to accomplish this earthshaking task."

Letters from other readers, however, stressed Cromwell's bloody suppression of the Irish people at the end of the 1640s.

This article will take a brief look at the important accomplishments of the English revolution, Cromwell's role in that historic struggle, and the negative consequences of the massacre in Ireland not only for the Irish people but for the social and economic progress in England in the centuries since the revolution.

The English revolution

The English revolution began as a struggle against the absolute monarchy and the established hierarchy of the Church of England. These institutions defended a powerful section of Britain's landed nobility, which upheld many feudal practices and traditions that obstructed capitalist development and social and political progress.

Opposition to these reactionary institutions was voiced in Parliament, especially in the House of Commons, by representatives of the landowning gentry — who were increasingly engaged in agricultural production for the capitalist market — and of the urban merchants. These emerging bourgeois forces used their increasing power to block the monarchy's access to monies needed to carry out its policies.

In 1642 King Charles I took up arms to crush Parliament and maintain the absolute monarchy. The civil war began.

Oliver Cromwell, part of the rural gentry, was one of the most radical representatives of the landowners and merchants who were seeking to put an end to the absolute power of the monarchy.

In a three-year civil war, he helped lead to victory the forces opposing the king. By relying on the mobilization of rural toilers and urban artisans also discontented with conditions under the monarchy, Cromwell forged a revolutionary fighting force that became known as the New Model Army.

The fate of the monarchy remained undecided until 1649, when the King again waged war against the bourgeois-led forces.

Although Cromwell had until then favored a constitutional monarchy, he led the forces that purged Parliament of those who favored compromise with the king and defeated the royal troops in battle.

King Charles was tried and executed. The monarchy and the House of Lords — the bastion of reaction in Parliament — were abolished. A new exploiting class — the capitalist landowners and merchants — had seized power from the monarchy and nobility. Cromwell governed in the interests of the new ruling class. A republic was proclaimed.

Economic and political gains

"As long as the Republic lasted," wrote Karl Marx in the first volume of *Capital*, "the mass of the English people of all levels rose from the degradation into which they had sunk. . . ."

The sale of the lands of the royal family, church, and monarchy; the removal of many restrictions on the sale and use of land; and the draining of swamps helped lay the groundwork for an agricultural revolution. Scientific research was encouraged.

Arbitrary secret trials conducted by the monarchy (the star chamber) were abolished. The revolution also advanced the struggle for religious freedom, freedom of the press, and other democratic rights.

The English revolution made possible an

explosive growth of merchant and agricultural capitalism over the subsequent 100 years and laid the foundation for the industrial revolution in the closing decades of the 18th century.

Massacre in Ireland

In 1649, Cromwell set out to crush a revolt in Ireland that had begun in 1641. This he did with extreme cruelty, massacring more than 30,000 people and selling thousands into slavery in the West Indies. Nearly 8 million acres of farmland were seized from the Irish people, the bulk being turned over to English settlers and absentee landlords.

In crushing Ireland, Cromwell acted ruthlessly in the interests of the landed capitalists who had supported the revolution. This new landed aristocracy expanded its wealth and power on the basis of the superexploitation of Irish tenants and farm workers and denial of Irish national rights. The landowning class also became the main obstacle to further social and economic progress in England.

Well into the second half of the 19th century, these landowners clashed not only with the interests of workers and farmers in Britain and Ireland, but also with those of the industrial capitalists in Britain, who emerged as a growing force in the late 1700s.

The massive power of this landed aristocracy

helped speed the restoration in 1660 (two years after Cromwell's death) of the monarchy under Charles II — son of the executed monarch. While the fundamental gains of the English revolution proved irreversible, the restoration (in a weakened form) of the monarchy and the established church created further barriers to a thoroughgoing bourgeois-democratic transformation of English social and political relations.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the cofounders of the modern communist workers' movement, had closely studied the development of English capitalism. When Marx wrote, "The English Republic under Cromwell met shipwreck in — Ireland," he was thinking not only of the obstacles that the new landed aristocracy came to present in Cromwell's time and over the subsequent century, but in Marx's own lifetime as well.

In the mid-1800s, for example, the landlords fought tooth and nail to defend the Corn Laws that kept food prices high in Britain and were a barrier to industrial development. And they were the most resolute force in opposing universal suffrage regardless of property holdings — a basic democratic right not won for men in Britain until 1884, and not for women until World War I.

"Reaction in England," Marx wrote,

Continued on Page 17



Oliver Cromwell

Street committees in South Africa

Continued from Page 9

Lingelihle should not be a vision of the future or an abstract ideal. It should be something real, something to give ordinary people the power to bring about changes."

Cradora, along with the Cradock Women's Organisation, divided Lingelihle into seven zones. About 40 activists were assigned to organize them. Meetings were held in every zone to elect leaders, with each household voting for a street representative. This resulted in the collapse of the regime's Lingelihle community council when all the council members resigned in November 1984.

Lingelihle's street committees survived the June 1985 death-squad killings of Goniwe and other key activists in the area. New leaders emerged to take their places.

Following the imposition of the state of emergency in the Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth areas in July 1985, street committees spread further through the Eastern Cape. The organizers chose not to publicize their existence for several months.

Then at a Dec. 16, 1985, meeting in Port Elizabeth — which coincided with the 24th anniversary of the launching of Umkhonto we Sizwe's armed struggle — the existence of the street committees was publicly announced. Some 1,000 residents of Black townships in the Eastern Cape gathered to elect area committee members from the ranks of the local street committees. Among the speakers was A. Peter, who had belonged to the ANC when it was still legal.

With varying degrees of organization, similar committees have since spread to other parts of the country, including Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, and Kagiso and Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg.

In Alexandra, 18 street committees had already been formed by the end of January, with activists aiming to set up one for each of the township's 44 blocks. They established a central coordinating organization called the Alexandra Action Committee. A key role in Alexandra's street committees is played by Moses Mayekiso, a leader of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, an affiliate of the recently formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

In a January 8 address, ANC leader Oliver Tambo commented on the importance of such committees. "In some areas of our country," he said, "having destroyed the puppet organs of government imposed on us by the apartheid regime, we have reached the situation where even the enemy has to deal with the democratic forces as the legitimate representatives of the

people. The establishment of people's power in these areas, however rudimentary and precarious, is of great significance for the further advancement of our struggle." (Full text of Tambo's speech is available in February 24 *Intercontinental Press*, \$1.25. See ad on page 6 for address.)

The 'comrades' organize

The March 3 *Sowetan*, a Black-run newspaper in Johannesburg, reported that all Black policemen, as well as community council members, have been driven out of Langa and KwaNobuhle townships, outside Uitenhage. "Because many activists are detained and subjected to alleged harassment once they become known to the police," the *Sowetan* reported, "community organisations have decided that street committees should run — more or less — the affairs of the townships. If a committee member is detained, another is selected to fill the vacuum. Anonymity is observed strictly."

These anonymous activists are commonly called the "comrades," or in the Eastern Cape by the Xhosa-language equivalent, *maqabane*. Most are in their teens and 20s.

Through the street committees, these "comrades" carry out a wide variety of activities. According to Mkhoseli Jack, a Port Elizabeth youth and community leader, "The street and area committees are addressing specific problems arising from our situation. The consumer boycott of white businesses was conceived at such a meeting and it lasted for four months. At the moment we are tackling the presence of cops in the area and the education problem. The rent issues will be discussed soon."

The "comrades" play a key role in organizing demonstrations, marches, and mass funerals for victims of police shootings. They spread the word about protest actions, serve as marshals, and warn of approaching police contingents. In preparation for a mass funeral in Alexandra in early March, they went door-to-door to collect money from residents to pay for the catering and other funeral expenses.

These activists likewise enforce township decisions on Blacks employed in Pretoria's local administration. "I was invited to quit," the Alexandra community council's public relations officer stated at a rally in March, "and I quit. As you know, when the comrades ask, you listen."

People's courts

"People's courts" have been set up in a number of townships to administer popular justice and to fill the vacuum left by the

flight of Black policemen. "Alexandra police station is no longer functioning and people say 'go and see the comrades,'" explained Patric Banda, a leader of the Alexandra Youth Congress.

Atteridgeville, outside Pretoria, now has 12 people's courts, with a higher appeals court known as the Advice Office. These courts hear criminal cases, matrimonial disputes, and cases involving alleged collaborators with the apartheid regime.

In Kagiso and Munsieville, according to a report in the Johannesburg *Sunday Star*, residents have commended the "comrades" for virtually eliminating rapes, murders, and similar serious misdeeds and "freely express gratitude for what they see as their sterling work."

In the townships where they function, the street committees and people's courts have also helped put a check to "necklace" executions, in which accused collaborators have a burning tire filled with gasoline put around them. Such methods have at times led to errors and abuses and unnecessarily antagonized sections of the township communities.

During the Alexandra mass funeral, two informers caught with tape recorders in their bags were saved from an angry crowd by a group of marshals, who let them off with a reprimand. In Atteridgeville, a resident charged with "furthering the aims of the police" was acquitted by a people's court when his wife produced evidence that he was not in fact a policeman.

The street committees, where they have become firmly established, have also served to draw into more organized activity the *amabuthu* (Xhosa for "warriors"), the loose groups of teenagers and preteenagers who are often in the forefront of clashes with the police. While generally supportive of the UDF and ANC, these *amabuthu* had nevertheless previously functioned largely outside the direct control of township organizations.

Above all, the street committees have provided a means for promoting greater popular participation in the freedom struggle. Activists use them to "conscientize" community residents, the common term for raising their political awareness.

"When we have conscientized them all," one activist in Alexandra told a reporter, "then at a word from us we can stop all these factories with a strike or cripple the shops with a consumer boycott. That is how the struggle is going to be fought."

"The people shall govern," another Alexandra militant stated. "The time has come for us to learn to govern ourselves." From *Intercontinental Press*

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

The up-front type — Jeffrey B. Sessions III, U.S. attorney in Mobile, Alabama, and Reagan's nominee for a federal judgeship,



Harry Ring

says the NAACP, among others, is "communist-inspired" and "un-American." He denies that he's "a closet racist."

Some dogs will eat anything — A new item in Britain is a rub-

ber toy for dogs to chew on which is shaped like Margaret Thatcher, with a nose like the Rock of Gibraltar. At a press demonstration, the maker's dog chewed happily on the likeness of the prime minister. Reporters were a bit startled when the dog growled and chomped off the head.

Free enterprise — The White House conceded that some *contras* have engaged in drug dealing, but insisted that it was done without authorization from superior officers.

His friends think so too — Edward Koch, mayor of the scandal-ridden Big Apple, enjoyed a declared income of \$285,000 last

year and says he's now worth better than \$600,000. "Let me tell you," the mayor cheerfully confided, "it's far better to be rich than to be poor."

A gymnast — Responding to critics of efforts by Vice-president George Bush to stem the drop in oil prices, Sen. David Durenberger advised: "George is as much on the side of the consumer as on the producer."

He's for everyone — Bush isn't just on the side of both producer and consumer. In a speech to U.S. oil operators in the Mideast, he warned that if oil prices weren't jacked up, some U.S. bankers might be hurt.

The march of civilization — In the old days, we fed nickels into Wurlitzer jukeboxes. Replicas are now being made, with a few modifications. One is that they accept dollar bills.

Our rational society — To reduce the "surplus" of milk in a hungry world, the federal government will spend \$1.8 billion over the next 18 months to have a million cows and calves slaughtered. Participating farmers are required to drop out of the dairy market for five years.

P.S. — We don't know how much meat you can afford to put on the table, but the government is

buying up beef to counter the "glut" (read "possible lower prices") resulting from the dairy herd cutback.

More to come — If you've recovered from the April 15 tax deadline trauma, you may be interested to know that 51.4 cents of each tax dollar went for military-related spending. According to Paul Murphy of Military Spending Research Services, by 1991 it will be 59 cents of each tax dollar.

Helps work off your hostilities — To a good degree, this column depends on clipping contributions from readers. We don't always get to send a thank-you note, but each item is much appreciated.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

May Day Picnic. Sun., May 4, 11 a.m. at the Joaquin Miller Park at Pinewood site. Donation: \$5. Ausp: California 1986 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Help Launch the Socialist Campaign. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D. and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., May 10, reception at 7 p.m., rally at 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers '86 Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

What's Behind U.S.-Israeli Warmaking in the Middle East, from Libya to Lebanon? A panel discussion. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Roots of War in the Middle East. Slideshow on Palestine. Speakers: Marianne McGuire, *Sada Alwatan* newspaper; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 1st C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 27, 4 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

U.S. Hands Off Libya! Speaker: Jim Foster, Socialist Workers Party, Sun., April 27, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Report from El Salvador. Slide show by Don Gurewitz, attended convention of Salvadoran trade union federation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

May Day 1986: Workers on the Picket Line from Austin to Albany. A report on strike of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. Video showing of *We're Not Gonna Take It*. Also, report by Albany strike activists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Celebrating 100 Years of May Day. Films: *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* and *We're Not Gonna Take It*, on the strike by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. Fri., May 2, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Protest U.S. War on Libya and Nicaragua. Panel discussion. Sun., April 27, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

End U.S. War Against Libyan People Now! Speakers: Scott Ware, member Socialist Workers Party; representative of National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., April 26, 7 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Solidarity With Hormel Strikers. Eyewitness

reports from April 11 shutdown of Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota. Speakers: Robbe Fisher, shop steward, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 402-T; Marc DeBouvois, member International Association of Machinists Local 63; Becky Ellis, representative of Socialist Workers Party and member of ACTWU. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Boycott Hormel! Hear a reportback from Austin, Minnesota, labor solidarity action and see the videotape *We're Not Gonna Take It*. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Price

A Grand Opening for Pathfinder Books. Featuring an eyewitness report on United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9 strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. Sat., May 3, Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Room 19. Donation: \$2. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

End Washington's War Against Libya Now! Speakers: Debbie Sullivan, student at Bellevue Community College; Chris Horner, Socialist Workers Party and member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002; Palestine Human Rights Campaign representative; November 29 Coalition for Palestine representative. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Labor Fights Back: United Food and Commercial Workers P-9 on Strike Against Hormel. Eyewitness report from April 12 national solidarity rally in Austin, Minnesota. A panel discussion, including P-9 members. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Hands Off Libya! Speaker: Dave Salner, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D. Sat., April 26, 7 p.m. 611-A Tennessee Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.



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'The Tunnels of Cu Chi: Untold Story of Vietnam'

The Tunnels of Cu Chi: The Untold Story of Vietnam. By Tom Mangold and John Pencyate. 291 pages, hard cover. \$19.95. Random House, New York, 1985.

BY STEVE PATT

The U.S. carpet-bombing, the Tet offensive, the fall of Saigon April 30, 1975 — most of our memories of the war in Vietnam are of the grand-scale events that took place in full view of the world. But while we watched those events on the evening news, other equally significant developments were taking place hidden from view. *The Tunnels of Cu Chi* tells the story of the extraordinary group of Vietnamese people who spent years at a time living in tunnels in the Vietnamese countryside, emerg-

BOOK REVIEW

ing to fight for the liberation of their country from the U.S. invaders and then submerging once again, waiting for the next opportunity.

The fighters of the Cu Chi district spent the war less than 20 miles from Saigon and at least some of the time lived literally underneath the U.S. invaders. The tunnels they lived in were flooded, gassed, dynamited, bulldozed, and bombed. Some of these attacks proved ineffectual, since the Vietnamese generally lived in the lower levels of multi-level tunnels, with airtight seals and water traps separating the different levels. Other attacks did succeed in destroying sections of the tunnels, but time after time the tunnels were rebuilt by the tenacious peasants and guerrilla fighters.

The conditions they faced were almost unimaginably bad, but incredibly, they were able to cook, eat, sleep, obtain medical care, give birth, and even attend theatrical performances in their underground world.

In the tunnels, one could find sewing machines, weapons "factories" complete with drill presses and forges, print shops complete with 1500-pound printing presses, or even a captured M-48 tank!

The tunnels were central to the military operations of the Vietnamese fighters. An excerpt from a Vietnamese guide to constructing tunnels, which lays out a blueprint for trapdoor construction, gives an idea just how seriously this job was taken: "With boards 1 centimeter thick and 2-3 centimeters wide, make two frames, one with

horizontal boards and the other with vertical boards. Insert a nylon sheet between the two frames, which later will be glued together. Cover it with sponge rubber and fill all openings with wax." The sides were also beveled to withstand pressure.

The Tunnels of Cu Chi is above all the story of the people who lived and fought in the tunnels. We learn about the thousands upon thousands of peasants who dug miles of tunnels at a rate of a few feet of tunnel per person each day and who sometimes had to carry the soil away pound by pound in crocks covered with fish sauce in order to avoid excess concentrations of freshly dug earth, which might expose the tunnel locations.

We meet the fighters of the tunnels, men like Capt. Nguyen Thanh Linh, commander of the Cu Chi Battalion, and Major Nguyen Quot, who once lived five months underground without a break, and women like Vo Thi Mo, a 17-year-old deputy platoon leader of an all-female guerrilla company.

Countless acts of bravery in the face of overwhelming odds are carried out by these fighters and others like them. But the story we are reading is reality, not a romantic novel, and we can never forget that 12,000 guerrillas and civilians lost their lives in Cu Chi district during the war. They were among the more than 1 million Vietnamese who died in the war, along with 56,000 U.S. GIs.

A wide variety of people inhabited the tunnels of Cu Chi. Pham Sang was an entertainer who sang revolutionary songs to the guerrillas and civilians underground while Bob Hope entertained U.S. troops less than two miles away. Vien Phuong was a writer and poet who spent the war in those tunnels. Perhaps the most inspiring story in the book is that of Dr. Vo Hoang Le, the tunnel surgeon who today heads the military hospital in Ho Chi Minh City.

Largely self-trained, Dr. Le was forced by circumstances to perform brain surgery with a mechanic's drill and amputations without anesthetics. ("If a patient could not endure the pain, he might die of shock, but we had to take that 50-50 chance: if we amputated, he had a 50 percent chance of survival; if we didn't, he was certain to die.")

After the Tet offensive in 1968, Le operated in flooded fields, up to his waist in water while his patient lay on a flat-bottomed boat. Incredibly, after receiving a chest wound which punctured his lung, Le runs from an ambush with his companions, then supervises while his

companions close his wound with a sewing needle, again without anesthetic.

The Tunnels of Cu Chi is not without its flaws. The book is poorly edited, with noticeable repetition of material. Politically, it suffers from the usual characteristic of books produced by "major" publishers — an attempt at "balance." A third of the book is devoted to a description of the U.S. "tunnel rats," the soldiers who specialized in destroying tunnels and the Vietnamese hiding within them. In their foreword, the authors claim that their book is about "heroes on both sides." But it seems unlikely that most readers will sympathize with the "tunnel rats," whose delight in murdering Vietnamese can only be described as psychopathic.

Among other weaknesses of the book, the authors describe the infamous Phoenix program at one point as an "intelligence campaign . . . that aimed to identify Communist cadres," although later they do reveal its real purpose — kidnapping and murder.

Despite its flaws, *The Tunnels of Cu Chi* is a book that will help teach its readers the true meaning of such words as courage and humanity. Dr. Vo Hoang Le sums up his view this way: "Military doctors in Vietnam are trained to fight and take command in battle. You should not be surprised that we doctors fought in the war. People have asked me: A doctor's profession is to save life; did not fighting and killing take away your humanity? This is how I see humanity. When enemies come to your country, destroy the countryside and your village, kill your countrymen, your comrades, and the defenseless wounded, you have to kill them and defend your compatriots; that is true humanity."

Although most of the events in this book took place more than 20 years ago, they carry an obvious relevance to events today. In El Salvador in particular, the U.S. government's strategy for military victory over the guerrillas shows a qualitative, if not yet quantitative, parallel with Vietnam. The creation of "free-fire" zones and the attempt to carry out as much as possible of the war from the air are but two of these parallels. And while the guerrillas do not appear to be using tunnels to the extent they were used in Vietnam, the tenacity and courage of the Salvadoran guerrillas in the face of U.S. military might are certainly comparable to that exhibited by their Vietnamese counterparts two decades earlier.

At a time when we must not forget the lessons of Vietnam, *The Tunnels of Cu Chi* is an inspiring reminder.

Cromwell, 1642 English revolution, and Ireland

Continued from Page 15

"had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland."

"Ireland," he explained on another occasion, "is the bulwark of the English landed aristocracy. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains its domination over England herself."

The limits of the English revolution were a product of the fact that this bourgeois upheaval occurred at a very early stage of the development of capitalism, both in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. The social and economic conditions for a more thorough-

going bourgeois-democratic revolution, such as that in France a century and a half later, were nonexistent.

In 17th century Britain, there was no modern industry, no industrial capitalist class, and no industrial proletariat — not yet even substantial small-scale manufacturing. When the industrial revolution began more than a century after the English revolution, the power of the landed aristocracy was so entrenched that it took another century for the industrial capitalists to establish their own political supremacy.

The consequences of Cromwell's crushing of Ireland were disastrous for that

country. "Ireland has been stunted in her development by the English invasion and thrown centuries back," wrote Engels in 1870.

As a result, Engels explained in 1890, the Irish "have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic. They are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic."

Marx and Engels became increasingly convinced in the second half of the 1800s that the struggle for Irish freedom was the key to prospects for the British workers' movement.

Marx wrote in 1869: "I have become more and more convinced — and the only question is to drive this conviction home to the English working class — that it can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship."

"And this must be done, not as a matter

of sympathy with Ireland," Marx wrote, "but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading-strings of the ruling classes, because it will have to join with them in a common front against Ireland."

"Every one of its movements in England herself is crippled by the strife with the Irish, who form a very important section of the working class in England. The prime condition of emancipation here — the overthrow of the English landed oligarchy — remains impossible because its position here cannot be stormed as long as it maintains its strongly entrenched outposts in Ireland."

The tasks that lay before the British working class and the Irish people in the 1800s — many of which still confront them today — do not negate the gigantic revolutionary accomplishments of the English bourgeois revolution, of which Oliver Cromwell was an outstanding leader.

All subsequent struggles for democracy and social justice rest in part on the achievements of the English liberation fighters of the mid-17th century.

South Africa's pass laws system

Continued from Page 3

The white rulers have used pass laws to repress Africans and other Blacks since the early days of the colonial plunder of South Africa. The first law was adopted in 1760 in order to prevent slaves from escaping. Since 1915, an estimated 18 million Africans have been arrested for violating those laws. The 1952 law, an even more repressive version, reflected the consolidation and extension of the apartheid system after 1948.

The regime shows no sign of giving up its attempts to control and restrict Blacks' movements in South Africa. On the contrary, it has promised to impose modified restrictions in the name of permitting only "orderly urbanization" of Africans. Africans who do not have permission to be in "white" South Africa are still subject to re-

pression, including forced removal to the Bantustans.

As an editorial in the February 3 Johannesburg *Star* pointed out, the new identification cards could serve the same purpose as the passbooks in enforcing restrictions on Africans. "This waste of time and money," they said of the proposal to require all South Africans to carry an identity card, "will serve no purpose and will not be seen as abolition of the pass laws until blacks can live and work in whatever town they prefer."

Anti-apartheid leader Desmond Tutu warned that the new legislation being prepared to replace the pass laws may have "a sting in the tail." Many Blacks remember that the 1952 pass laws were adopted under the name, "Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act."

Invaluable for anti-apartheid activists!

Latest

'New International'

The dynamics of revolution in South Africa is featured in the current issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Fighters against apartheid, in the United States and other countries, will find valuable material here in equipping themselves politically to carry on the struggle. Articles and speeches by: Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Cuba's President Fidel Castro; and Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*. Reprints South Africa's "Freedom Charter."

Send \$5 plus 75 cents handling and postage to New International, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Reagan links Nicaragua, Libya

President Reagan declared April 22 that the Nicaraguan government is "trying to build a Libya on our doorstep."

In a speech to the right-wing Heritage Foundation, Reagan said that the Sandinista government, like the Libyan government, "provided a refuge for all sorts of international terrorists."

Reagan's comments smearing Nicaragua and Libya as part of a "terrorist" conspiracy are aimed at bolstering his efforts to get Congress to authorize \$100 million in aid to the *contras*. Nicaragua, he said, is constructing a terrorist base at the very doorstep of the United States, "and it is the *contras*, the freedom fighters, who are stopping them."

Using the terrorism slander is part of Washington's political preparation for the escalation and regionalization of its dirty war against Nicaragua. The message is clear: we did it to Libya; you could be next.

Nicaragua has been singled out as a target for prolonged U.S.-organized aggression because almost seven years ago — on July 19, 1979 — the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship and opened the door to winning real national independence.

Having put in power a workers' and peasants' government, the Nicaraguan people have made great progress in breaking the grip of imperialism on their country and in bettering the lives of Nicaraguan working people.

Nicaragua's example has inspired the oppressed and exploited throughout Latin America and the world. This is why Washington refuses to peacefully coexist with Nicaragua and is instead determined to do whatever it can to overthrow Nicaragua's government.

In recent weeks, Washington has stepped up its use of U.S. military hardware and personnel in the war, using

the scam that Nicaragua "invaded" Honduras. The U.S. government is also attempting to involve the Honduran armed forces directly in the fighting between the *contras* and Nicaragua, a move that would expand the war.

Those Reagan brands as "terrorists" — the people of Nicaragua, liberation fighters in El Salvador, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Libyan people — do have one thing in common. They are fighting to wrest control of their lives and their countries from U.S. imperialist domination. And because of that, they are all victims of U.S. state terrorism.

Reagan is particularly incensed that oppressed people throughout the world are standing together against Washington.

"That picture making the rounds showing [Nicaraguan President] Daniel Ortega standing with Muammar Qaddafi and raising his fist in a gesture of solidarity is very much to the point," Reagan said.

It is indeed.

Such solidarity is urgently needed.

In Nicaragua, hundreds of thousands of people took part in demonstrations on April 16 denouncing the U.S. attack on Libya and Washington's war on Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge pointed out in a recent speech that Washington is capable of carrying out an attack against the Nicaraguan people just like it did against Libya. Borge called on all governments to denounce U.S. aggression against the Libyan people.

The April 19 antiwar march of 25,000 people in San Francisco was an inspiring show of solidarity and a measure of the breadth and depth of the opposition in this country to Washington's war moves. These moves need to be answered by a massive national protest action.

Prosecute racist gunman Goetz

The dismissal of murder and assault charges against Bernhard Goetz by a New York state appeals court on April 17 is a blow to the rights of Blacks and all working people.

Goetz cold-bloodedly gunned down four Black youths on a New York City subway Dec. 22, 1984, claiming they were trying to rob him. But eyewitnesses to the shooting pointed out the youths had threatened no one on the train. When they got to where Goetz was sitting, however, he opened fire. He then checked to make sure they were all hit. When he got to Darrel Cabey, he said, "You don't look so bad, here's another," and shot him again. As a result of the shooting, Cabey was paralyzed from the waist down.

Goetz later told reporters, "If I had more control, I would have held the gun to his head and blown his brains out."

Following this racist attack, a grand jury charged

Goetz only with illegal possession of weapons. The fact that he shot four people wasn't viewed as a crime — in fact he was portrayed as a hero in the capitalist news media and by city officials. Outrage, from the Black community especially, forced a second grand jury hearing to include charges against Goetz of assault and attempted murder.

Goetz' attorney claims his client is "totally vindicated" by the appeals court decision and says Goetz is planning to apply for a legal gun permit.

Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau says he will appeal the acquittal.

Turning this racist loose on the streets gives the green light to any similar bigots who want to shoot Blacks or anybody else they don't like.

Antiracist fighters and all defenders of democratic rights should protest this injustice and demand Goetz be convicted and jailed for his heinous attempt to snuff out the lives of four Black youths.

New round of social service cuts

State and local governments in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and other oil-producing states are carrying out savage attacks on medical care, education, child care, jobs, and other human needs and preparing bigger cuts.

The pretext for the cuts is declining tax revenues, a result of the rapid decline — from \$28 a barrel to \$14 over the last three months — in world oil prices.

The government of Oklahoma has stopped purchasing medicines for Medicaid patients or aiding families where the breadwinner is suffering a serious illness. Aid to Dependent Children payments have been slashed by 5 percent.

In New Orleans, the city government is considering shutting down all 11 branches of its public library system.

The state of Texas has abolished eye care for 110,000 people under Medicaid, stopped financing hearing aids for another 5,000, and placed a one-month cap on hospitalization.

New Mexico's government is slashing aid for children's nutrition, the handicapped, and the mentally ill.

Public education is also coming under attack in several states. And thousands of government jobs are being eliminated.

These moves are being made long before the full impact of the cuts in oil prices is felt. They are intended to establish a pattern for bigger cuts to come: any budget problems are to be resolved at the expense of working people, not at the expense of oil barons or other big

businessmen who lived high on the hog during the oil price boom.

These billionaires haven't stopped making profits, and hefty ones. But their profit rates have dipped some, and the state governments that serve them are demanding more sacrifice from working people as a consequence.

The change in oil prices is being used to further the nationwide drive by the ruling capitalist class to allow less to working people in wages, working conditions, and social services, so the ruling class can keep more for itself.

An article in the *New York Times* commented, "These states are now going through the same kind of austerity forced on Michigan, New York, and other Northern 'smokestack' states a decade ago when the price of oil skyrocketed."

Have the state and local governments in New York and other non-oil producing states reopened a single hospital or school that was shut down when oil prices soared, now that oil prices have plummeted? Are children, the sick, the elderly, and other needy people now getting the services that were taken from them on the pretext of the oil price hikes?

As every working person knows, to ask that question is to answer it. The capitalist politicians in New York and other states were lying then, and the capitalist politicians in Texas and other oil-producing states are lying now when they claim that oil price changes force them to deprive working people of vital social services.

25th anniversary of Cuban victory at Bay of Pigs

On April 17, 1961, a U.S. government-financed mercenary army was destroyed during an invasion of Cuba which was aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro. The invasion took place at Playa Girón on the Bay of Pigs.

The following are excerpts from an April 16, 1981, speech by Castro commemorating the 20th anniversary of that important victory for the Cuban revolution.

The speech is taken from the book *Our Power is That of the Working People*. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

from one of the bookstores listed in the directory on page 16. To order by mail, please send \$7.95 plus 75 cents for postage and handling. The excerpt is copyright © 1983 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.

We commemorate today a very important date, April 16, 1961. On an afternoon like this, sunny and clear, we gathered in a solemn, revolutionary mass ceremony to bury the combatants that had died during the cowardly, criminal, and treacherous air raid launched by surprise against the airports of Ciudad Libertad, San Antonio de los Baños, and Santiago de Cuba. A huge crowd of members of the militia and the people as a whole gathered that afternoon. It was on the eve of the mercenary attack on Playa Girón. It had taken many months to organize everything and all was ready: the mercenary troops, the air raids, the publicity, the propaganda, the cover-up. The whole thing was organized by the U.S. government, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Pentagon, but that wasn't being admitted publicly.

And no one knew what that struggle would cost, because if the mercenaries had not been defeated immediately, in less than 72 hours, thus preventing them from establishing a beachhead, with a solid territory in their hands and with a so-called provisional government which — as the dispatches said — would be immediately recognized by many governments, that struggle could have cost our country hundreds of thousands of lives. And yet our people did not hesitate; they got ready and struggled with all their might, struggled and shed their blood during those heroic days for the socialist revolution of Cuba.

Today we have tens of thousands of regular and reserve officers in our Revolutionary Armed Forces; today we have a degree of knowledge, experience, organization, and technical know-how we didn't have then. At that time we didn't have, as we have now, the hundreds of thousands of reservists who have served in our Revolutionary Armed Forces or the tens upon tens of thousands of internationalist fighters who have been through the experience of combat, war, and sacrifice. [Applause] At that time we didn't have the possibilities we have now, that have enabled us to mobilize hundreds of thousands of combatants in the Territorial Troop Militia and to train many cadres and chiefs in just a few weeks. [Applause] It can be said with certainty that never before was such a large force organized so quickly and efficiently. The record time in which we are organizing and training the Territorial Troop Militia and their cadres is proof of how far we've come in terms of organizational ability and experience.

This means that we're not fooling around; the revolution doesn't fool around. It knows how to do things seriously and it is doing things seriously.

We're not trembling, we're not scared by the imperialists' threats. On the contrary, we turn those threats into a force, and we could say to the imperialists — who made so much use of the slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor" and remember many other things — a few slogans of our own like "Remember Girón," "Remember Girón!" [Applause] Girón should have been a lesson to teach them to deal with Cuba in a different way. They thought that when their little planes showed up everybody here was going to be scared out of their wits, but it took only seconds for our militia to respond to the enemy attack by opening fire. That's what our militia artillerymen, whose average age was between fifteen and twenty, did; that's what the militia in Girón and everywhere else did as soon as the enemy appeared. At that time the imperialists were saying they expected our people to stage an uprising, etc. And they had visions of our troops being defeated and scared off. But what happened? They underestimated our people's ability, our people's dignity, courage, and heroism, while their brigades, their planes, and their tanks lasted as long as a lit candle lasts in a rainstorm. [Applause]

From Austin to Watsonville — '¡Viva la huelga!'

"¡Viva la huelga! Long live the strike!"

With this slogan, Bear Martsching summed up his experience visiting striking cannery workers in Watsonville, California. A report on the Watsonville strike was given at the April 14 meeting of Hormel strikers and supporters in Austin, Minnesota.

Martsching is one of more than 500 meatpackers from Ottumwa, Iowa, who were fired for honoring the picket



¡BASTA YA!

Andrea González

lines of striking Hormel workers from Austin. The Hormel strikers are members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. Martsching and Frank Vit, a worker from Hormel's Fremont, Nebraska, plant, who was also fired for honoring the strikers' picket lines, have been building support on the West Coast for the struggle against Hormel.

Martsching and Vit returned to Austin to participate in the April 9-12 national solidarity actions in support of the strike. They, along with 14 others, were arrested on felony charges April 11 during a cop riot against the strikers. They were released on bail the afternoon of the support meeting.

As the meeting began, all those arrested in the cop riot were called to the stage to tell the audience about their experiences in jail. And Vit reported on his and Martsching's experiences in Watsonville.

ing's experiences in Watsonville.

The cannery strikers, he said, are mainly Hispanic women. They speak only Spanish, so all his conversations with them were through a translator.

These workers, Vit said, had always made low wages. They had little to put aside to help carry them through a strike. Since the strike began, Vit reported, several strikers have been evicted from their homes. Cops attacked their picket lines and invaded and occupied their union hall.

"They have nothing," Vit said. But no one has crossed the picket line. And when he visited their union hall, these strikers hugged him.

The Watsonville strikers understand solidarity, Vit said. They tell audiences that the best way to help them is to boycott Hormel.

The Watsonville strikers are not the only Hispanic workers who are supporting the Hormel strike. Baldemar Velásquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), has lent his union's support to the strike.

FLOC recently won a hard-fought, eight-year battle to organize the predominantly Mexican migrant workers who pick tomatoes and cucumbers for Campbell. FLOC has offered the meatpackers its national list of supporters to help organize the Hormel boycott.

Local P-9 also recently received notice that the Independent Brewery Workers Union of Puerto Rico has decided to participate in Local P-9's "Adopt A Family" program.

The support given to the Austin workers from Watsonville strikers, FLOC, and the Puerto Rican brewery workers is an example of solidarity that all Hispanic working people should follow. These workers see that a



Militant/Andrea González
Frank Vit, fired Hormel worker, visited Watsonville strikers.

victory in the Hormel strike will help advance their struggle for their rights and their unions in the *barrios*, factories, and fields.

Esperanza Torres, a leader of the Watsonville strike, said it best. "In this struggle, we are learning, day by day, that the different groups, persons, and races are all one. We all want justice. We want to be united and strong in the struggle so that we can all have a better future for our children."

From Watsonville to Austin, Mexican, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and all Latin American workers should have one slogan — "¡Viva la huelga!"

Pro-Marcos forces demonstrate in Philippines

Continued from back page

Marcos, he adds, "is viewed by the loyalists as a forceful leader. They say he is the only man capable of meeting the challenge of the country's Communist insurgents and its economic crisis."

Some, he finds, "harbor genuine, almost mystical love for Marcos. Others are thugs masquerading as dissenters, perhaps due to fear of retribution for misdeeds committed under the old regime."

He interviewed "a young man wearing a Marcos button and bandana mask . . . [and] holding a wooden club. He shouted to be heard as fellow demonstrators demanding Marcos' return heckled and threatened passing motorists. . . . He refused to give his name but mentioned he formerly worked in Marcos' palace guard."

"The crowd," Burgess continues, "is peppered with members of a Marcos youth organization, government workers put out of jobs by the change of government, and members of a religious cult whose leader says he received instructions from Heaven

to support Marcos."

Burgess continues: "The crowd's mood is ugly in a way not seen in a Manila demonstration in years. Passing motorists are jeered and their cars often scratched or pounded if they fail to give the Marcos V-for-victory sign. A dozen or so journalists, blamed for printing lies about Marcos, have been roughed up by loyalists, many of whom carry sticks and clubs."

Behind such reactionary forces in the Philippines stand still influential individuals and social layers. Among them are the wealthy landlords who use force of arms to deny millions of impoverished, landless peasants even a tiny plot of land to grow some food.

There are the ex-dictator's "crony capitalists" who coined billions by the special looting privileges he assured them and who now stand threatened.

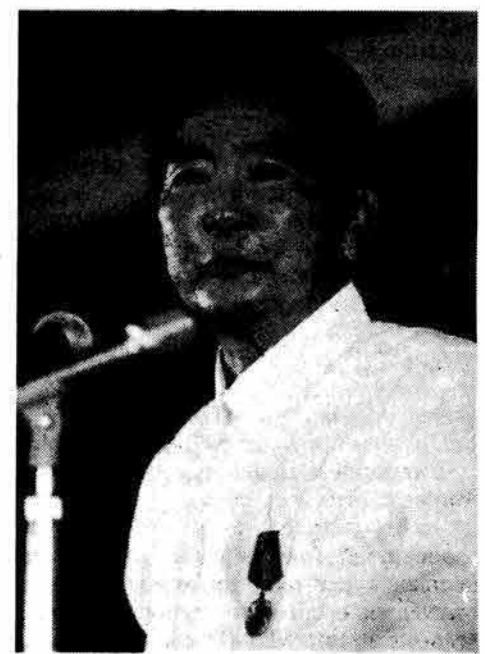
And there remain the corrupt and reactionary military machines that have for so long been the battering ram in the oppression of the Filipino people.

Pitted against the ruling class forces stand the millions of peasants and workers whose growing rebellion finally sparked the ouster of the dictator. Their problems remain unresolved. The Aquino government has yet to make a meaningful move on the urgent and explosive issue of land reform.

Among the workers, there is still massive unemployment and starvation wages. The right to strike, almost totally denied under Marcos, remains to be fully affirmed.

And while "people power" swept Marcos out and opened the way for Aquino, it now remains to be utilized in sweeping away the remaining heritage of Marcosism.

The relatively limited but obviously significant demonstrations by the Marcos loyalists underline the need for the mass of the Filipino people to take full command of their destiny and to begin addressing the great social issues which only they are capable of fully resolving.



Ex-dictator Ferdinand Marcos

LETTERS

Defend Libya

I consider the actions of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the attacks on Libya to be an affront to the national sovereignty and independence of the Libyan nation.

The blood of scores of young Libyans was shed to satisfy the psychopathic hate which Ronald Reagan entertains for the leader and government of Libya. It is a hate like that which he has for the government and people of Nicaragua. It is a hate for all people in struggle against the remaining forces of colonialism and imperialism.

Reagan placed an embargo on Nicaragua, but continued to do business as usual with racist killer Botha in South Africa; with the fascist Pinochet regime in Chile; and with Prime Minister Thatcher — Reagan's closest ally in world crime.

Her barbarous policies against the nationalist people of British-occupied Ireland include strip-searching of female political prisoners; indiscriminate use of plastic bullets against civilians; the shoot-to-kill policy; and the cold-blooded intransigence displayed while Bobby Sands and his com-

rades starved to death in prison rather than accept the status of criminals — the worst type of barbarity in what is supposed to be Western civilization.

The correct response for all who are engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle is to speak out in protest against these two despots — Reagan and Thatcher.

I say, Brits out of Ireland; no aid to the mercenary *contras*; embargo South Africa and all your fellow despots — not Nicaragua and Cuba; and end your colonial policies in Puerto Rico. The only right which U.S. imperialism has in that country is the one British imperialism has in Ireland — the robbers' right or the right of conquest.

The answer from all strugglers must be that we share common cause and face a common enemy — imperialism led by Reagan and Thatcher.

If we display an unbroken front, we will win, conquer, and defeat those oppressors of all humanity.

George Harrison
New York, New York

Cromwell

The *Militant* letters column has recently printed letters by Georgia Fleming and Derrick Morrison de-

bating the role of Oliver Cromwell.

Certainly no one should deny the leading role that Cromwell played in the English revolution of the 1640s. But on his role in Ireland, perhaps we should give Karl Marx the last word.

"Bloodshed, devastation, depopulation of entire counties, removal of their inhabitants to other regions, sale of many Irish into slavery in the West Indies.

"By engaging in the conquest of Ireland, Cromwell threw the English Republic out the window."

(From "Outline of A Report on the Irish Question to the Communist Educational Association of German Workers in London," Dec. 16, 1867. In *Ireland and the Irish Question*, International Publishers, 1972.)

Marc Lichtman
New York, New York

Imprisoned vets

Since reading the *Militant*, I have acquired an enormous amount of knowledge and insight into the workings of the capitalist governments throughout the world. As an Irish socialist and comrade of all socialists, I welcome your editorials.

I recently requested assistance in receiving medical care from the Veterans Administration due to exposure to Agent Orange while in Southeast Asia. In a letter from the VA they state, "Incarcerated veterans are not eligible for medical services at VA Medical Centers," and otherwise indicate that VA services are "limited" for prisoners.

I hope veterans and others throughout this country will recognize the plight of us incarcerated veterans, such plight stemming from money-hungry capitalist warmongers.

A prisoner
Beacon, New York

'Jailed for Peace'

Steve Kohn's book, *Jailed for Peace: The History of Draft Law Violations, 1658-1985*, confronts and challenges Americans with the reality that peace is a choice. Kohn opens our eyes to the powerful historic image of individuals who have, in fact, chosen "no" to the military draft.

We have done a great injustice to the youth of this country in only telling them half the story with regard to the military draft. As Kohn points out, "Prior to the publica-

tion of *Jailed for Peace*, a complete study of draft resistance has yet to appear."

Young men today do not perceive peace as a choice. Rather, they perceive military enlistment as the only path that one may seek. This is both misleading and unfair.

Kohn outlines the historic and philosophical development of draft resistance in this country. He brings to light both the failures and successes of individuals who have made the difficult decision to abide by their beliefs and convictions and exercise the right to freedom of conscience so valued in this country.

It is springtime again. Selective Service posters are making their way into the halls of most secondary schools. Kohn's book challenges us not to allow our young men to blindly walk down the halls of military conscription.

Mary E. Murphy
Bridgeport, Connecticut

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.

Pro-Marcos forces rally in Philippines

Right-wing demonstrations reflect continuing social crisis

BY HARRY RING

A week of public demonstrations in support of Ferdinand Marcos, ex-dictator of the Philippines, offered dramatic confirmation that the nation's deep-going social crisis is far from resolved.

The week's activity by the pro-Marcos forces climaxed with an April 20 rally of 30,000 in a Manila park. Later, much of the crowd marched to the U.S. embassy to protest Washington's asserted role in dumping the dictator.

At earlier demonstrations, violence was near the surface and sometimes erupted.

And, on April 21 two gunmen assassinated a newly appointed mayor in the town of Alicia. The slain appointee had been unable to physically take office because the municipal hall was occupied by supporters of his predecessor, a member of the Marcos machine.

The week of pro-Marcos activity was kicked off April 12 when 5,000 people urging the return of the strong-arm ruler blocked a major Manila highway. The same road had been occupied by hundreds of thousands of Filipinos during the mammoth outpouring that finally forced Marcos to flee February 26.

Press dispatches from Manila described the April 12 pro-Marcos rally as sparked by local Marcos mayors and other jobholders who have been removed since Corazon Aquino became president.

The highway occupation was followed by a Manila park rally April 13, where the participants were estimated to number between 15,000 and 20,000.

John Burgess, a *Washington Post* correspondent who monitored the week's events, reported that this demonstration appeared to be organized by the Marcos political machine, called the New Society Movement.

Burgess reported:

"Many of Marcos' rallies during his campaign were made up largely of people paid to attend. Today's group, however, seemed to have a different mood, with people standing for hours in a hot sun and expressing what appeared to be strong emotion for Marcos."

Another report added: "Many demonstrators, wearing T-shirts, jeans, and rubber sandals, seemed to come from the urban poor that Mr. Marcos courted with sacks of rice and other largesse during the presidential campaign."

That rally set the stage for a Marcos support demonstration of several thousand outside a University of the Philippines auditorium where 93 deposed members of the Marcos-rigged national assembly held a rump session.

At the meeting of the now jobless assembly members, Arturo Tolentino, Marcos' running mate for vice-president, called for

a campaign of "civil disobedience" against the Aquino government. Meanwhile, many of the supporters outside the hall carried clubs. A group of Aquino partisans who approached in a jeep were driven off by rocks.

That same day, in the Manila suburb of San Juan, officials said police and civilians were injured in a battle with Marcos loyalists. They said the demonstrators used guns, rocks, and homemade bombs.

The clash erupted when a new mayor, appointed by the Aquino government, tried to enter the town hall that has been barricaded more than a month by supporters of the ex-mayor, a member of the Marcos machine and a movie personality.

Later reports said the police had returned the gunfire and that the casualties included one dead and at least 80 wounded.

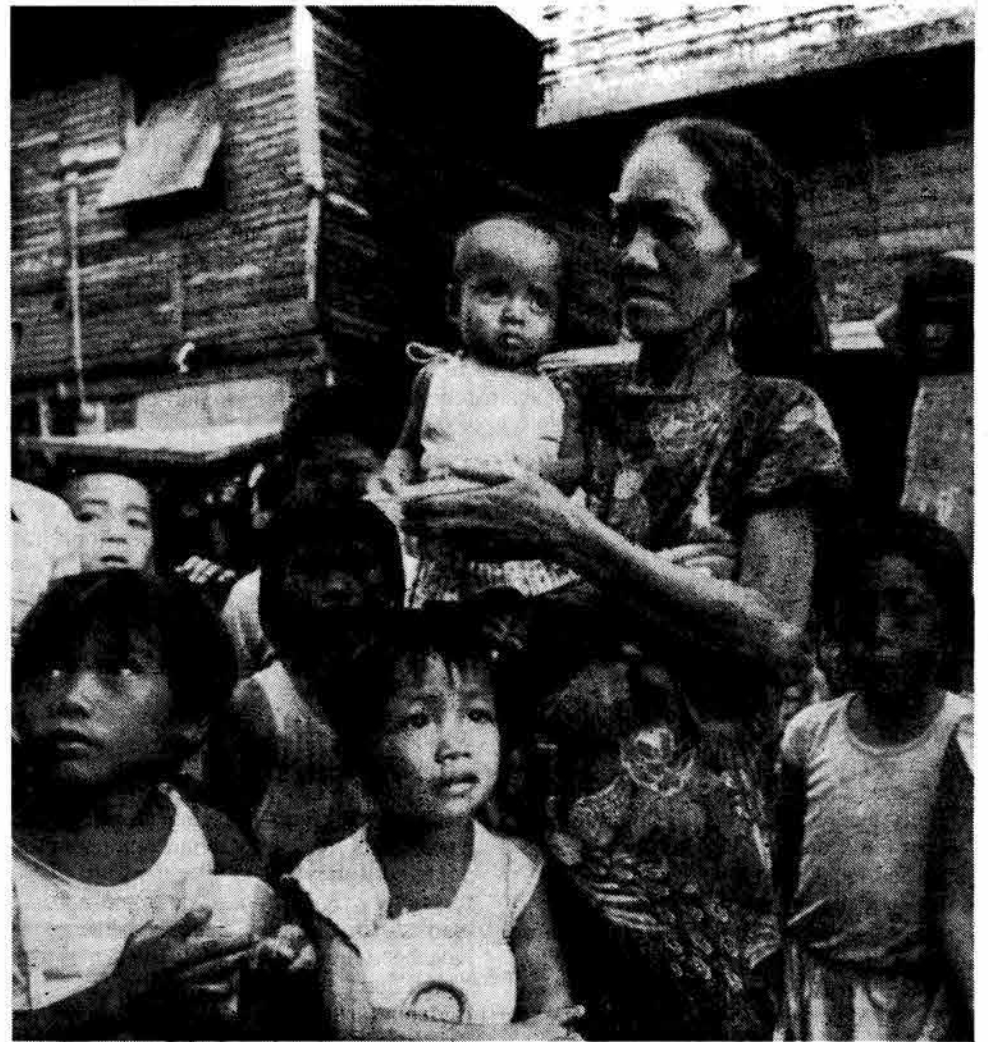
On April 15 and 16, the scene of the pro-Marcos actions shifted to the U.S. embassy in Manila, where some 2,500 people turned out both days.

Washington Post correspondent Burgess offered a further description of the Marcos loyalists as they rallied in the park, demonstrated in the streets, and encamped at the U.S. embassy.

Noting that "the crowds are tiny in comparison to those that Aquino turned out," he adds, "Still the loyalists appear to have the potential to pose a significant challenge to her efforts to establish political stability."

Talking with participants, Burgess found they saw Marcos as a pious man who was double-crossed by what they describe as a communist-infiltrated Catholic church, and Washington.

Continued on Page 19



Children of impoverished Filipino sugar worker wait for meal at church soup kitchen. Aquino government's failure to deal with deep social problems gives openings for renewed activity by right-wing pro-Marcos forces.

N.Y. meeting hails Cuban revolution

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

NEW YORK — More than 150 people gathered at the headquarters of Casa de las Americas here for a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban people's victory over U.S.-organized and financed mercenaries at Playa Girón — the Bay of Pigs.

The featured speaker was Alberto Velazco San José, Cuba's alternate ambassador to the United Nations. He gave a brief chronology of this 1961 invasion of Cuba, which was intended to overthrow the young revolution there.

On April 15 that year, U.S.-supplied B-26 bombers attacked three Cuban cities. The invasion, directed by John F. Kennedy's administration, then began April 17 on the beaches of Las Villas when 1,400 mercenaries, mainly Cubans, landed. The Cuban people, under the leadership of

Fidel Castro, crushed the invaders in 72 hours.

The ambassador explained that the invasion was "a link in a chain of attacks" that the U.S. government had carried out against Cuba, which included an economic blockade and sabotage of industrial centers.

He added that Washington's hatred of Cuba was the result of advances that were already being made by the revolution, including confiscation of private property, purging the army, a 50 percent reduction in rents, eliminating racial discrimination by opening up beaches to the public, lowering electricity rates, and beginning a literacy campaign.

"What imperialism can't forgive is that we're here . . . and that we're solid," he said. Surrounded by imperialism, despite

the pressures and threats, Cubans will proudly continue to defend their country in the factories and workplaces, he declared.

Velazco noted that it was also 25 years ago that the Cuban revolution declared itself the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

Cuba is "the first worker-peasant state in the Western hemisphere, 90 miles from imperialism . . . an example for the peoples of Latin America," he added. "We never thought we would be celebrating our 25th anniversary in New York," in the heart of the country ruled by sworn enemies of Cuba.

The ambassador praised the work being done by Casa de las Americas, an organization of Cubans and other activists in solidarity with the revolution.

Velazco was given a standing ovation, amidst shouts of "Long live free Cuba," and "Long live the victory of Playa Girón."

Those attending the event represented many organizations, including the Venceremos Brigade, Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Committee for a Democratic Palestine.

El Comité Latinoamericano, among others, saluted the Cuban victory, as well as condemning the current attacks by the U.S. government against the Libyan and Nicaraguan peoples. El Comité Latinoamericano includes Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Comité Colombia, Casa Guatemala, Casa de las Americas, Casa Ecuador, Casa Colombia, Casa Honduras, Chilean Committee for Human Rights, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Dominican Left Front, Committee Against Repression in Puerto Rico, and others.

Representatives from the Nicaraguan Mission at the United Nations were present, as well as a representative from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

Phila. judge sentences MOVE bombing victim

BY HALKET ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive the May 13, 1985, bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia, was sentenced to 16 months to 7 years in prison.

Eleven MOVE members — including five children — were murdered when the police dropped a bomb igniting a fire that destroyed 61 houses on Osage Avenue and Pine Street, a Black section of West Philadelphia.

Ramona Africa fled the burning MOVE house along with a teenager known as Birdie Africa. Ramona Africa was arrested at the scene and has been in jail ever since. She was convicted February 9 on phoned up riot and conspiracy charges stemming from the bombing. She was sentenced on

April 14.

Ramona Africa, who has acted as her own attorney, told the judge she was in reality "tried, convicted, and sentenced May 13," that is, the day of the bombing.

"I'm here simply because I'm a MOVE member and survived," she continued. "Not one single cop, not one single official has been brought into court, tried, and convicted of anything."

The city's actions on May 13 "can never be explained, can never be justified," she said.

Philadelphia District Attorney Ronald Castille said that he disagreed with the sentence, adding that Ramona Africa should have been sentenced to 14 years in prison.

She replied that MOVE would continue to fight on behalf of imprisoned MOVE members and against the legal system

when it is wrong.

As she was led from the courtroom, she shouted to supporters, "You didn't expect anything; down with this rotten system!"

About 150 people gathered at a rally outside the Philadelphia City Hall courtroom. Many had been turned away from the sentencing because there were not enough seats. They chanted "Free Ramona!"

The demonstration was supported by Rev. Paul Washington, a prominent Philadelphia clergyman and a member of the commission that Mayor Wilson Goode appointed to investigate the May 13 MOVE bombing.

Washington wrote to Judge Michael Stiles urging Africa's release. Stiles rejected his request and those of thousands of others who signed petitions with the same demand.