

Klan attack in Georgia provokes broad protests



Robed Klansman was one of hundreds of racist thugs who assaulted march in Forsyth County. Another march will take place January 24.

BY KEN MILINER

CUMMING, Ga. — Hundreds of thugs led by the Ku Klux Klan attacked a peaceful march of 75 people here on January 17. The marchers came from nearby towns and Atlanta to participate in a "March Against Intimidation" honoring Martin Luther King's birthday. Cumming, located in Forsyth County, is about 30 miles from Atlanta.

Eight racists were arrested on charges ranging from the possession of marijuana to assault and carrying a concealed weapon. The violence erupted when 400 KKK supporters lined the march route, waving Confederate flags and shouting, "Niggers go home!" "We're not going to let niggers live here!" and "Get the niggers!"

The mob carried signs reading, "Keep Forsyth County white," "Thank God for AIDS," and "Abolish the King holiday."

Former Georgia governor Lester Mad-

4,000 marchers urge justice for N.Y. lynch victim

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Some 4,000 protesters, mostly young Black men and women, marched and rallied here January 21 in response to the racist assault at Howard Beach that claimed the life of Michael Griffith.

Griffith, his stepfather Cedric Sanford, and Timothy Grimes had been assaulted by a gang of racists. Griffith, a construction worker, was killed by a car when he ran onto a highway trying to escape his attackers.

The march began in midtown Manhattan and made its way down Fifth Avenue to Greenwich Village where a rally was held near the home of Mayor Edward Koch. Throughout his administration, Koch has stubbornly resisted acting against racist violence.

The marchers were accompanied by a heavy array of city cops — on foot, mounted, on motorcycles, and in squad cars.

The protest was initiated by the National African Youth Student Alliance and supported by a coalition that developed around the Howard Beach events and set January 21 as a "Day of Mourning and Outrage."

In addition to the march, the coalition

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dox and white supremacist J.B. Stoner were among the racists. Stoner recently was released from prison, after serving three years for the firebombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 that killed four Black children.

The March Against Intimidation was called by construction worker Dean Carter after cancellation of a "brotherhood walk" called to honor the King national holiday and to counter Forsyth County's racist image.

Blacks fled the county in 1912 after three Blacks were lynched. Two were hanged while a crowd of more than 10,000 cheered. According to the 1980 census, the county had one Black resident.

The walk for brotherhood was to show that Blacks could move back to the county.

Organizer Chuck Blackburn canceled the event after receiving close to 100 death

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UN chief, gov't leaders visit Nicaragua

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Thousands of Nicaraguan working people, bearing signs that read, "We want peace with dignity," lined the streets here January 19. They had turned out to welcome the highest level international delegation ever to come here to discuss how to end the military conflict in Central America, a conflict rooted in the U.S. mercenary war against Nicaragua.

The delegation, which is visiting all five nations of Central America, was headed by United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. This is the first time a UN secretary general has ever visited Nicaragua.

In addition, Joao Baena Soares, secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS), participated, as well as eight Latin American foreign ministers.

Four of the foreign ministers came from the Contadora Group, which is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela. The Contadora Group's stated purpose is to find a negotiated settlement to the military conflict here in the region. It initiated the current tour at a meeting in Brazil in December 1986.

The other four foreign ministers came from the Support Group to Contadora, made up of the governments of Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay.

The U.S. government has consistently opposed efforts to negotiate a peaceful solution to the war it is sponsoring against Nicaragua. On January 8 U.S. officials convened a special meeting of the OAS in the hopes of preventing Soares's participation in the delegation. But other OAS member nations approved Soares's involvement in the tour, while acceding to a U.S. demand that he not be allowed to

commit the OAS to any concrete agreements.

Once it was clear the tour could not be stopped, Washington organized a meeting of the governments of Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador on January 18. The purpose was to line them up as to what they would say when the delegation visited their countries.

In Costa Rica, the delegation's first stop, President Oscar Arias echoed Washington's line. He told the delegation that for serious negotiations to begin, Nicaragua

would have to hold new elections and a dialogue with the U.S.-paid mercenaries attacking its territory.

When the delegation arrived here the Nicaraguan government presented a nine-point program of steps to move toward peace in the region. The points are the following:

1. Nicaragua gives its "categorical support" to the efforts of the Contadora and Support groups to find a negotiated solution to the war in the region.

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ANC's Oliver Tambo gets standing ovation in New York

BY ERNEST HARSCH

NEW YORK — A capacity crowd of nearly 3,000 people jumped to its feet in a standing ovation here as Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), walked down the center aisle of Riverside Church. Chants of "ANC! ANC!" rang out.

The platform at the January 21 meeting boasted a broad range of prominent individuals, including church officials, disarmament activists, and others.

An undersecretary general of the United Nations brought greetings, as did Anders Fern, Sweden's ambassador to the UN. Fern announced that this year the Swedish government is giving the ANC \$9 million.

Allan Boesak, a founder of South Africa's 2-million-member United Democratic Front, forcefully described the apartheid regime's repression and the growing support for the ANC. He urged the audience to oppose Washington's policies toward South Africa.

Tambo's presentation was billed as the first "Olof Palme Memorial Lecture on Disarmament and Development," sponsored by Riverside Church in commemoration of the Swedish prime minister who was slain last year. In addressing those topics, Tambo stressed, "While the world is divided between the super-rich and the abjectly poor, there can be no peace."

Speaking a week before his scheduled meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, Tambo also alluded to Washington's demand that the ANC halt its armed struggle. "Nobody," he declared, "can demand peaceable behavior of anyone in our country until we are free." As long as the apartheid regime denied all avenues of peaceful change, he said, it would be necessary to oppose it with arms.

Tambo told the crowd, "We must cut through the cant and hypocrisy by which apartheid is condemned in word and maintained in substance."

California antiwar action builds

BY DIANA CANTÚ

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 200 activists from labor, solidarity, church, and anti-apartheid organizations met here January 13 to discuss plans for a western states march and rally on April 25.

The march will demand an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and to U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa.

The meeting was opened by Pat Norman, co-chair of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, which is organizing the demonstration. She emphasized that the San Francisco action is part of a national effort to mobilize a large turnout on April 25. The other national action will be held in Washington, D.C.

"We've been requested to organize the western region," Norman explained, "and we have accepted."

Other mobilization co-chairs also addressed the meeting, including Peter Sammon, a priest active in the sanctuary movement; Alameda County Supervisor John George; and Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council.

"Labor will be very much involved, more than ever before," Johnson said.

Al Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), presented a proposal to the meeting on structure for the

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Howard Beach killing spurs response from workers on the job

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — Discussions with co-workers at two New York plants indicate that outrage is a common reaction to the Howard Beach lynch attack in which Michael Griffith died.

At the Loral Electronic plant in the Bronx, a shop organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE), Black and Latino coworkers talked about other instances of racist violence — including some firsthand experiences. And cases were recalled in which people were killed by racist thugs or cops and those guilty were not jailed.

Workers remember the police shooting of 66-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs and the beating to death by transit cops of 25-year-old Michael Stewart. And they remember the mob that beat transit worker Willie Turks to death in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn.

The failure to win justice in such cases leads many people to be skeptical about Mayor Edward Koch's statements scoring the Howard Beach attack. Many rightfully believe that Koch's years of support for racist cops and his failure to act decisively in the Willie Turks case and others created an atmosphere in which racists feel they can murder people and get away with it.

Many Black and Puerto Rican coworkers also resented Koch's claim that whites are in danger of the same kind of violence in Black neighborhoods. One coworker wanted Koch to name one case where a white was lynched in a Black neighborhood.

Another called Koch's charge ridiculous. "If a white was killed in Harlem," he said, "the cops would shoot up the place."

Among white coworkers, the response to Howard Beach was more varied.

In Loral's machine and sheet metal shop, two older white workers condemned the killing and insisted that those responsible should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. But other whites echoed the racist argument, "What were those Blacks doing in that neighborhood anyway?"

One racist-minded worker said he didn't think what happened at Howard Beach was right, but he did think "all Black men are violent, so you've got to strike out at them before they strike out at you."

On December 27, some 3,000 protesters marched in Howard Beach. Among them were a number of workers from Fairchild Republic, a Long Island aerospace plant organized by the International Association of Machinists. At Fairchild, there is an ac-

tive in-plant chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

One of the Fairchild workers who marched at Howard Beach was *Militant* supporter Barbara Bowman.

She said that even though the plant was on year-end shutdown, Fairchild unionists turned out for the action. One Black coworker brought a dozen relatives and neighbors.

He said he expected there would be an attempt by the racists there to attack the demonstration. But when he and others moved to the front where a gang of racists were shouting epithets, he realized "they were nothing but punks," who weren't about to do more than make noise.

He was surprised, he said, and pleased, to see the number of whites who came out for the antiracist demonstration. He was particularly glad to see several white coworkers marching. And he was struck by an exchange he heard among a group of Howard Beach whites. He said a young woman was chewing out some of those who were insulting the demonstrators. "You're a disgrace!" she told them. "You're giving the neighborhood a bad



Militant/Mike Lux
Members of Local 1199 Hospital and Health Care Employees at December protest in Howard Beach. Lynching of Michael Griffith has stirred outrage and discussion among New York workers.

name!"

At the Fairchild plant, when they returned to work, Bowman got a glimpse of something similar. She overheard three white workers discussing Howard Beach. One had his back to her, and she couldn't hear all he was saying, but he was apparently defending the racists. The other two

whites were arguing with him. "You can't label a whole people like that," one insisted. "What happened out there was wrong," the other added. "There was no reason for it."

Andrea González works at Loral Electronic and is a member of IUE Local 431.

March urges justice for lynch victim

Continued from front page

called for a one-day boycott of white business establishments.

A student contingent led the chanting marchers, with a banner declaring: "Howard Beach — never forget! Black youth, unite and fight."

As the marchers prepared to step off, they were addressed briefly by Ben Chavis, veteran civil rights fighter and director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ.

Chavis declared: "Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo, President Reagan — we're serving notice we're going to beat back the racist attacks."

And as they marched, the protesters chanted, "Mayor Koch, have you heard, Howard Beach is Johannesburg!"

Meanwhile, it was reported that on January 20 a Queens County grand jury began hearing evidence behind closed doors on the Howard Beach case.

Initial evidence was presented by aides to Charles Hynes, the special prosecutor appointed by Gov. Mario Cuomo. Hynes superceded Queens County District Attorney John Santucci, who had been widely assailed for his conduct of the case.

Cedric Sandiford and Timothy Grimes,

survivors of the racist attack, had refused to cooperate with Santucci. Sandiford charged that the city's prosecution was a "masquerade."

Deep anger in the Black community and the refusal of Sandiford and Grimes to be party to a cover-up forced Cuomo, a presidential hopeful, to intervene.

In addition to the public pressure for action, aides to Cuomo said he appointed a special prosecutor because he was critical of the way Santucci was handling the case.

The aides said Cuomo acted when he learned that Santucci was considering turning the case over to federal authorities.

They denied Cuomo was concerned that the need for federal intervention in a civil rights case would have reflected badly on his administration.

In addition, the aides told reporters, the governor felt that when Sandiford and Grimes refused to testify, Santucci should have jailed them.

When the demand for a special prosecutor was met, Alton Maddox, Jr. and C. Vernon Mason, attorneys for Sandiford and Grimes, said their clients would cooperate.

At the same time, they demanded that Dominick Blum, driver of the car that

killed Michael Griffith, be jailed.

After he hit Griffith, Blum, a court guard and son of a city cop, kept going. He had second thoughts and returned to the scene later. The police did not even book him for leaving the scene of an accident.

Insisting on action against Blum, attorney Mason said, "A good faith investigation includes the arrest of everybody involved."

In another development, Koch invited directors of Hispanic social service agencies to meet with him for a discussion of the problem of "race relations."

This was his response to the demand for a special prosecutor in the case of Rafael Gonzalez and George Torres. These two Latino youths were beaten by racists December 19 in Ozone Park, which is covered by the same police precinct as Howard Beach.

Police subjected the two victims to racist abuse and booked only one of their assailants, even though the youths identified several. A coalition of Latino organizations had responded to the police misconduct and inaction with an angry demand for a special prosecutor.

Like Koch, Cuomo has not responded to this demand.

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Iowa Beef threatens to use scabs at plant

BY MIGUEL ZÁRATE

DAKOTA CITY, Neb. — Iowa Beef Processors Co. (IBP), the nation's largest beef slaughterhouse and meat-packing company, continues its lockout of 2,500 workers here.

Workers participating in the round-the-clock picket lines are discussing the company's threats to reopen the plant with scabs if the members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 222 don't go along with its takeback demands.

IBP's threats are taken seriously. No contract has been settled here since 1969 without a strike. A strong reminder of this is a long row of block housing that runs along the south side of the plant. That's where scabs slept in 1969 and 1982 when the company, with the help of the state police and National Guard troops, attempted to break the union.

Of IBP's 13 packing plants, the Dakota City operation is the only unionized one.

In 1983 the meat-packers here were forced to accept a wage cut of \$1.07 an hour. Wages were then frozen for five years. The company now wants to extend the wage freeze for another four.

The increase of injuries on the job is another major concern. One worker on the picket line said he had been in the plant only two months before he was seriously injured. He worked on the kill floor under cramped conditions. A knife ended up in his elbow when another worker lost control of it while trying to keep up with the brutal line speed.

In addition to a high injury rate, IBP is notorious for a high rate of employee turnover. The company has tried to maintain a work force of just under 500 at its Council Bluffs, Iowa, plant, in the less than six months it has been open. But nearly 1,500 workers have gone through the plant during that time.

The stakes are getting higher in the lockout, which began on December 13. Many know that IBP, a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum Corp., has big money to pour into its battle against the union.

On the union side, a willingness to fight the company has resulted in good turnouts at the picket lines. A union-run food bank and the solidarity of other area unionists have helped to keep the meat-packers going. The locked-out workers are getting strike benefits of \$65 a week.

An eight-year veteran of the plant told the *Militant*, "If you've worked here longer than two years, you know to save up for a strike. But even our savings are beginning

to run out."

UFCW Local 222 has sent out "truth squads" to other IBP plants and to several union locals to win support.

A federal mediator has called the union and the company back together for a meeting, but few of the workers this reporter talked to expected anything to come out of it.

The general feeling of a group of women meat-packers getting ready for picket duty was that the company was only agreeing to the meeting because it was forced to. "What really matters is if they decide to reopen the plant without us," one said.

The visit of Bob and Lois Langemeier to the union hall helped spark considerable discussion. Bob Langemeier was fired from his job at the Hormel meat-packing plant in Fremont, Nebraska, last year after honoring picket lines set up by striking meat-packers from Hormel's Austin, Minnesota, plant. Lois Langemeier has been active in Fremont organizing support for the fired workers.

The IBP workers appreciated having an opportunity to talk to the Langemeiers about their experiences in the fight against Hormel. "Working people have got to stick together," Bob Langemeier told them.

Miguel Zárate is a meat-packer and a member of UFCW Local 271 in Bellevue, Nebraska.



Militant Members of UFCW Local 222 locked out since December 13 are sending out "truth squads" to explain issues in their struggle to meat-packers at IBP's nonunion plants.

Cudahy strikers win broad solidarity

BY SANDI SHERMAN

CUDAHY, Wis. — Meat-packers who went on strike at the Patrick Cudahy packing plant here after refusing to bow to the company's takeback demands are receiving broad solidarity from unions and church, community, and student organizations. This shows that many working people in this area see the 850 strikers' cause as a basic question of justice.

Members of Local P-40 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) voted to strike the plant January 3 after refusing major new concessions that would have slashed wages and made working conditions intolerable.

The company immediately began advertising for jobs at the plant, which is just outside Milwaukee, and accepted more than 2,000 applications. Sixty scabs currently are working inside the Cudahy plant. They include a dozen union members who have crossed the P-40 picket lines.

Local P-40 took out full-page ads in the major Milwaukee newspapers addressed "To all the people who have to work for a living in the State of Wisconsin." The ad said, "We the members of UFCW Local P-40 are the ones that gave our sweat and blood to make the profits for this company, and we are asking you not to cross the picket lines as we are fighting for what's just and right."

Outpouring of solidarity

Support for the striking meat-packers has grown rapidly among Milwaukee-area unionists. UFCW members at the Oscar Mayer packing plant have donated \$5,000 to Local P-40. UFCW members from packing plants in Chicago and Minneapolis have traveled here to show their support.

In response to a presentation by strikers, unionists at the Briggs and Stratton plant voted to send \$1,000. Donations have come in from many more unions, and contingents of Teamsters, transit workers, machinists, and garment workers have joined the picket lines.

An ongoing campaign of support is being organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) locals 1866 and 438 representing workers at the AC Spark Plug and Delco Electronics plants. Local 1866 members voted at their last union meeting to send the strikers \$1,600 and another \$500 was collected on the shop floor. About 20 auto workers are making it a regular practice every day to stop by the picket lines after work.

On January 18 the two UAW locals organized a joint caravan to the plant. A total of 350 workers picketed alongside the meat-packers that day. The majority were Auto Workers, but 13 other unions were also represented.

UAW members who have been on strike

for five months at Quality Aluminum Castings have also picketed with the Cudahy meat-packers.

Community support

Milwaukee Archbishop Rembert Weakland has called on Cudahy to stop hiring scabs. "It's not proper to try to bust the union," Weakland told the press January 14. His comments were in support of a statement issued earlier by the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religious and Urban Affairs, an organization of local churches and synagogues.

That statement also criticized Cudahy because "the bargaining process is being put aside in favor of pitting the unemployed against the employed who are trying to preserve their livelihood. It is unacceptable that management approaches the bargaining process with a 'take it or leave it' attitude and within a few days of a strike, begins to seek replacements."

Activists at a January 15 vigil in Milwaukee to mark Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, sponsored by the Free South Africa Coalition, pointed out that King's last struggle was on behalf of striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee. After the vigil, they drove to the picket line with a sign that said, "Martin Luther King was killed by a scab."

Responding to a call by Local P-40 to boycott Cudahy products, hand-lettered boycott signs have appeared in groceries here and in Milwaukee. In some cases the signs have been put up by local unions, others by community residents.

Students at Cudahy High School are also organizing support for the strike.

Sandi Sherman is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64 at the Eagle Knitting Mill in Milwaukee.

Hormel tries to divide workers at Ottumwa and Austin plants

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Officials of the Hormel meat-packing company announced in December that the cut-and-kill operation at their Ottumwa, Iowa, plant will be permanently closed.

The cut-and-kill operation was suspended last February shortly after the company fired 458 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 431 for honoring picket lines established outside the Ottumwa plant. The roving pickets were striking members of UFCW Local P-9 from Hormel's plant in Austin, Minnesota.

Local 431 officials told the *Ottumwa Courier* December 17 that under the terms of their contract, the Ottumwa meat-packers would be able to bump workers at other Hormel plants who had less seniority.

This would include being able to bump the several hundred who went to work as scabs at the Austin plant early last year.

But Hormel Executive Vice-president Charles Nyberg told the *Courier*, "The bumping is the contention of the union."

An arbitrator ruled in August 1986 that Local 431 members had been fired unjustly for honoring P-9 pickets and ordered the company to recall the workers. The company responded by laying off 500 Ottumwa meat-packers, a move designed to sow as much division as possible between those who honored the picket lines and those who did not.

Nyberg now claims the company has a

"glut" of raw pork products. He also said that if the laid-off Ottumwa workers come to Austin, they will not be allowed to bump into the plant, but instead will be put on a "back-to-work list" to be rehired when jobs become available.

"It's paramount we give workers who went on strike in Austin the first jobs back," Nyberg hypocritically stated.

Hormel management demonstrated its real attitude toward the former strikers when in September the company made sure that 850 of the meat-packers were excluded from getting their jobs back under the terms of the contract it imposed on the UFCW.

Hormel is now trying to pit the Ottumwa workers affected by the decision to close the Ottumwa cut-and-kill operation against those fighting to get their jobs back in Austin. And the company will attempt to use the threat of being bumped to help enforce discipline on those currently working in the Austin plant.

The contract between Local 431 and Hormel expires in April. The company will attempt to force the union into as weak a position as possible so that a new round of givebacks can be pushed through. Then it will try to impose whatever it has forced through in Ottumwa on workers at other Hormel packing plants.

Local 431 officials and Hormel management agreed on December 19 to keep secret all information related to membership transfer rights.

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Watergate scandal: How Nixon's burglary cover-up came unglued

BY FRED FELDMAN

(First of three parts)

The news coverage on the crisis now shaking up the U.S. government is filled with comparisons and other references to the Watergate scandal of the early 1970s. Many of the names given today's revelations — "Irangate," "conragate," "Reagangate" — stem from those comparisons.

That crisis ended more than a dozen years ago, and many people today are not familiar with the events that the term Watergate refers to. This series will seek to provide some background.

Caught in act

On July 17, 1972, five men — their pockets stuffed with fresh \$100 bills — were caught burglarizing the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office, apartment, and hotel complex in Washington, D.C. They carried wiretapping and photographic equipment.

A little more than two years later, on Aug. 8, 1974, President Richard Nixon announced his resignation from office after it was revealed that he had attempted to cover up the role of the White House staff and the Committee to Re-elect the President (which became known by the acronym CREEP) in the burglary and other illegal activities. Tapes of his conversations proved he had been involved in the cover-up from the beginning.

The two years had seen a steadily increasing volume of congressional investigations, trials, probes by government prosecutors, leaks, and media exposés that lifted a corner of the veil over the government's secret, illegal operations.

Some 20 Nixon staff members and other U.S. officials, including former attorney general Richard Kleindienst and former vice-president Spiro Agnew, were convicted of offenses.

Nixon himself escaped prosecution through a pardon granted by President Gerald Ford shortly after the resignation.

White House connection

When the Watergate burglars were caught, presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler dismissed it as a "third-rate burglary attempt." The identities of the burglars belied this attempt to pooh-pooh the incident.

They included James McCord, a veteran of 20 years with the CIA who had become a security coordinator for CREEP, and Bernard Barker, a former member of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista's secret police. Barker had served as paymaster for the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. And it turned out that more than \$100,000 in CREEP checks had been deposited in his bank account.

Address books carried by two burglars contained the name of E. Howard Hunt and his White House office phone number. Hunt was employed by Nixon aide Charles Colson, who headed what other White House staff members called the "office of dirty tricks." A veteran of many years with the CIA, Hunt was the agent in direct charge of the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

The trail also led quickly to G. Gordon Liddy, financial counsel to CREEP. Liddy and Hunt were subsequently also indicted for their role in the burglary.

When the Watergate affair broke, the makings of a juicy and potentially explosive scandal were apparent. But for months neither Democratic nor Republican officeholders seemed eager to pursue the matter very far. It was not until early 1973 that a special Senate committee on Watergate was established. And not until May 1973 was Nixon forced to appoint a special prosecutor.

Cover-up

The Justice Department and FBI worked with the White House to keep the scandal under wraps. CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters (now U.S. ambassador to the United Nations) also helped out in the early stage of the cover-up. Six defendants —

the five burglars and Liddy — were convicted in January 1973, having remained silent about the involvement of anyone else in the break-in.

Only a few major daily newspapers — particularly the *Washington Post* — made any effort to dig out more facts. A trickle of leaks from dissident government officials or individuals with close ties to the government — especially from one whom the *Post* reporters code-named "Deep Throat" — aided the newspaper's investigation.

On Oct. 10, 1972, the *Post* revealed, "FBI agents have established that the Watergate bugging incident stemmed from a massive campaign of political sabotage and spying conducted on behalf of President Nixon's re-election and directed by officials of the White House and the Committee to Re-elect the President."

The operations included "following members of Democratic candidates' families; forging letters and distributing them under the candidates' letterheads; leaking false and manufactured items to the press; throwing campaign schedules into disarray; seizing confidential campaign files; and investigating the lives of dozens of Democratic campaign workers."

The operations were financed by a slush fund of \$350,000 to \$700,000 managed by former attorney general John Mitchell, who had quit as head of CREEP shortly after the burglary.

The October 23 *Time* magazine reported that a top CREEP undercover man had been recruited by Dwight Chapin, the "president's most trusted aide de camp" who "acts as a liaison between Nixon and his giant staff." The operative was paid by Nixon's personal attorney.

Cover-up unravels

Despite such revelations, the cover-up appeared to be succeeding. On Nov. 7, 1972, Nixon was reelected in a landslide, carrying every state except Massachusetts. For the next two months, public attention focused on the events leading up to the signing of the Paris Accords in January 1973, in which Washington agreed to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

From then on, however, the cover-up started coming unglued.

The *New York Times* revealed in January 1973 that four of the Watergate defendants were getting substantial sums of money from unknown sources. In fact, Hunt was squeezing the White House for big payoffs and promises of executive clemency in exchange for his continued silence.

L. Patrick Gray, whom Nixon had appointed to succeed the late J. Edgar Hoover as head of the FBI, admitted during hearings on his nomination in the Senate that White House staff member John Dean had been allowed to oversee the FBI investigation of Watergate. Later Gray resigned after confessing that he destroyed incriminating documents from Hunt's White House safe.

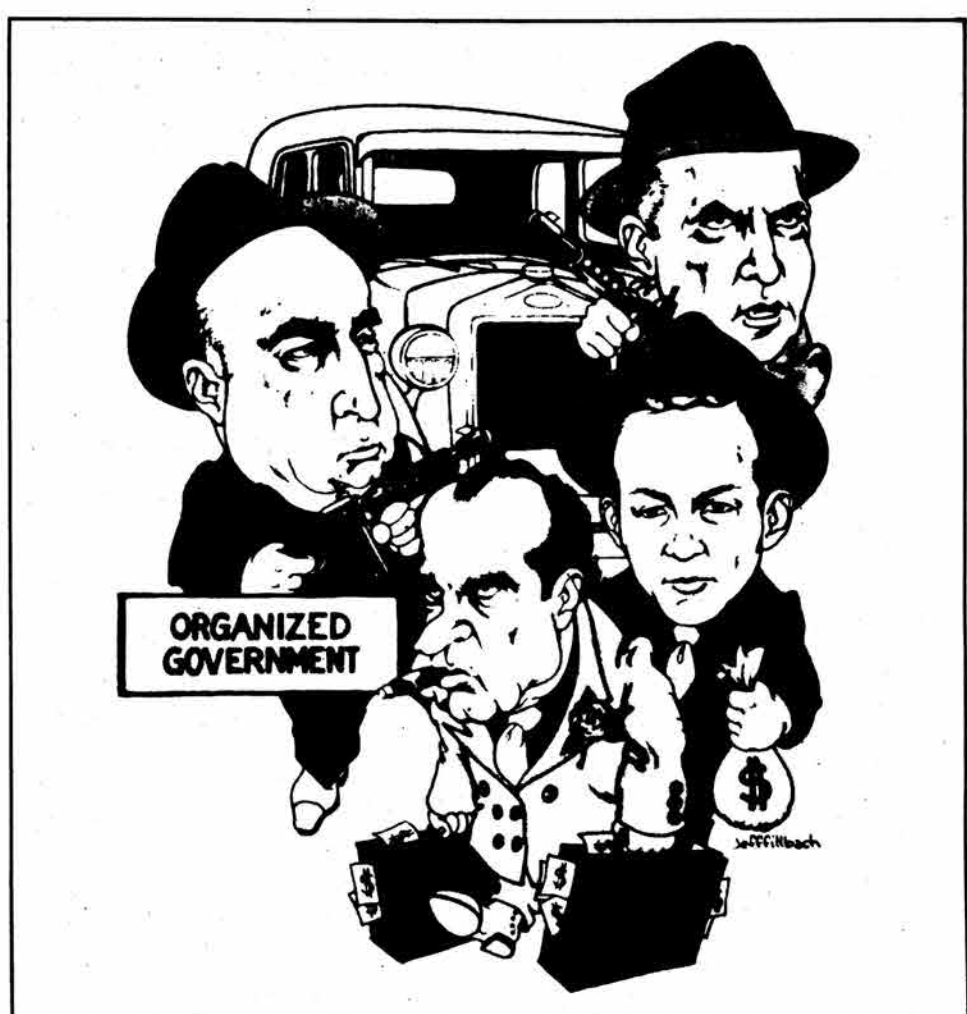
McCord talks

The lid blew off the case on March 23, 1973. Judge John Sirica, who had presided over the Watergate trial, read a letter from convicted burglar James McCord. The letter declared, "There was political pressure applied to the defendants to plead guilty and remain silent" in the trial. McCord added, "Others involved in the Watergate operation were not identified" at the trial.

McCord named top officials as involved in the burglary or cover-up, including Mitchell, Dean, Colson, White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman, and others.

Dean, who was picking up signals that Nixon was casting him in the role of scapegoat, began cooperating with federal prosecutors and agreed to testify to the Senate Watergate committee in exchange for a partial grant of immunity from prosecution.

Later he testified that he had told Nixon of the cover-up and that Nixon had okayed paying hush money to the burglars. Another big blow to the Nixon administration came in the trial of Daniel Ellsberg and



Richard Nixon, center, and gang.

Anthony Russo. The government wanted to jail them for providing the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times*. The papers were secret government documents that revealed how U.S. administrations from Truman through Johnson had deepened U.S. involvement to prevent Vietnam from falling into the hands of the Vietnamese.

The documents showed that the government secretly recognized the struggle in South Vietnam as a revolutionary civil war while publicly it said it was the result of an invasion by North Vietnam.

Ellsberg burglary

Judge Matthew Byrne, who was trying the case, revealed in April 1973 that the Justice Department had admitted to him that Hunt and Liddy had burglarized the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist in September 1971. The purpose was to find information that could be used to discredit the defendants.

Byrne also said that weeks earlier the White House had offered him the post of FBI director, in an obvious effort to buy his silence and assure convictions in the case.

Byrne also revealed that Hunt had admitted under oath that the burglary of Ellsberg's doctor had been organized by former White

House aide David Young and Under Secretary of Transportation Egil Krogh. The case against Ellsberg and Russo was dismissed.

Bribes

The investigation into CREEP's slush funds helped lead to ITT's contribution of \$400,000 to the Republican Party as a bribe for a favorable decision in an antitrust case. The dairy industry paid over \$400,000 to the Nixon campaign in order to get a ruling allowing higher prices.

Haldeman, Krogh, Dean and Attorney General Kleindienst resigned.

Nixon gave in to growing demands that he allow the appointment of a special prosecutor. On May 18 Attorney General Elliot Richardson named Harvard law professor Archibald Cox to the post. Cox said his task would be to "restore confidence in the honor, integrity, and decency of government."

A tall order, under the circumstances.

The next article will take up such events as the discovery of the White House tapes, the "Saturday Night Massacre," and the debate over impeachment that led up to Nixon's resignation.

(To be continued)

Railroad and airline workers discuss Amtrak-Conrail crash

BY WENDY BANEN

NEW YORK — There has been a lot of discussion in the rail yard where I work about the January 4 Amtrak-Conrail derailment.

While workers don't agree on the cause of the crash or what should be done about it, many are convinced the company and the government will use the accident to step up attacks on rail workers and our unions.

"The bosses will probably use this to clamp down on us more. We may see more timetable checks and urine-testing," a conductor in the yard where I work said.

Under a recently enacted law, workers found with alcohol or drugs in their blood following an accident are subject to five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Some of the older workers defended drug- and alcohol-testing. But an engineer said, "Even if we do not violate any rules, the company is violating our constitutional rights."

Another engineer told me, "This urine-testing for drugs and liquor simply lets the company off the hook."

A conductor said, "This sounds like big brother wants to control our lives seven days a week. But I really believe this ruling is just to get to people they don't like. The guidelines are not followed accurately, they have pulled people in [for testing] ar-

bitrarily, all new hires and applicants are tested. It goes on their records. I'd like to see the bosses pass these tests," he added.

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In the aftermath of the train accident, Eastern Airlines workers at National Airport here are discussing safety conditions for rail workers, comparing them to our own situation. A big topic of discussion has been the size of rail crews. Many workers drew the parallel to recent cuts in crew sizes at Eastern.

Workers talked about the lack of time and materials to do our job right — something that can jeopardize safety on an airline or a railroad.

One mechanic drew a parallel between slow-moving freight trains using high speed tracks and small aircraft flying in the same air space as commercial airlines.

"They are too cheap to construct new track. They're too cheap to hire enough workers to operate safely. And now their greed has killed 15 people," he said.

Wendy Banen is a hostler on the Metro North Commuter Line in New York. She is a member of United Transportation Union Local 385. Nancy Brown is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 796 at Eastern Airlines in Washington, D.C.



Unlike in Grenada after overthrow and murder of Maurice Bishop, U.S. invasion of Nicaragua would be met by confident, united, and armed workers and peasants.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Has the U.S. government succeeded, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, in overcoming the political obstacles to intervening in other countries with U.S. troops?

Did the 1983 invasion of Grenada signal a turning point in U.S. foreign policy?

Is Washington now in shape to not only fight new Vietnam wars, but to win them as well?

These are some of the important questions being discussed and debated in the furor surrounding the governmental crisis that promises to dominate U.S. politics for months to come.

Trying to reverse 'Vietnam syndrome'

As the U.S. war in Vietnam dragged on year after year, massive antiwar sentiment was generated in this country. This finally forced Washington to withdraw from Vietnam.

Since that defeat, the U.S. ruling class has been trying to convince the people of the United States that the goals it pursues abroad are worthy of our support, up to and including sacrificing our lives and those of our children if necessary.

In this, Reagan's administration — like James Carter's before him — has failed miserably.

The right-wing coterie linked to the Reagan administration talked a lot about "containing and rolling back" revolutionary movements and regimes that threaten Wall Street's interests in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Reagan, they claimed, was going to show the world that U.S. military might really could still be used to impose Washington's will. Many commentators saw this as a shift in U.S. foreign policy and dubbed it the "Reagan doctrine."

But when you get behind the words and actually look at what the U.S. government has done since 1981, it's clear the "Reagan doctrine" never even got out of the starting gate. In fact, it turns out to be a myth.

From Nicaragua to Lebanon, from Libya to El Salvador, Washington has not been

able to use its considerable military power to force compliance with U.S. dictates.

Grenada invasion not inevitable

But what about Grenada?

The Pentagon — with the support of Democrats and Republicans alike — sent 6,000 GIs to occupy the island, the first military action of its kind since the end of the Indochina war.

The invasion was carried out under the banner of saving the lives of U.S. medical students, who were allegedly in danger from the new regime of Bernard Coard. Just days before, a clique organized by Coard had murdered Maurice Bishop and overturned the workers' and farmers' government he headed. The U.S. invasion had the backing of many Grenadians, who were disoriented by the assassination of the popular revolutionary leader. To many working people in the United States it appeared to be justified.

Doesn't Grenada prove that the U.S. government has won the battle for public support for interventionism? Wasn't Grenada simply the first in what will be a string of successful invasions?

No. The invasion of Grenada doesn't have to be repeated, and it wasn't inevitable that it would happen.

It's important to look at what actually led to the invasion.

In March 1979 the people of Grenada overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy and began tackling the problems of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, poor housing, inadequate medical care, and other social ills that were the legacy of centuries of colonial domination.

Revolutionary Grenada became an example for the entire Caribbean and peoples elsewhere of what can be accomplished, even in a tiny country, when workers and farmers begin to run their nation in their own interests.

Washington found the Grenada revolution intolerable and did everything it could to weaken and destroy it. Economic pressure, lies and slanders, and military threats were all part of the anti-Grenada campaign. The Pentagon even carried out a mock invasion of Grenada during military maneuvers in 1981 as a rehearsal for an invasion.

But the Grenadian government refused to be bought or bullied. Instead it armed, organized, and mobilized the people.

Consequently, Washington knew that it would pay a big political price if it were to use military force to overturn this popular government. And it was not likely that it would have done so soon.

But it was handed an opportunity on a silver platter.

On Oct. 12, 1983, Bishop was placed under house arrest at the orders of a clique of army, government, and party officials organized by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. One week later, Bishop and five other central leaders were murdered in cold blood, again at the order of Coard's clique.

The new government issued a round-the-clock curfew, with orders to shoot violators on sight. The popular militia was disarmed.

On October 25, U.S. Marines and Army Rangers landed on the island.

The invasion only became inevitable after the government was overthrown. Bishop had always stressed that "the desperate plans of imperialism can be defeated" if the Grenadian people remained "organized, vigilant, united, and demonstrate firm and militant anti-imperialist solidarity."

U.S. military officials themselves have

admitted that simply from a military standpoint the invasion itself was a fiasco. The 6,000 "crack" troops that landed — on an island of 110,000 — didn't have maps, accurate intelligence, functional radios, or protective artillery.

The invasion — which was "master-minded" by Lt. Col. Oliver North — was more like an elephant stepping on a flea than a well-oiled military operation.

Killing the corpse of the Grenada revolution — this is U.S. imperialism's one foreign policy "victory" in six years.

Nicaragua won't be another Grenada

The Sandinistas often make the point that Nicaragua will not be another Grenada.

That doesn't mean Washington won't continue to wage war against Nicaragua with the *contra* mercenaries. Nor does it mean that Washington won't bend every effort to get the Honduran military involved. It doesn't mean that Washington won't find some pretext to carry out an air raid against Nicaragua. And it doesn't guarantee that Washington won't decide to invade at some point.

But one thing is crystal clear: if the U.S. government invades Nicaragua, it will be a long, drawn-out war. And Washington will lose.

Washington can't win

Washington won't win in Nicaragua for the same reason that it didn't win in Vietnam — it can't get enough popular support at home to sustain the massive effort that would be involved in trying to defeat the armed and mobilized Nicaraguan workers

and peasants.

More than 8 million U.S. soldiers were part of the 16-year-long war in Indochina. Of those, 60,000 were killed and 300,000 wounded. Estimates of Vietnamese killed range from 1.7 million to 3 million people.

Despite this massive use of force and violence, the U.S. rulers could not make the Vietnamese people cry uncle. They were forced to withdraw.

A similar fate awaits the Pentagon in Nicaragua.

War at home

But it's not just the antiwar sentiment generated by the bloodbath in Vietnam that prevents Washington from unleashing its troops and bombs against the peoples of the world.

The past decade has also been marked by a driving down of the living standards of U.S. working people for the first time since the 1930s, both through inflation and outright wage cuts.

Social services are being decreased. And working farmers are facing their most severe crisis in decades.

This is not a favorable situation for convincing working people in this country to sacrifice for wars in other countries. This is not like the early years of the Vietnam War, when economic expansion held out the promise that living conditions would continue to improve.

As long as the ruling class has to simultaneously attack the rights and living standards of working people at home while it's trying to defend its shrinking empire around the world, the U.S. government will not be able to win another war.

Minnesota meat-packers hear revolutionary from India

BY CHRIS RAYSON

Mihir Desai, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Organization in India, recently completed a two-week fact-finding and speaking tour of the United States.

Desai is a leader of the struggle for housing rights in Bombay, India, and is president of the United Organization of Building Dwellers. He has been particularly active in defending the Muslim and Sikh communities from violent attacks carried out by Hindu chauvinists.

One highlight of the tour was a three-day trip to Austin, Minnesota, where Desai had an opportunity to meet and talk to members of the Original P-9 and their supporters in the struggle against the Hormel meat-packing company.

Desai had a chance to attend several of the work committees set up to build support for the struggle against Hormel, including the Mural Project and retirees' committees.

On January 6 Desai spoke to a meeting of the United Support Group — an organization of spouses, retirees, children, and other supporters of the meat-packers' fight.

He expressed his full solidarity with the struggle and pointed out how the "enthusiasm, courage, and organization of the Original P-9ers and their supporters make this a fight that advances the position of working people all across the country."

Desai explained how the workers and peasants of India have a great stake in this battle as well "because in reality we are involved in one worldwide battle for justice and a better life in the face of ruthless exploitation by the rich."

Desai was also able to meet farmers in rural Minnesota, fighting to save their land and equipment from government and bank foreclosures. On December 29 he attended a public meeting of 150 farmers organized by Groundswell, a grassroots farmers' organization based in Minnesota. The following day Desai participated in a successful protest to prevent foreclosure of two buildings on the farm of Martin Berren, a Groundswell leader from Montevideo, Minnesota.

Another highlight of the tour was a meeting with leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) who presented Desai with a gift of wild rice collected from the White Earth Indian reservation. Vernon Bellecourt of AIM toured Desai through the AIM-administered "Little Earth" housing projects in Minneapolis. These projects are where many of the 35,000 Indians residing in the Twin Cities live.

Desai was featured at public meetings in St. Paul, Minnesota; St. Louis; and Newark, New Jersey. He spoke on the political situation in India and the struggles of workers and peasants there to better their living conditions.

Desai plans to build solidarity with U.S. workers, especially struggling meat-packers, on his return to India. "There is a false impression widespread outside the U.S. that workers here are backward," he said. "I found instead a mood of struggle, and a lot of thinking going on about how to do it."

Argiris Malapanis and Craig Honts contributed to this article.



Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83

\$7.95 paper. Available from bookstores listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add 75 cents for postage and handling.

Newark kicks off 'Militant' renewal drive

BY MALIK MIAH

The *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* business office received 60 renewals during the second week of the seven-week national renewal campaign. That's an average of 12 renewals per day (excluding Sunday and the Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday).

The national renewal effort by *Militant* and *PM* supporters began January 10 and ends February 28. So far, 551 subscribers have renewed. The goal is to convince as many subscribers as possible to extend their subscriptions, particularly first-time readers who bought subscriptions during the successful fall campaign that signed up 8,673 *Militant* and 2,328 *PM* subscribers.

Of the 60 who renewed, 41 had bought their first subscription last fall. Sixteen of those renewing bought six-month or one-year subscriptions.

Another 19 people, already longtime *Militant* readers, renewed their subscriptions, including two readers in Europe.

Two subscribers also ordered a complete set of five issues of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

During the renewal campaign, *Militant* readers who extend their subscriptions for six months or longer will receive a free issue of *New International* (see ad below). *PM* re-subscribers will have a choice of eight weeks of the *Militant* or a copy of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *Sudáfrica: la revolución en camino*, by Jack Barnes.

Supporters in most areas of the country have only begun to organize their renewal effort. This includes Newark, New Jersey, distributors who sold nearly 550 *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions last fall.

I recently talked with Candace Wagner and Laura Carnes about their results.

Wagner explained that supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* in northern New Jersey have begun calling subscribers. While the response hasn't been "outstanding," it has been solid.

On Saturday, January 17, two teams of phone callers — in shifts of two hours each using two phones — netted one renewal and several promises. Over the weekend, Wagner explained, "four people agreed to renew, and four others bought subscriptions. This included two antiwar activists who spoke at a *Militant* Labor Forum Friday night."

Carnes noted that calling *PM* subscribers generally requires fairly fluent Spanish. "I

tried for awhile but couldn't maintain a lengthy discussion." So, she said, another *PM* supporter fluent in Spanish did the calling, and she "ran" to pick up the subscription, bringing along leaflets on upcoming political events.

"Some people have come into the Pathfinder Bookstore in Newark to renew," Wagner added. "One woman brought in the renewal form she received in the mail from the *Militant*. She not only renewed but also bought some books."

Carnes said she talked to one subscriber who had bought his subscription from a *Militant* supporter who works at General Dynamics. He agreed to renew.

Later the *Militant* supporter at General Dynamics told Carnes that this worker had put him off when he raised renewing the subscription. It seems a courteous, businesslike phone call from another *Militant-PM* supporter made the difference.



Selling *Militant* in Newark, New Jersey.

Militant

Klan attack on march spurs protests

Continued from front page threats.

Dean Carter decided to go ahead with the walk on January 17, renaming it the March Against Intimidation.

March organizers found that the permit granted by the cops required the marchers to assemble in the same area where Klan-organized racists had been given a permit to gather. Those driving to the march were required to park alongside the Klan rally and walk to the nearby assembly point. The demonstrators and the crowd brought by the Klan were separated from us only by a two-lane gravel road and some cops.

Set up for the Klan

The Klan held a rally at the assembly point addressed by Stoner and Ed Stephens, grand dragon of the Imperial Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The antiracists were required by their permit to march two and a half miles down a sparsely populated road to the rally point in downtown Cumming.

When the bus arrived from Atlanta bringing several dozen people, including

Atlanta City Councilman Hosea Williams, the march began.

I asked participants why they were there. Dana, a 16-year-old white high school student from Cumming, looked at the racists and said, "Because this is disgusting."

A 21-year-old worker, also from Cumming, said simply, "Because I am not a racist."

Racist violence

The march started, using the bus and patrol cars as shields. Bottles and stones rained down on the demonstrators. Williams was hit, and a Black state assemblyman was knocked down. People tried to protect children by putting coats over their heads.

A World War II veteran, originally from Cumming, wrapped his hand that had been cut to the bone. But everyone kept marching.

The racists seized the road on the left and right flanks and the rear of the demonstration. Cops from the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) and the Forsyth Sheriff's Department informed us that the

situation was "out of control."

After consultation among the march organizers, people boarded the bus. Demonstrators discussed the failure of the cops to let the mob know that violence would not be tolerated. The situation had been set up from the start to assure violence against the marchers.

We never made it to the assigned rally point, the courthouse in Cumming. The media later reported that there were 1,000 Klan-organized racists at the site in a hate-filled atmosphere, complete with Nazi salutes.

We rode the bus a couple of miles and held a short rally. Williams declared, "We had to march in Forsyth or we would have turned King's dream into a nightmare."

Dean Carter said there were many decent people in the area who had been intimidated by threats and urged more marches in the county.

The marchers had to be driven back to their cars by the police. All of us were shaken up, but were glad we had stood up to the intimidation.

Many were surprised at the statewide mobilization of racist scum to oppose the march. Marchers from the area told me that they recognized few of the racists, and that more people from the county would have marched with us but for the fear inspired by death threats.

Many people in the county were stunned by the violence. One Cumming resident told reporters, "I work for AT&T and many of my coworkers are Black, and I just want to say I am against this kind of violence."

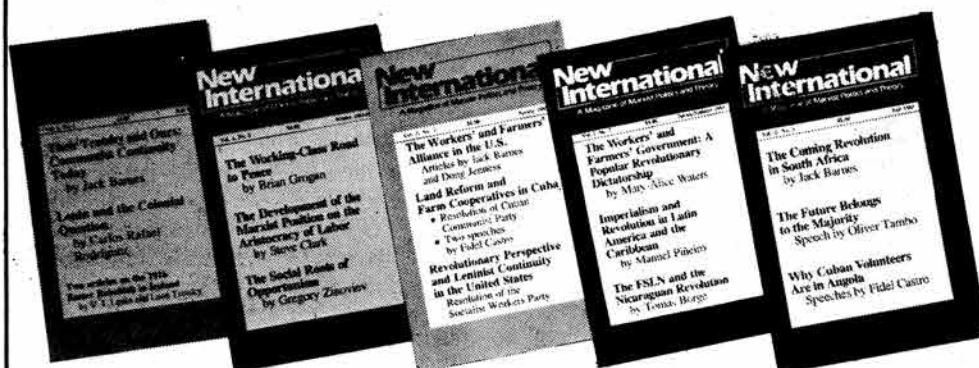
A young white man driving through town with his child told reporters, "I couldn't believe it. A busload of Blacks pulls up and that mob begins to yell, 'Nigger, nigger, nigger.' I did not think that this could happen in America."

Outrage leads to call for action

The racist violence has evoked a response across the state. All of the major civil rights leaders and organizations have denounced the attack. The outrage forced the sheriff of Forsyth County to declare, "There will be no more violence if it takes 300 state troopers and every GBI agent in the state."

At an Atlanta press conference on King Day, Coretta Scott King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery, Jesse Jackson, and Williams announced a second March Against Intimidation for Saturday, January 24. Williams said the Saturday march will proceed from Exit 10 on Georgia Highway 400 to the Forsyth County Court House. He said buses will leave for Forsyth County about 9:30 a.m. from the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta.

Special offer for 'New International' if you renew your 'Militant' subscription



If you renew your *Militant* subscription today, you'll receive free an issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, published in New York.

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- Vol. 1, No. 1 — "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today" by Jack Barnes. "Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.
- Vol. 1, No. 2 — "The Working-Class Road to Peace" by Brian Grogan. "The Development of the Marxist Position on the

Position on the Aristocracy of Labor" by Steve Clark.

- Vol. 1, No. 3 — "The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship" by Mary-Alice Waters. "The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge.
- Vol. 2, No. 1 — "The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.," articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jennings. "Land Reform and Cooperatives in Cuba."

- Vol. 2, No. 2 — "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes. "The Future Belongs to the Majority," Speech by Oliver Tambo. "Cuba's Internationalist Volunteers in Angola," Speech by Fidel Castro.

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Afghan gov't begins truce in civil war

Six-month cease-fire with rightist guerrillas is backed by Soviet Union

BY DOUG JENNESS

The first cease-fire in the seven-year war in Afghanistan was unilaterally begun January 15 by the government of Afghanistan with the full support of the Soviet government. The six-month truce was announced in early January by Najib, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA).

Afghan troops, backed by more than 100,000 Soviet soldiers, have been fighting a bitter war against rightist guerrilla forces, who have received significant backing from the U.S. and Pakistani governments.

The initiative for "national reconciliation" was accompanied by government appeals for Afghan refugees, most of whom are in Pakistan, to come home and live in peace. Najib announced an amnesty for draft resisters and a six-month exemption from military service for those returning. He offered tax write-offs and cancellation of repayments on farm loans.

As part of this general amnesty, the Afghan leader also announced that many prisoners would be released.

Broaden government

At a meeting on January 3, Najib pledged to draw Islamic organizations, other political groups, and the leaders of armed factions operating outside the country into the process of national reconciliation.

A government declaration the same day stated the goal is the "creation of a government of national unity, up to and including the imparting of a coalition character to it by broad political forces."

Najib said, "The holy religion of Islam is the religion of Afghanistan, and this will be formalized in article 2 of the new constitution." This follows earlier moves by the government to reconcile its differences with sections of the Islamic hierarchy. These have included providing public funds to scores of mosques that are not hostile to the government.

The overtures to the clergy are aimed at countering the rightist forces, which have strong backing among the Islamic mullahs. The rightists have portrayed their reactionary military drive as a "holy war."

Najib said that a favorable response to this set of proposals would pave the way for the removal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

The leaders of the seven main guerrilla organizations have so far rejected the cease-fire, and in many parts of the country they have continued their armed attacks. Their thumbs-down response was presented at a mass rally of supporters in Peshawar, Pakistan, on January 17.

Gorbachev's Afghan policy

The Afghan government's cease-fire proposal followed steps taken over the last two years by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that could move toward bringing an end to the war and to removing Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Two months after Gorbachev became first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985, he ordered a review of the country's Afghan policy. In his report to the February 1986 Soviet Communist Party Congress, Gorbachev called for a "political settlement" to the Afghan war to permit a Soviet withdrawal "in the nearest future." Gorbachev referred to the war as a "bleeding wound."

As part of Moscow's more vigorous pursuit of a political settlement, it backed the removal of Babrak Karmal as PDPA general secretary in May 1986 and his replacement by Najib. Karmal had become Afghanistan's top leader in December 1979 when tens of thousands of Soviet troops entered the country.

Karmal had initiated a series of conciliatory moves in November 1985. This included appointing 56 non-PDPA persons — mostly professors, businessmen, and Islamic clergy who had been hostile to the government — to the governing Revolutionary Council in January 1986.

Najib reaffirmed these initiatives and stepped up efforts to go much further in broadening the base of support for the gov-

ernment and laying the basis for a political settlement.

In October Moscow withdrew 8,000 troops from Afghanistan, which it presented as a gesture toward achieving its goal of getting all Soviet troops out of the country.

A series of top-level meetings between Soviet and Afghan officials soon followed to put the cease-fire into place.

Moscow has also tried to win Pakistani support for its truce plan. In early December Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdus Sattar was in Moscow for discussions.

Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Kovalev flew to Pakistan in mid-January for further talks with Pakistani leaders.

Moscow hopes its cease-fire initiative and diplomatic moves toward Pakistan will give it greater momentum going into the next round of United Nations-sponsored talks on Afghanistan, scheduled to reconvene in Geneva, Switzerland, February 11.

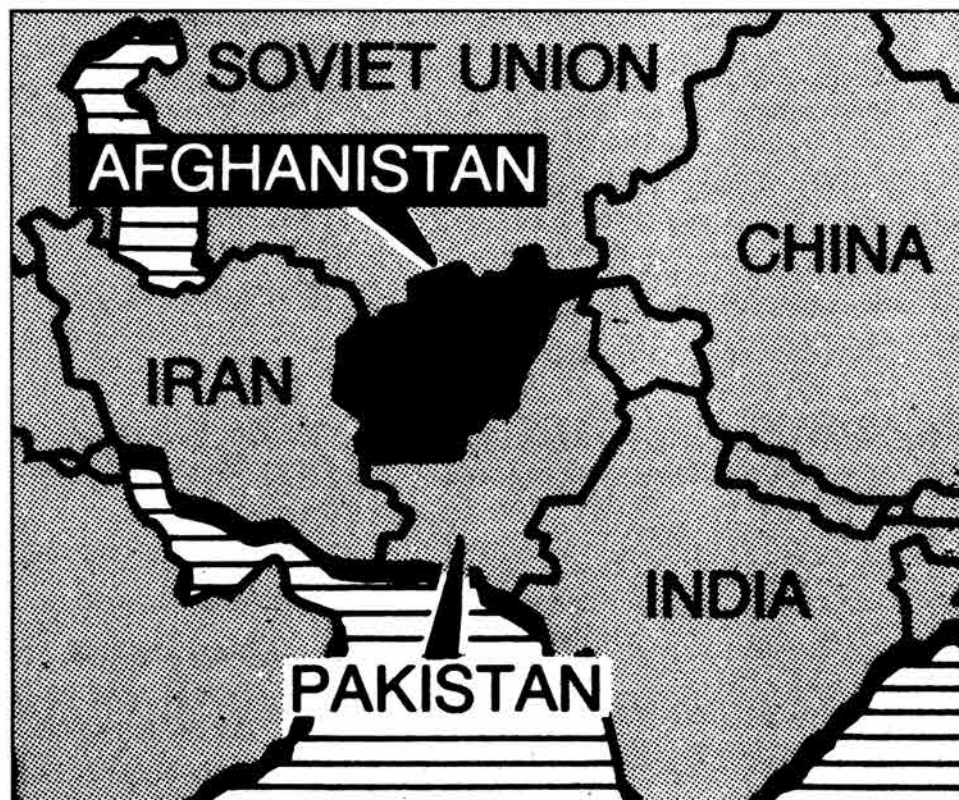
Shifts inside USSR

Gorbachev's drive to try to reach a settlement in the Afghan war and extricate Soviet troops is connected to other moves he's making inside the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev has been leading an effort to introduce new measures that can help boost the rate of economic growth in the USSR, which has been declining in recent years.

These reforms, which involve increasing workers' output, count heavily on winning acceptance from the Soviet people. This is why Gorbachev has been lifting restrictions on criticism, including by journalists, artists, and even such prominent dissidents as physicist Andrei Sakharov. And it's shown in the Soviet leader's recent international initiatives, which aim to raise Moscow's moral and political standing at home as well as abroad.

This includes its Afghan policy. Before Gorbachev assumed the reins, the Soviet press virtually ignored the war in Afghanistan. But this seriously undermined the cre-



dibility of the government and media in the eyes of the Soviet people. The war touches on the lives of too many families — especially those with draft-age youth — for it to be kept in the closet.

Gorbachev has attempted to rectify this to some degree by encouraging the media to carry more on the war. Since he was installed, Afghanistan has become one of the most heavily covered countries on Soviet TV news. Since November 1985 the battlefield aspects of the war have also been reported.

As more and more Soviet soldiers have come home wounded or in caskets, questioning and discontent over the war have been mounting.

In July 1986, for example, *Red Star*, a

Soviet military journal, exposed a scandal of senior military officers using their influence to keep their sons, who have been drafted into the army, from being sent to Afghanistan.

The decision to expose this favoritism, made at the highest levels of the Ministry of Defense, was part of a tightening up on conscription to ensure that even the sons of the privileged do military service. This was aimed at countering grumblings about the war.

Whether Moscow's drive to find a way to end the Afghan war will succeed soon remains to be seen. A lot depends on Washington, which is the main banker and arms supplier for the rightist guerrillas. So far, U.S. officials have responded negatively to the cease-fire initiative.

U.S. gov't continues aid to Afghan rightists

BY MALIK MIAH

Last June four members of the seven-party Afghan counterrevolutionary alliance arrived in Washington, D.C., to meet with President Ronald Reagan and congressional leaders. At that meeting Reagan reaffirmed Washington's support for the "freedom fighters" and promised them the "appropriate aid" in their attempt to overthrow the government in Kabul.

According to the January 13 *Washington Post*, clandestine "appropriate aid" for the Afghan rightists has more than doubled since 1985. "From a level of \$280 million in fiscal 1985," the *Post* reported, "the CIA budget allocation for Afghan freedom fighters grew to \$470 million in fiscal 1986 and \$630 million in the current fiscal year."

This military aid does not include CIA-organized fund-raising among Washington's closest allies, such as the Saudi monarchy. The CIA and the Saudi government each placed \$250 million in a CIA-run Swiss bank account to purchase arms for the Afghan terrorists.

Since the Soviet Union sent tens of thousands of troops into Afghanistan in 1979 to prop up the government there, Washington has substantially increased its military aid to Afghan rebels.

Last fall, for the first time, the U.S. government provided the rightists with advanced surface-to-air missiles, including the U.S.-built Stinger and British-built Blowpipe.

In a trip to Pakistan in October, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said Washington was considering sending advanced airborne warning and control systems surveillance planes — AWACS — to Pakistan to patrol the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. He indicated then that U.S. crews may fly the aircraft.

Through the Agency for International Development (AID), the U.S. government is also launching a "humanitarian aid" pro-

gram for the rightists. This so-called non-lethal assistance will be sent directly to rebel-controlled areas. AID officials claim U.S. personnel will not go into Afghanistan. The aid, they assert, will be funneled through the "resistance."

Privately funded groups, such as Freedom Medicine, have sent U.S. doctors to the rightists' camps in Pakistan.

Boston University has accepted a \$180,000 grant from the United States Information Agency to train Afghan refugees as "journalists." This training, which will take place in Pakistan, is aimed at conducting an anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda campaign.

The project is part of a \$500,000 program established by Congress in 1985. The King Features Syndicate will also receive \$310,000 to create an Afghan news service.

Pakistan-U.S. link

Pakistan is the main base from which the Afghan terrorists carry out their dirty war against the Kabul government. The Pakistani military regime of Zia ul-Haq has provided sanctuary for the rightists, and the military works hand in glove with them.

This collaboration has led to growing U.S. military support for the Zia regime, which is unpopular and threatened by an expanding opposition movement inside Pakistan.

Since the early 1980s, Pakistan has received several billion dollars in direct U.S. military and economic aid. From 1982 to 1987 Pakistan received \$3.2 billion, including advanced F16 fighter planes. Congress recently approved a six-year aid program of \$4.02 billion.

Lawrence Lifschultz, writing in the December 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, noted: "The enormous expansion in Pakistan's military expenditure, estimated at more than 60 percent since 1979, has been funded out of U.S. aid, mainly linked to Centcom."

Centcom, or U.S. Central Command, is the first new unified military command to be established by Washington in more than 35 years. Its area of responsibility, according to Lifschultz, is Southwest Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Horn of Africa — a region ranging from Kenya and Somalia to Pakistan and Afghanistan. That covers 19 countries — three more than NATO.

Centcom can currently call upon 300,000 troops for intervention in Southwest Asia. It's expected to climb to 450,000 troops by 1989.

Because of Pakistan's geographical location, it is strategic to Centcom. Thus the massive U.S. aid.

Since 1983, for example, U.S. P3 Orion surveillance aircraft have been using Pakistani air bases. This is a reversal of a 23-year policy banning such use.

The U.S. military has budgeted more than \$14 billion to be spent by 1988 on facilities linked to the deployment of U.S. forces in the region. Most of the military upgrading and developing of new facilities is in Pakistan's province of Baluchistan, bordering Iran and Afghanistan.

Pakistan's chairman of the armed forces' joint chiefs of staffs, Gen. Rahimuddin Khan, has been quoted in the Pakistani press as saying 32 airfields are now under construction in Baluchistan. The most significant base is near the Afghanistan border.

Pakistan's major port city, Karachi, is now receiving U.S. Navy ships on a regular basis.

Because many Pakistani officers speak one of the two major Afghan languages, it is widely assumed that they are training the rightist guerrillas in the use of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

"Although Pakistan denies any role in aiding the *mujaheddin* [the rightists]," reports James Rupert of the *Washington Post*, "a western diplomat in Islamabad said Pakistani officers 'are known to go inside' Afghanistan."

'This ruling is a contribution to constitution

Attorney Leonard Boudin discusses decision in SWP lawsuit and fight for demo

BY NORTON SANDLER

NEW YORK — When a decision was handed down last August in the court case brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and other U.S. government spy agencies, leading constitutional rights attorney Leonard Boudin told a news conference, "The impact of this decision goes far beyond the SWP and YSA."

"This ruling is a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protection to the rights of all," Boudin said.

Boudin is the attorney for the SWP and YSA. In a recent interview, he expanded on the importance of the decision in the

"The U.S. government said the court had no jurisdiction over the matter and that its findings were not binding," Boudin recalled.

"This contradiction makes for an interesting discussion of the basis for the Reagan administration's refusal to abide by the World Court ruling."

Boudin has been involved personally in both issues.

When the U.S. government, using the hostages as a pretext, seized Iranian assets in the United States at the height of its highly orchestrated anti-Iranian political campaign, Boudin represented the Iranian central bank in its effort to get Iranian

tant cases of the McCarthyite witch-hunt era of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Boudin defended Judith Coplon, an employee of the Justice Department who became the first U.S. civilian tried for spying for the Soviet Union. She was arrested in 1949 and convicted. Boudin, however, successfully argued in the appeal that the government had violated Coplon's constitutional rights, including through the use of illegal wiretaps.

Although the case was sent back for another trial, the government dropped the prosecution, unable to come up with evidence that had not been illegally obtained.

Around the time of the Coplon case, those who were communists or were accused of being communists often had a difficult time obtaining legal defense. Attorney General Tom Clark led a campaign to deny the right to practice law to attorneys who were members of "subversive" groups, or even provided legal defense to those who were. Attorneys who defended Communist Party members indicted under the thought-control Smith Act themselves often wound up convicted for "contempt of court" by judges who also sentenced their clients to long prison terms for their political ideas.

Under these conditions, the most prominent U.S. organization claiming to defend democratic rights, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), caved in for the most part and refused to defend members of the Communist Party or those accused of being CP members. For instance, in 1952 the ACLU issued a lengthy statement asserting that nothing in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — neither the trial itself nor the death sentence — raised a civil liberties issue.

The ACLU went so far as to demand that its own members take "loyalty oaths."

Formation of ECLC

In response to this situation, a small group of democrats decided that a new organization was needed to provide legal counsel for victims of government repression. They established the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC). (The name was changed in 1968 to the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.)

Boudin became a volunteer counsel for the new organization soon after its founding and has been its general counsel since 1954.

In his first ECLC case he represented the prominent Black singer and actor Paul Robeson, who was fighting to get the government to grant him a passport. This was the first of many cases Boudin has handled that defended the right to travel. The fight around the Robeson passport was especially important as thousands of U.S. citizens were being denied the right to travel.

The government was forced to return Robeson's passport in 1958.

In the mid-1960s, the NECLC and Boudin successfully represented U.S. students who had defied the travel ban and traveled to Cuba. Their passports were revoked in retaliation.

The Supreme Court ruled that the government had no right to tell U.S. citizens they were forbidden to travel to certain countries.

The government then issued new regulations that did not forbid travel to Cuba, but made it illegal under most circumstances for U.S. residents to spend money in Cuba or to get there. Boudin was back in court, arguing that the new regulations, in effect, violated the right to travel. This time, however, the case was lost.

Government denial of visas

Boudin and the NECLC have also been at the center of the current fight over the denial of visas to those whose political ideas the U.S. government finds unacceptable.

When Hortensia Allende, widow of slain Chilean President Salvador Allende, was invited to give a series of lectures in the United States in 1983, government officials denied her a visa. They claimed her

visit would not be in the public interest.

The NECLC is challenging that position in federal court on behalf of several U.S. citizens whose constitutional rights were violated by the government's refusal to allow them to exchange views with Allende.

Boudin is also involved in a case, along with the ACLU, fighting the government's refusal to allow Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge; Nino Pasti, a former Italian NATO general; and Olga Finlay and Leonor Rodríguez Lezcano from the Federation of Cuban Women to enter the country.

Boudin also represents the Cuban and Angolan governments on legal matters inside the United States.

Right to bail

Leonard Boudin has also been in the forefront of the legal effort to prevent the further erosion of the constitutional right of those who are not convicted of any crime to be released on bail pending trial. As is often the case with such important questions of constitutional law, the government is trying to establish its authority to deny rights by using a case involving individuals branded in the press as "terrorists."

Two hundred heavily armed FBI agents went on a rampage in Puerto Rico on Aug. 30, 1985. Eleven activists involved in the struggle to gain Puerto Rican independence from the United States were arrested. Ten additional activists were also picked up in Dallas, Texas, and Cuernavaca, Mexico.

The 13 are accused of being members of a proindependence organization called the

"I'll never forget when Judge Boudin, you would never let

Macheteros. The FBI claims they robbed a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1983.

"For the last half year, I have been very heavily involved in the bail issue for the Puerto Rican nationalists," Boudin said. "I do not represent them in the case proper, but I filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the court of appeals challenging the constitutionality of the detention provision of the Bail Reform Act of 1984."

This act, for the first time, gives federal courts considerable power to deny bail in cases where those arrested are accused by the government of being "dangerous."

The appeals court ruled last May that the Bail Reform Act was unconstitutional, but it still refused to release nine of the defendants, claiming they might fail to show up for their trial.

Boudin filed a petition with the Supreme Court in which he argued, "There is no risk of flight in the case, and even if there is, there is a traditional way we have handled that problem for 200 years, and that is by requiring the defendants to put up bail."



Boudin has been active in fight to win bail. From left to right: Isaac Camacho, María Berrios Berrios, Luis Alfredo Colón, Segarra, Colón, and O

"I've read lots of books on the intelligence community and how it works. They are all superficial compared to what's been learned as a result of the SWP and YSA case. . . ."

SWP and YSA case. He also discussed several of the legal cases he is involved in.

The interview took place in Boudin's office as he was making final preparations to spend a month at the University of California Law School in Berkeley, teaching a course on "Constitutional and International Litigation: the National Emergency."

Boudin has been teaching this course, using different cases, at a number of law schools for the past 20 years.

While in Berkeley, he also delivered a regents lecture, contrasting the position the U.S. government took in two cases that have come before the World Court (the International Court of Justice) in the Hague, Netherlands.

In 1979 and 1980 when Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and held the embassy personnel employed there, the State Department claimed the World Court had jurisdiction over the hostage matter. It asserted that the court's ruling in favor of Washington's claims was binding on Iran.

But in 1984 when Nicaragua brought charges in the World Court against Washington, U.S. officials sang a different tune, Boudin explained.

The court found Washington guilty on several counts of violating Nicaragua's national sovereignty and ordered it to pay reparations for the damages it had inflicted.

property returned.

Though not directly involved in the Nicaraguan World Court case, Boudin's law firm, Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, and Lieberman, now represents that country's mission to the United Nations.

In his capacity as general counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), Boudin has been studying "not only the Nicaraguan case before the International Court of Justice" but also how Washington's acts of aggression against Nicaragua are in "violation of the American statutes."

Earlier, State Department officials debated Boudin on the Nicaraguan World Court case at Stanford and Yale universities and before the Washington State Bar Association. Now, the government refuses to debate him.

Defender of constitutional rights

Leonard Boudin has been at the center of legal battles with the government involving major questions of constitutional law and democratic rights for more than four decades. During his career, he has consistently provided legal counsel for victims of the government. Moreover, he has done so even when the individuals or groups involved had little public support.

In one of the most celebrated and impor-

PR Political Rights Defense Fund

Help us win more victories for democratic rights

Now that a federal judge has ruled that the FBI's spying against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance was illegal, the case is going back to court to determine what will happen to the millions of secret files the government spies accumulated.

Every supporter of democratic rights has a stake in helping bring about another victory against the FBI in the upcoming hearings. The Political Rights Defense Fund needs your endorsement and your financial help to make the next stage in this battle a success.

- ☐ I want to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.
- ☐ Send me a copy of the booklet with the federal court decision against the FBI. Enclosed is \$1.

☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to keep up the fight.
\$500 _____ \$100 _____ \$50 _____ \$10 _____ other _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ Organization _____

Signature _____

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

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"These individuals have been held in jail," he said. "They have not been convicted of anything, and they may all be acquitted." In December a federal judge set bail for some of the defendants. In some cases it was as high as \$500,000 to \$1 million. Three of the defendants are still in jail in Hartford.

Bloomington case

In 1963 three members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Indiana in Bloomington were arrested and charged with conspiring to "overthrow the State of Indiana by force and violence." The frame-up stemmed from the YSA members' activity in the civil rights movement and in defense of the Cuban revolution.

The anticommunist witch-hunt still cast a shadow over U.S. politics in the early 1960s, and at a time when the three could not find another attorney to represent them, Boudin and the NECLC agreed to take the case.

After a vigorous legal defense and a public campaign that won broad support throughout the country, the charges were withdrawn in 1967.

The Bloomington case was the beginning of a long relationship between Boudin and the SWP and YSA. Over the years, Boudin became de facto general counsel for the two organizations, providing legal defense in a number of cases that raised questions of political rights.

In 1973 Boudin filed suit on behalf of the SWP and YSA against the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service,

Griesa walked into FBI files and said, 'Mr. Boudin, I believe what's in those files.'

and other government agencies. The suit charged that these police agencies had violated the rights of the SWP and its members since the early 1940s and the YSA since its founding in 1960.

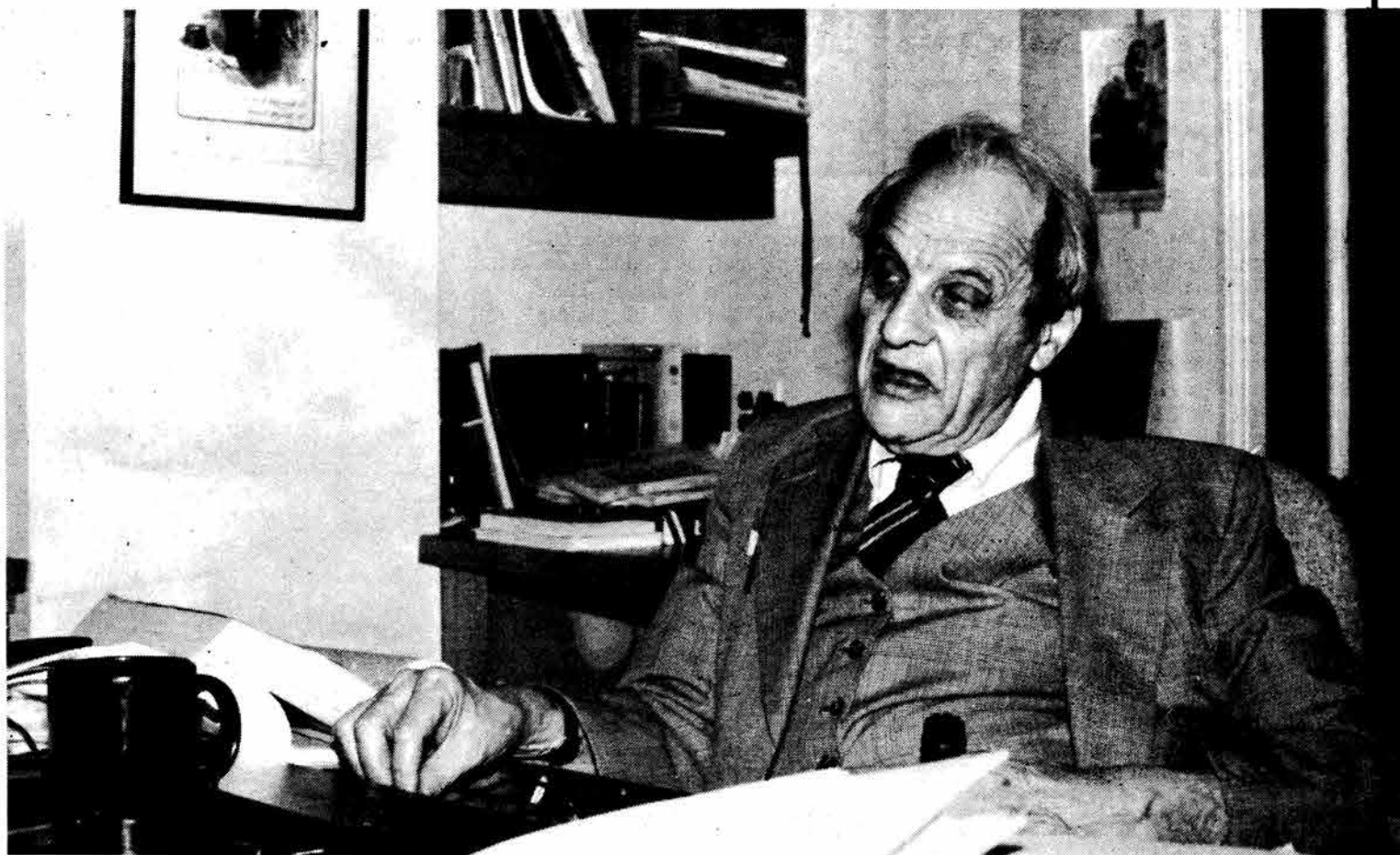
The case finally went to trial in 1981. In 1986 Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI's use of informers, disruption programs, and break-ins was illegal and ordered the government to pay damages.

Though other lawsuits and various congressional committees in the 1970s brought to light important aspects of government spying and disruption, Boudin told the *Militant*, "There will never be the kind of detailed, cold, study of the techniques, methods, and purposes of the FBI political disruption programs like what was brought to public attention in the presentation of the SWP and YSA case."

"This is a picture in microcosm of how the FBI and these other agencies work. I have read a lot of books on the intelligence community and how it works. They are all superficial compared to what has been learned as a result of this case," he said.



Militant/Selva Nebbia
for Puerto Rican independence fighters. In, Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer, Luz n Osorio, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Orlando eda are still in jail.



Leonard Boudin has been involved in legal battles with government involving constitutional rights for more than four decades. He has defended victims of government attack, including those smeared as "spies" and "terrorists."

Boudin believes that the impact on Judge Griesa of actually seeing what was in the FBI files played a major role in the shaping of the decision. Griesa is a Republican, appointed by Richard Nixon to the bench.

At a critical stage in the pretrial proceedings, Boudin recalled, there was an impasse. The FBI was refusing to turn over to the plaintiffs crucial material from its files, claiming that to do so would violate the "informer privilege" of secrecy and advancing other, similar arguments. Judge Griesa was not prepared to overrule the FBI, and if he had, he himself probably would have been reversed by the appeals court.

Boudin recommended to the SWP and YSA that Griesa be urged to review the files in private, without attorneys for the SWP and YSA present. Boudin estimated that the risk that Griesa would be swayed by some lies concocted by the FBI about the SWP and YSA was outweighed by the potential effect on him of seeing for himself the raw record of the FBI's activities. The strategy paid off.

"I will never forget when Judge Griesa walked into the courtroom after having reviewed the FBI files," Boudin said.

"Of course he was barred from revealing anything about the content of the files. But he turned to me and said, 'Mr. Boudin, you would never believe what's in those files.' He was shocked by the kind of information on legal political activity and details of personal lives that the FBI was compiling."

In his decision, Griesa emphasized that in 40 years of spying, the FBI found no evidence of illegal activity by the SWP or YSA. Griesa said he will grant an injunction restricting use of the government's illegally obtained files on the SWP and YSA and their individual members.

Boudin believes the injunction must prevent any government agency from using the illegally obtained files in any way.

"We have given Judge Griesa our thoughts in writing," Boudin continued, "and the government attorneys say they have to go around and talk to the various agencies they represent to see what the implications of our proposal would be."

Next steps in the case

The next step will be formal hearings and probably legal briefs on the question of this injunction. This fight will be an important stage in this case, Boudin believes.

"If we are successful in this phase, we can considerably extend the impact of the part of the decision that has already been written."

"The question of what happens to files of a political nature that were obtained through illegal means has never been addressed squarely by any court. As with so many other aspects of this case, we will be breaking new ground."

After the injunction is issued, Boudin will file a motion for the government to pay attorneys' fees. He explained why this is

important.

"I think the general theory is that attorneys who engage in litigation like this not only expend a great deal of time but are doing it for people who cannot pay the extraordinary expense litigation requires," he said.

"Therefore public policy requires that the government pay, and pay substantial legal fees when it loses. The government pays generous legal fees to the lawyers for

to defend democratic rights stands in the United States today.

Boudin replied, "Generally speaking, I think there is a negative trend. We can assume that the administration will continue to get involved in foreign wars, and that will have its effects on democratic rights in the United States."

"War and restrictions on liberties always go side by side," he said. "This is especially the case when wars are unpopular."

"U.S. government said World Court had no jurisdiction and its findings were not binding in case Nicaragua brought before the court. . . ."

the FBI agents and other people who worked for the government, who committed wrongs, and it would seem proper that the government ought to pay similarly large fees for attorneys for organizations that have done no wrong and have successfully sued the government."

He also said government misconduct was an issue in determining legal fees.

"We have discovered through legal proceedings and through accidents that the government was not really honest in answering some of the written questions we gave them," he concluded.

I asked Boudin where he thinks the fight

Because of the opposition to the Nicaraguan war, or to what it is doing in Angola, the government will attempt more violations of privacy, more violations of the right to associate freely and to organize.

"In the end, as so many commentators have pointed out, what happens — in the fight against war as well as in the efforts to defend democratic liberties — depends on the mobilization of the people. If the issue of the war against Nicaragua can be addressed in the way that the war against Vietnam was addressed, for example with teach-ins on hundreds of campuses to let the truth be told, then we can succeed."

Drive under way to win 4,000 new sponsors for lawsuit

Supporters of democratic rights are campaigning across the country to win 4,000 new sponsors for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). A special emphasis is being put on adding new endorsements from the labor movement. As the campaign is getting under way, supporters in several areas report a good response from coworkers and officers of their unions.

PRDF raises money and organizes political support for the lawsuit the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed against illegal government spying and disruption.

In August Federal Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the FBI had violated the rights of the SWP and YSA members and ordered the government to pay damages for its illegal misconduct.

In Seattle, PRDF backers have recently signed up seven new endorsers among their coworkers in the machinists and electronics unions. Altogether 35 new sponsors have been added there.

Five new supporters were signed up at

the Good Lad and Blacker textile plants in Philadelphia, which are organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Several new sponsors have been signed up by PRDF supporters who are industrial workers in the New York area. They include machinists at the Fairchild-Republic plant on Long Island and seven rail workers at the Metro-North rail yard.

Recent new sponsors in the Midwest include Ray Lineweber, Nebraska legislative director for the United Transportation Union; Charles Gifford, United Auto Workers Iowa CAP Council head; Larry McClure, a meat-packer at the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa; and farm activists Merle Hansen, Wayne Kling, and John Enestvedt.

In California, Jack Key and David Crocker, officers of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 2225 endorsed, as did Michael Dean, committee chairman of IAM Lodge 1781.

PRDF's special sponsor campaign will run until the beginning of March. — N.S.

'Perspectiva Mundial': 10 years of telling truth to Spanish-speaking workers

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Ten years ago, on Jan. 19, 1977, the first issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* rolled off the presses. *PM* is the *Militant's* sister magazine in Spanish.

Today we can celebrate a victory: 10 years of "a socialist magazine published in the interests of the working people," as its masthead states. Ten years of telling the truth to Spanish-speaking workers, farmers, and youth in the United States.

Readers and supporters of *Perspectiva Mundial* recently marked this anniversary in a fitting way — by winning more than 2,300 new subscribers to the magazine. This was achieved in last fall's sales drive, which brought a total of 11,000 new subscriptions to *PM* and the *Militant*, going over the combined goal of 10,000. The success was particularly outstanding in the case of *PM*, where its supporters went over the 1,500 goal by more than 50 percent.

What is 'Perspectiva Mundial'?

In the past decade, *Perspectiva Mundial* has distinguished itself by the unique contribution that it brings to working people who speak Spanish. It combines two features that set it apart from the big-business media.

First of all, *PM* has shown its commitment to the truth. It tells the facts and doesn't tailor them to fit preconceived ideas. And, although it doesn't have the huge resources of the big-business media, it has brought readers firsthand news from around the world that is often not found elsewhere, such as its regular coverage of the Sandinista revolution and Washington's dirty war against Nicaragua.

Perspectiva Mundial not only tells the facts. It also has a point of view. While other newspapers pretend to be impartial and actually take the side of the bosses and their government, *PM* openly stands on the side of working people, both in the United States and internationally.

While *Perspectiva Mundial's* existence is relatively brief, it is part of a longer history. Its roots are in the *Militant*, which has been spreading the truth and the working-class perspective since it started publishing in 1928.

The U.S. working class has always spoken a variety of languages. Because of this, revolutionary workers here have put out newspapers in various languages at different times. In 1932, for example, *Militant*

supporters began to publish the Greek-language *Communistes* and the Yiddish newspaper *Unser Kampf* (Our Struggle). There were a significant number of radical-minded immigrant Greek and Jewish workers at the time. *Unser Kampf* was distributed in 15 cities in the United States and Canada, with an average circulation of 2,000 copies per issue.

Transformation of the working class

In the last several decades there has been a rapid growth of the Spanish-speaking population. It now represents about 20 million, giving the United States the fifth largest Spanish-speaking population of any country in the world.

Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and other Latinos are overwhelmingly part of the working class, with large numbers working industrial jobs.

They are subject to national oppression in this country, the target of discrimination in all spheres of life because of their race, culture, and language. Latinos have waged big struggles for bilingual and bicultural education, against police brutality, and for full rights for immigrants.

It is in this context that *Perspectiva Mundial* was born in 1977 as a Spanish-language voice for working people.

Development since 1977

PM has evolved and developed over its 10 years of existence. In fact, it arose from a Spanish-language section of several pages that was published from 1974 to 1976 in the international newsweekly, *Intercontinental Press*. When *Perspectiva Mundial* was launched in January 1977, it resembled *IP* in its appearance and content. From the beginning, *PM* was able to benefit from the resources and network of *IP* correspondents.

Over the course of a few months, however, the magazine shifted its focus, directing itself primarily to Spanish-speaking working people in the United States. And it developed a format and style of its own.

In the fall of 1977, based on the excellent response already won, supporters of *Perspectiva Mundial* launched the magazine's first sales campaign, with a goal of 500 subscriptions. Twice that number were sold.

Since then, *Perspectiva Mundial* has been striving to establish itself more and more in the U.S. working class and its ex-



Militant/Arthur Hughes
A decade of *PM*, the *Militant's* Spanish-language sister publication, was marked by winning 2,300 new subscribers last fall. Here *PM* is sold to demonstrator at October action protesting U.S. war against Nicaragua.

periences. Most of its articles are written by worker correspondents and participants in the struggles that are covered.

The full-time writing staff itself is made up of socialist workers who were active in their unions before working on the staff, and who later rejoin the ranks of their co-workers.

Just by leafing through the pages of past issues, one can verify the wide range of events and struggles that *Perspectiva Mundial* has been a part of. Countless actions in support of immigrant rights. Labor battles, from the victories of the United Farm Workers in California in the late '70s to the current struggles by meat-packers in the Midwest. Demonstrations for the right to abortion and equal rights for women. Protests against U.S. military intervention in Central America, the Middle East, and Indochina. The movement for a free South Africa. Telling the truth about the Polish workers' fight for democratic rights.

News bureau in Managua

There is another important reason for publishing *Perspectiva Mundial*. Today there is a new convergence of revolutionary forces worldwide, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. Revolutionaries in Cuba and Nicaragua are making a gigantic contribution to the process of forging a leadership of workers and farmers internationally.

This is why one of *Perspectiva Mundial's* proudest achievements is the news bureau it has shared with the *Militant* in Managua, Nicaragua, since the triumph of the Sandinista revolution in July 1979.

PM reporters have found that the magazine, because of its truthful reporting and its support to the Nicaraguan people, practically serves as their second passport into the country.

For more than seven years, the Managua correspondents have been giving firsthand reports on the CIA-directed war. They have consistently told about the example that Nicaraguan workers and farmers have set by making a revolution and establishing a government that represents their interests.

Perspectiva Mundial has published speeches and articles by the Sandinista and Cuban revolutionaries and by other fighters in Central America, the Caribbean, and Latin America. This has helped establish a dialogue with Spanish-speaking people in this country. And it brings the struggles of U.S. working people to our readers in Latin America.

Perspectiva Mundial's reports have also provided material for a series of educational pamphlets. Over the past few years, Pathfinder Press has published pamphlets — based on articles reprinted from *PM* — on the freedom struggles in South Africa and El Salvador, the Grenada revolution, the fight for abortion rights, and a speech by Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge on the struggle for women's liberation. The most recent such pamphlet, to appear in Feb-

ruary, is a collection of on-the-scene reports from Vietnam and Kampuchea.

The respect that *Perspectiva Mundial* has won can be measured, among other ways, by how widely it gets around. Over the last year, *PM* articles have been reprinted in newspapers and magazines from countries such as Chile, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Venezuela, and Canada. And it has subscribers in 33 U.S. states as well as in 37 other countries.

Today *Perspectiva Mundial* has not swerved from the job that, together with the *Militant*, it has been carrying out over the past 10 years: telling the truth.

With the help of its readers and supporters, it will continue to do so.

Martín Koppel is the editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

15,000 protest Ariz. governor's rescinding of King holiday

BY ELEN LAUPER
AND BARBARA GREENWAY

PHOENIX, Ariz. — About 15,000 people marched here January 19 to protest Gov. Evan Mecham's decision to rescind the state holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr.

"We came to protest Mecham's decision," said Al Richardson, one of 50 members of International Association of Machinists Local 933 from Tucson. "We are all going to be docked a day's pay but we don't care. It's worth it to be here."

During the rally that concluded the march, petitions containing 50,000 signatures demanding the King holiday were presented to Joe Lane, speaker of the state House of Representatives.

The demand for a state holiday on King's birthday has had wide support from Black rights, labor, and other organizations. In 1986 a proposal to establish the holiday failed by one vote in the state legislature. Following the vote then-governor Bruce Babbitt, a Democrat, exercised his executive authority to proclaim the holiday.

Mecham, a Republican, was elected governor last November. Later that month he met with church officials and others to inform them of his decision to rescind the holiday. "I'm not here to argue, debate, or discuss. I've made up my mind. I have other things in mind for Blacks."

Mecham argues that King was not as important a figure as Washington and Lincoln and should not have a holiday dedicated to him.

As the protests multiplied, Mecham's stand became more blatant. On January 18 he warned of a backlash against Blacks. "When that day comes, when the majority says, 'We won't take it any more,' I fear for Blacks," he said.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

For many, 'PM' is indispensable

It was 10 years ago, on January 19, that the first issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* appeared.

PM has brought the truth to Spanish-speaking working people in the United States for a decade. That is not an unimportant task in a country with the fifth largest Spanish-speaking population in the world. Today *Perspectiva Mundial* has subscribers in 33 states in the U.S., as well as in 37 other countries.

For many people *PM* is the only source to follow closely the class struggles in the United States, including such important developments as the meat-packers' fight. And with a bureau in Managua it offers full, firsthand coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution.

The January issue features an article about the history and legacy of *PM*, as well as excerpts from issues over the past 10 years.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every month brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world.



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Feds crack down on Indian treaty fishing rights

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

PORTLAND, Ore. — The U.S. government's long war on Native American treaty fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest dramatically escalated in 1986.

At the same time the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs intensified its efforts to evict Indian families living on the Columbia River from their homes.

A federal and state government sting operation begun in 1981 and code-named "salmon scam" has put nine Columbia River Indians in federal prisons for jail terms of up to five years on charges of illegal fishing.

Starting with a 1982 SWAT team invasion of Cook's Landing on the Columbia River, 75 Indian people have been arrested for "poaching." Nineteen men and women were tried in federal court. Thirteen were convicted of felonies, with nine receiving prison terms of one to five years. In late June 1986 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the convictions.

The Indians were convicted under the Lacey Amendments to the Black Bass Act passed by Congress in 1981. This legislation provides for federal felony prosecution of those violating tribal and state fish and wildlife regulations.

Treaties

Treaties signed in 1855 by the U.S. government and the Yakima, Umatilla, and Warm Springs Indians reserved the right of Indian people to continue fishing in their traditional manner along the Columbia River.

But over the years, capitalist development, environmental destruction, and the growth of a commercial fishing industry drastically reduced the supply of fish.

Today, the big majority of salmon is caught by ocean trollers, which intercept the mature fish before they are able to migrate back to fresh water upriver to spawn. This leaves an inadequate supply of fish for Indians as well as upriver non-Indian small fishing boat owners and sport fishing.

In 1979 Columbia River tribes filed suit against the Pacific Fishery Management Council of the Department of Commerce, demanding that it regulate the ocean trollers more strictly.

Soon after, the National Marine Fisheries Services (NMFS), another agency of the Commerce Department, began its undercover investigation on the Columbia River.

The NMFS's supposed motive was the "disappearance" of 40,000 Chinook salmon during a regular count at the McNary Dam, presumably lost to "poachers." Only after the "salmon scam" trial did government officials admit that flouride pollution from an aluminum smelter at Goldendale, Washington, had caused the fish to spawn early downstream.

Historically, state and federal government officials have manipulated the issue of "conservation" by charging that Indian fishing endangered the supply of fish at the expense of small operators and sport fishing. Many working people were taken in by this argument that made Indians the scapegoats for the declining supply of fish.

In 1984 Initiative 456 narrowly passed in Washington state. Patently unconstitutional, it called on the state to override federal court rulings recognizing Indian treaty fishing rights.

Fishing rights activists

Most of the jailed Indians are fishing rights activists. They include David Sohapp, Sr., a 61-year-old Yakima elder and a central leader of Native American fishing rights' struggles dating back to the "fish-ins" of the mid-1960s in the Northwest. In 1969 Sohapp won a landmark court victory against the state of Oregon, *Sohapp v. Smith*, which ruled the state must regulate fishing by non-Indians to assure tribes a "fair and equitable" share of the fish.

Sohapp and his son, David, Jr., have been serving five-year terms at the federal

prison in Sandstone, Minnesota.

No non-Indian has ever received more than a fine for the same charges. In September 1986, at the same time the Sohappys were being imprisoned, the largest seizure of illegal salmon in history occurred. A Taiwan-based ocean fishing company was found with 3.5 million pounds of illegal salmon. The company was given a fine on a civil, not a criminal, charge.

In June 1986 David Sohapp, Sr., was able to attend the annual conference of the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC) at Big Mountain, Arizona, to report on his case. The IITC has petitioned the Organization of American States Inter-American Human Rights Commission to demand that the U.S. government free the jailed Indians.

In February Myra Sohapp, David Sohapp's wife, is scheduled to address Amnesty International in Geneva, Switzerland, to urge it to declare her husband a political prisoner.

Homes threatened

Myra Sohapp is also one of those whose homes on the Columbia River at Cook's Landing are threatened with demolition by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs' 1984 eviction order. The Sohappys' small, wooden home, where nine family members live, defies the media image of the supposedly profitable "salmon scam."

Cook's Landing was created in the 1930s to temporarily replace 37 traditional fishing villages flooded by the construction of the Bonneville Dam. The Army Corps of Engineers promised residents their villages would be rebuilt. Fifty years later, its answer is eviction. The residents of Cook's Landing and Underwood have filed suit against the evictions, delaying them until sometime this year.

At a recent Militant Labor Forum in Portland, Brad Buvinger of the Columbia River Defense Project described the threatened evictions as the culmination of "a 130-year policy by the federal and state governments to evict Native Americans living along the Columbia River."

He explained that the government wants to limit Indian residency to the Yakima, Umatilla, and Warm Springs reservations, which are miles from the river. Indians could then only commute to the river during very limited "fishing seasons," making it impossible to survive economically and continue their traditional way of living.

Marilyn James, an Okanogan-Chesaw representing the Northwest Big Mountain Support Group, urged the forum, "Come and see the pitiful shack that David and Myra call home."

Speaking of the Native Americans' traditional respect for the environment, she pointed out that "Indians have been shouting about Hanford [nuclear reservation] for years. They're catching mutated fish."

Tribal jurisdiction

In a new development in the case, the Yakima Tribal Court has decided it has legal jurisdiction over five of the imprisoned Indians, who are Yakima.

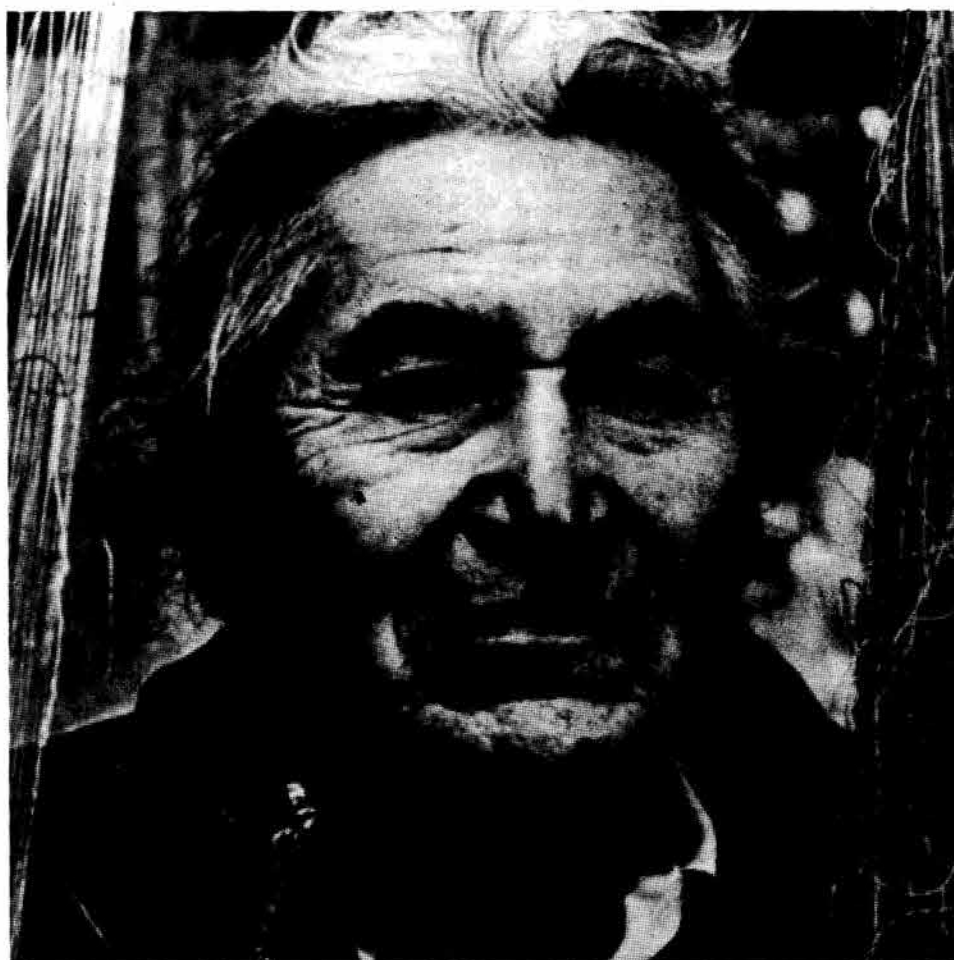
But if the tribal court finds them innocent, there will be a confrontation between tribal and federal authority.

The "salmon scam" indictments were highly selective, suggesting that the federal government was holding the threat of further indictments over the heads of tribal council members if they interfered with the prosecution by holding a tribal trial.

Recently, supporters of the Sohappys defeated three longtime Yakima tribal council members as part of a drive to press for tribal action in the case.

Of the nine Indians sentenced to prison, two Yakimas, Wilbur Slockish and Leroy Yocash, refused to surrender to federal marshals and for more than five months they have been hidden on the Yakima reservation in southern Washington by sympathetic tribal members.

In early January, Sandstone prison officials announced they would not allow the Sohappys and Matthew McConville,



Jacqueline Moreau

David Sohapp, Sr., has fought two decades for his people's right to fish the Northwest's Columbia River. He has been given a five-year term in federal prison.

another one of the nine serving prison terms, to return to the Yakima reservation to stand trial. The prison officials, who acted under federal government direction, claimed they feared a violent confrontation.

tion.

The Yakima tribal prosecutor immediately condemned the decision as "political" and announced that the tribe would press for their transfer.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

One-day strike shuts down Greece

Up to 2 million Greek workers walked off their jobs in a one-day strike January 15 to protest the government's austerity policies.

Public transportation, trains, and ships came to a virtual standstill, as did much of the country's air traffic. Public services and industrial production were seriously hampered, and many banks and stores closed their doors.

It was the largest strike in Greece since the Socialist Party government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu came to power in 1981. Papandreu's austerity program, in effect since October 1985, has held wage increases well below the inflation rate.

Shultz chides, lauds Liberian dictatorship

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz wound up his recent six-country tour of Africa January 14 in Liberia. He had both stern scoldings and warm praise for the governing dictatorship of Gen. Samuel Doe, who came to power in a 1980 coup and has enjoyed considerable U.S. support since then.

Shultz warned that the regime "must make changes in its economic policies." Washington has withheld \$10 million in economic aid and \$5 million in military aid because the Liberian government is in arrears on its debt payments. The International Monetary Fund has also frozen loans to the country.

Although Shultz considered Doe's austerity policies deficient, he was full of praise for the Liberian regime's political record. "There is freedom of the press here," Shultz proclaimed, "there is an opposition, there are no political prisoners."

This brought prompt protests from Liberian political activists, who cited massacres carried out by Doe's troops, the closing down of newspapers, extensive electoral fraud, and the detentions of political critics.

In fact, as Shultz arrived in the country, demonstrators turned out along the route from the airport with signs reading, "Power to the people" and "We

want free and fair elections." Four of them were arrested.

Release demanded for S. Korean journalists

Three South Korean journalists — Kim Tae Hong, Shin Hong Bom, and Kim Ju Eon — were arrested in December for exposing a government campaign to censor the press. They could face up to seven years in prison under the National Security Act. Amnesty International and the Committee to Protect Journalists have issued appeals for their release.

The three journalists were involved in publishing a list of daily directives from the Information Ministry to newspapers in Seoul, the South Korean capital, instructing them not to report on a range of topics. These included issues such as the torture of imprisoned activist Kim Keun Tae and the deaths by self-immolation of two antigovernment protesters.

Suriname expels Dutch ambassador

The government of Suriname on January 10 asked the Dutch ambassador to leave within two weeks, accusing the Dutch authorities of backing rightist rebel forces seeking to topple the Surinamese regime. A South American country of 400,000, Suriname was a Dutch colony until 1975.

In response to the political stands taken by the Surinamese government of Col. Desi Bouterse, which came to power in 1980, the Dutch authorities cut off the \$100 million a year in economic assistance they had been providing. Washington also suspended its economic aid.

Since mid-1986, rightist military forces have been attacking towns and economic targets in eastern Suriname, operating from bases in the neighboring French colony of Guyane. They have caused considerable damage.

The Bouterse government has accused the Dutch, French, and U.S. governments of funding and advising these counterrevolutionaries. Villagers who had been kidnapped by the rebel forces, and subsequently escaped, have reported the presence of U.S. and French mercenaries among them.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Direct from Nicaragua: U.S. Government Lies Exposed. Speaker: Theresa Delgadillo, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance just returned from fact-finding tour of Nicaragua; George Paris, field staff representative for the Southern Federation of Farm Cooperatives, recent participant in Highlander School's Black farmers' tour of Nicaragua. Sat., Jan. 24, 7 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Contragate: Behind the Government Crisis. Speaker: Fred Halstead, author of *Out Now! A Participant's View of the Movement Against the Vietnam War*, leader of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. (nr. Vermont). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Unionists and the Fight Against War: Why Workers in "Defense" Plants Should Oppose Washington's War Drive. Panel of trade unionists. Sat., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. Hyatt Regency Hotel, 1100 Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Diego

El Salvador: An Eyewitness Report. Slideshow and presentation on recent In Search of Peace Conference in San Salvador. Speaker: Seth Galinsky, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 482. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement and the Fight Against Racism Today. A panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW. 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Stop Racist Attacks! The Truth Behind the Howard Beach Killing. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Protest Attacks at Howard Beach and at Home. Speakers: Phil Stewart, Socialist Workers Party; Mattie Jones, chair Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Abortion Is a Woman's Right! How to Defend It. Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Roe v. Wade and the Fight for Reproductive Rights Today: What the Discussion of Teenage Pregnancy Is About. Speakers: Richard Rowe, director of health and human resources,

Baltimore Urban League; Geryl Grandison, president of Stop Teenage Pregnancy; Marla Puziss, health care worker, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The U.S. Farm Crisis. Speaker: Barbara Simons, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Book reception for *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*. Meet Dr. Jeffrey M. Elliot, who conducted interview with Fidel Castro on which book is based. Slideshow on Cuba today presented by Maggie Perrier. Sat., Jan. 24. Cuban dinner, 6:30 p.m.; reception, 7:30 p.m. Donation: dinner, \$3; reception, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

The Coming Revolution in South Africa. A class series sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Liberation Struggle in South Africa. Sun., Jan. 25, 4 p.m.

The Anti-apartheid Movement Here and Abroad. What Way Forward? Sun., Feb. 1, 4 p.m.

Classes held at 508 N Snelling Ave. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

How to Solve the U.S. Farm Crisis. Panel discussion. Speakers: Maggie McCraw, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789; others. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Fight for Women's Rights Today. A panel discussion. Speakers: Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member United Auto Workers Local 31; others. Sun., Jan. 25, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Jamaica: Eyewitness Account of Underdevelopment. Speaker: Ted Kayser, member of United Auto Workers Local 2250. Sat., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Protest Racist Lynching in Howard Beach. Speakers: Rev. Arthur Jones, St. Mark's AME Church; Quentin Smith, African Heritage; Mike Shur, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 431. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Grenada, the Aftermath: Current Caribbean and Central American Freedom Struggles. Speaker: Don Rojas, former press secretary to Grenada's murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, member of Coordinating Committee, Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Tues., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Park Slope Methodist Church,

8th St. and 6th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Park Slope Forum. For more information call (718) 499-1167.

Manhattan

The Freedom Struggle in the Caribbean and Central America Today. Speaker: Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, member of Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. Columbia University's St. Paul's Chapel (enter campus at 116th St. and Broadway). For more information call (212) 713-5139.

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Speakers: Moira Morissey, National Abortion Rights Action League; Carol Burke, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Workers' Rights. Video: *I Am a Man*. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Feb. 1, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Racism in the Greensboro Schools. Sat., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

The Political Legacy of Malcolm X. Video showing and presentation. Sun., Feb. 22, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The Fight Against Israeli Occupation of the West Bank. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 1, 7 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

The Struggle Against the Pinochet Dictatorship. A film showing of the *Chilean Connection* and remarks by representatives of the Cleveland Chilean Solidarity Committee. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

Toledo

War on Drugs: An Invasion of Privacy. Speakers: Gerry Daley, labor lawyer with American Civil Liberties Union; Julius Snipper, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 31, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

Report Back from Central American Struggles. Speakers: Dave Worthington, president Painters Union Local 724; Robert Scafe, Young Socialist Alliance, student at Roosevelt High School. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Imperialism vs. Revolution in the Middle East. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from trip to Israel, also eyewitness to 1979 insurrection in Iran. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Founding of the African National Congress of South Africa. Hear Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC. Translation to Spanish. Mon., Feb. 2, 7 p.m. Trinity Baptist Church, 2040 W Jefferson Blvd. Ausp: Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Free South Africa Movement, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union locals 55, 84, 96, 97, 482, and 512; California Democratic Council, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, TransAfrica, Southern Africa Support Committee, and others.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Amandla. Come Celebrate the 75th Anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa. Speaker: representative of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. Sat., Jan. 24. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7:15 p.m. All Souls Unitarian Church, 16th and Harvard streets NW. Donation requested. Ausp: ANC 75th Anniversary Committee. For more information call (301) 350-4323.

Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Fight for Civil Rights From Montgomery to Howard Beach. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Reagan's Illegal 'Contra' Connection: The Stake for Working People in the Iran Arms Deal. Speakers: Theresa Delgadillo, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; John Dommissie, M.D., South African exile; Jack Sherman, chair, Peninsula Peace Education Center; Minister Rafik Zaidi, Portsmouth Concerned Citizens. Sun., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Nicaragua: A Report Back and Slideshow from a Coffee Brigade Participant. Speaker: Dean Peoples, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Defending Abortion Rights. A panel discussion. Sun., Jan. 25, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

South Africa: the Fight Against Apartheid. A panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Haiti Today. Film, *Reason to Flee*. Speakers: Patrick Bellegard-Smith, Haitian professor. Bill Breihan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel. (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 336 W. Jefferson. Zip: 75208. Tel. (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel. (713) 522-8054.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel. (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel. (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel. (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel. (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel. (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel. (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel. (408) 998-4007.

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

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

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

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel. (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel. (314) 361-0250.

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel. (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel. (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409

How unreasonable can they get? — An AP dispatch on the new Nicaraguan constitution reports that, among other things, "Critics say the constitution ...



Harry Ring

authorizes only one army, the Sandinista Popular Army, to exist in the country."

Think you've heard everything? — Richard Mears, deputy

police chief in Brunswick, Maine, urged his subordinates to forgo the customary four-letter words in favor of such expletives as "golly," "gee," or even "shucks." The apparently sober officer added, "People think police are something next to God. They don't expect us to get upset and swear."

The Just Society — In 1985, a superrich family — annual take of over \$500,000 — paid 25 percent less of its income in state and local taxes than a family with an income of less than \$7,600.

Problems, problems — Adnan Khashoggi, middleman in the Iran arms deal, has to maintain 12 estates around the world, a fleet of

planes and limos, and a king-size boat. This adds up to living expenses of \$250,000 a day. Moreover, he recently had to settle a back-pay strike by 60 servants in Spain.

Esthete — "I'm an artist with my wealth," says Khashoggi. Funny, our neighborhood pick-pocket says he's an artist too.

Promises — "We are at the point where God could call Oral Roberts home." The evangelist warning his TV audience he might die if they didn't each send in \$100.

Sounds reasonable — "It had occurred to me that a whole lot of people were making a whole lot of money on Wall Street and I wasn't

one of them." — *Wall Street Journal* reporter R. Foster Winans, who was convicted in an insider trading deal.

We could pass the hat — "I can't even afford one of my own tubs. But I can make a lot of money selling them." — Michael Sprague, a California entrepreneur specializing in custom-made \$15,000 wood-and-brass tubs.

Pocket stuffer — Buy a fur coat at Lansky's in Phoenix ("basic" fur jackets start at \$1,995) and for an extra \$110 they'll whip up a cute little mink bear to go with it.

Sure, give the kid a belt — Sweet Creams, the spiked "adult

flavored" ice cream, bears a warning that its 2 percent alcohol content "may have an effect on those individuals whose alcohol consumption must be restricted." Meanwhile, promo literature says an eminent pharmacologist assures the stuff "does not pose a problem for children."

Not to worry — A think piece in the *Washington Post* about the recent strike wave in France assures, "Such divisions in French society have surfaced periodically since the Capetian dynasty was founded on July 3, 987."

A thought — Could that *Post* correspondent in Paris have been hitting a quart of Sweet Creams?

Coalition begins building Calif. antiwar action

Continued from front page

coalition. It was overwhelmingly adopted.

Lannon emphasized the connection between the U.S. government's foreign policy and escalating attacks on unions and working people in this country.

The meeting was attended by representatives of local coalitions and solidarity organizations from Los Angeles, San Jose, Sacramento, Denver, Phoenix, Seattle, and Portland.

Don White addressed the meeting as a representative of the committee in Los Angeles that organized a demonstration of 10,000 last fall against the U.S. war in Central America. He reported that the Los Angeles coalition had voted the previous night to endorse the April 25 march and rally and to bring people from all over Southern California to the San Francisco action.

The Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice has opened an office at ILWU Local 6, 255 Ninth St., in San Francisco. Work committee meetings will be held there on January 24. For more information call (415) 626-8053.

Meanwhile, protests continued in other

cities against Washington's backing for the *contra* war and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

One hundred and fifty demonstrators turned out in Los Angeles January 11 to demand an end to Washington's dirty war against Nicaragua. Organized on one day's notice, the protest was held outside the Los Angeles Federal Building at the same time as backers of the *contra* war were rallying there.

In Cleveland January 10, some 65 people joined a march and rally protesting the latest crackdown on democratic rights in South Africa and Washington's aid to the *contras*.

In Toronto 200 attended a January 16 program on the governmental crisis in the United States. The Nicaraguan ambassador to Canada spoke at the event. Participants were urged to attend the Washington, D.C., demonstration on April 25.

At the Cape Canaveral Air Force Station in Florida, 4,500 activists from many different states, including a substantial number of college students, demonstrated January 17 against the Pentagon's testing of the new Trident 2 missile.



Militant/Stu Singer
Antiwar demonstration in Dubuque, Iowa, January 10. Local actions in many areas point to potential for April 25 protests in D.C. and San Francisco.

Delegation visits Nicaragua

Continued from front page

2. The U.S. government should resume bilateral talks with Nicaragua, and obey the June 1986 ruling of the World Court by ending its aggression against Nicaragua.

3. Nicaragua is willing to immediately resume talks with the Contadora Group concerning limitations on foreign advisers and weapons levels in the Central American nations. These talks were suspended last July over Nicaragua's objections.

4. As long as the governments of Costa Rica and Honduras allow the U.S.-backed *contras* to function in their territory, Nicaragua has no choice but to maintain its lawsuits against both nations in the World Court. At the same time, Nicaragua calls for bilateral negotiations with both countries to avoid more border conflicts.

5. Nicaragua calls for a joint accord of the five Central American nations, stipulating nonintervention, the inviolability of the countries' respective borders, and no support to irregular troops in the region.

6. Nicaragua maintains that there can be no democracy or peace in Central American countries if other nations intervene in their affairs and dictate their economic, political, and social forms of organization.

7. Nicaragua backs the November 1986 proposal by the United Nations for international observers to monitor the situation on its borders.

8. Nicaragua reiterates its willingness to grant amnesty to all those *contras* of Nicaraguan nationality who wish to return to their country and lay down their arms. Nicaragua will also accept all Nicaraguans currently in refugee camps in Honduras or Costa Rica who wish to come home.

9. Nicaragua calls for the establishment of a group of specialists to implement the proposals coming out of the UN-OAS-Contadora tour.

After these points were presented by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, the

delegation held a several hour discussion with leaders of the Nicaraguan government and Sandinista National Liberation Front. They then departed for the next stop on their tour, Guatemala.

Evaluating the tour afterward, Ortega told reporters the delegation was "historic" in terms of the breadth and level of the officials who had come to hear Nicaragua's proposals for peace.

At the same time, he stressed, the tour does not mean Washington's aggression is about to end. He pointed to the current U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras, involving 8,000 troops and the warships USS *Iowa* and USS *Yorktown*.

What can be accomplished with the tour, Ortega said, is "to contain the aggressive escalation [by Washington] and open up space for ... negotiation and a peaceful solution."

New York meeting set to plan for April 25

NEW YORK — A meeting has been called for January 28 to begin organizing participation from this area in the national actions in Washington, D.C., April 25-27. Those actions will protest Washington's war policies in Central America and the government's support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

The New York Mobilization for Peace and Justice in Central America and Southern Africa has issued a leaflet for the January 28 meeting that urges activists to "join the effort to bring tens of thousands of people from the New York area" to the Washington, D.C., actions.

The meeting will be held at 7:00 p.m. at hospital employees Local 1199 auditorium, 310 West 43rd St. For more information call (212) 582-1890, extension 310.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

January 28, 1977

The cold-blooded murder of Gary Mark Gilmore by the State of Utah January 17 — not the gala parties, flag-waving parades, and lavish inaugural banquets in Washington — shows what is really in store for working people as the administration of President James Carter takes office.

America's wealthy rulers are congratulating themselves. They got away with it. They killed the first one. And now they plan to hang, shoot, gas, and electrocute hundreds more.

There are no rich people on death row. It is Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Native Americans, and the poor who face execution. These are the people that Gilmore's killing is meant to terrorize.

Those responsible for this barbarous and vindictive act are the real criminals. They are the real mass murderers. Their hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese, the Chilean workers, South African Blacks, and countless others.

The purpose of the current "law and order" outcry — with the firing squad, the noose, and the electric chair as its triumphal symbols — is not to combat crime at all. It is to enflame racist prejudices, whip up popular support for police violence against minorities and the poor, and generally blame individuals for the breakdown of the social fabric.

Capital punishment is a weapon of race and class oppression, not justice. It aims to reinforce the profit system by terrorizing the downtrodden and the outcast.

And as the capitalist economic and social crisis deepens, prompting new struggles by labor and minorities, the death pen-

alty will stand forth ever more clearly as a weapon against working-class militants.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
January 29, 1962
Price 10¢

January 23 — The weapon of expulsion from school is increasingly being used against Southern Negro students active in the fight against racial injustice. The expulsions tend to lead to further demonstrations of sympathy, which put Negro administrators and principals on the spot. In addition, the expelled students tend to become even more active in the civil rights struggle.

In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Southern University, the country's largest Negro institution of higher learning, has been closed down till January 29 while the nearly 5,000 students are screened. Dr. Felton G. Clark, the university president, has indicated that students active in civil rights demonstrations will not be readmitted. Student leaders have indicated that counter action will be taken if the administration carries out its threat.

Dr. Clark has been under strong pressure from the segregationist state board of education, which has final authority over the institution. Last week he expelled seven students accused of being leaders in a December 15 demonstration by 1,500 persons in downtown Baton Rouge.

The seven are active in the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. Their expulsion touched off another demonstration Jan. 15 during which students sang Freedom-Rider songs in front of Dr. Clark's house. Clark then shut down the university.

King Day and fight for equality

The battle for Black equality is far from over. This is the spirit in which to mark the anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

The fact that King's birthday was made a federal holiday is testimony to the profound impact that the massive civil rights movement, which King was a leader of, had on this country. By overthrowing the system of legal segregation that existed throughout the South, the civil rights struggle vastly expanded the rights of Blacks and all the oppressed and exploited.

But clearing *de jure* segregation out of the way was only the beginning of eliminating the second-class status of Blacks. *De facto* discrimination has been maintained and reinforced at every turn by the employers who profit from it, and the government that serves them.

This is reflected in the fight over the King holiday itself.

It took a persistent campaign of protests initiated by Blacks, which won the support of unions and many other organizations, to get Congress to finally approve it and force President Ronald Reagan to sign the bill into law in 1983.

But the struggle continues.

King's birthday was celebrated as a national holiday for the first time in January 1986. Only 29 state governments and the District of Columbia participated.

In 1987, 10 state governments still refused to recognize it as a holiday. Some of those who run this country still resist this holiday because they're opposed to anything that gives official sanction to the mighty working-class movement that smashed Jim Crow segregation.

This resistance to implementing the law making King's birthday a holiday encourages racists and provides them with a rallying point. But in the face of such attacks, supporters of democratic rights are not backing down.

In Arizona, Gov. Evan Mecham rescinded the executive order signed by his predecessor, Bruce Babbitt, observing the holiday in that state. He argued that King doesn't deserve a holiday.

Many Arizonans think otherwise. On January 19, some 15,000 people marched on the state legislature and presented 50,000 petitions to the representatives demanding that King Day be a state holiday.

In all-white Forsyth County, Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan attacked a march to honor King. In response, another march was planned for January 24.

In a televised speech from the Oval Office on January 15, Reagan gave his view of the meaning of King Day. His main point was that while the movement King was

part of helped "dismantle the legal vestiges of discrimination and racism," the problem now is to ban racism "from the hearts of the people."

But Reagan, quite consciously, turns the problem on its head.

It is because discrimination against people with Black skins permeates and is sanctioned by every institution of this society — from government to workplaces to schools to the media — that racist attitudes still flourish.

The gang of white youths in Howard Beach, New York, who lynched a Black construction worker last month, assumed that they would get away with that criminal act because others who have killed Blacks — from cops to Klansmen — have gotten away with it.

By every economic, social, and political indicator, Blacks occupy a second-class status compared to whites in this society.

- Black workers earn 56 cents for every dollar a white worker makes. This is a decrease from 1975, when Blacks made 62 percent of what whites earned.

- The official unemployment rate for adult Blacks in 1985 was 15 percent, compared with 7 percent for whites. For Black youth, it was 40 percent.

- The infant mortality rate for Blacks is twice as high as that of whites.

- Blacks are more likely to live in substandard housing and to have to send their children to inferior schools. Segregation remains an enormous obstacle to equalizing the living standards of Blacks and whites.

And some of the key victories that were a result of the civil rights struggle are today under attack by the government.

Busing to desegregate education is under fire from federal, state, and local authorities, from Boston to Topeka, Kansas.

The government official responsible for requiring federal contractors to hire Black and other minority workers has resigned in protest, saying that the Reagan administration is only paying "lip service" to enforcing affirmative action laws. And the Justice Department has recommended doing away with numerical hiring goals for companies that do business with the government.

Among the more than 20 nations in the world to mark King Day was Cuba, the country that has done the most in our hemisphere to eradicate racism. A statement issued by the Cuban Movement for Peace and Sovereignty of the Peoples urged that the "homage paid to this figure and his ideas" should help spur the efforts of all those fighting for peace and justice.

The USX steel contract

The tentative contract announced January 17 by representatives of the USX corporation and the United Steelworkers of America registers another blow to USX workers and to all steelworkers. It will add fuel to the takeback drive being waged by the entire employing class against working people. And it will encourage further use of the lockout weapon, which the USX owners successfully wielded to squeeze more takebacks from the union.

If ratified, the contract will take effect on February 1, ending the six-month lockout imposed by USX.

The pact has been endorsed by the union's International executive board after having been accepted by a vote of 38 to 4 at a meeting of presidents of USWA locals at USX mills. It will now be submitted for a vote by the 21,000 USWA members currently employed by USX and the more than 10,000 workers who have been laid off from USX for two years or less.

The pact includes an immediate hourly pay cut of 99 cents. This follows the \$1.25 wage takeback imposed in the 1983 contract. Together with benefit cuts, the new agreement slashes steelworkers' pay by about \$2.45 an hour.

The pact includes a profit-sharing formula. Union officials estimate that steelworkers may receive 40 cents an hour at present under the plan.

Pay and benefit cuts are higher than those obtained by any big steel firm, except LTV, in the 1986 contract talks.

The pact allows the company to impose job combinations and other speedup measures that will eliminate more than 1,300 jobs for starters. The pact also permits the company to shut down all or part of 12 facilities.

The contract reportedly includes provisions further restricting the company's use of nonunion contractors to do steelworkers' jobs. The company had flagrantly violated previous contract provisions on this.

The four-year contract will expire one year later than those signed in 1986 with other big steel firms.

USX's goal in the contract negotiations was to match or surpass the takebacks won by other major steel firms in 1986. The union had yielded a \$3.15 cut in wages and benefits to LTV, 99 cents to National Steel, and \$1.96 to Bethlehem Steel.

USX negotiators demanded that the union accept a \$3.50 cut in wages and benefits, no restrictions on contracting out of work, and a big reduction in the number of

job categories — or else the company would shut its gates.

USX negotiators said no. They pointed out that USX was the only big steel company to post a profit on steel operations since the 1983 takeback contract. The union representatives offered to continue working under the old contract until a new pact was agreed to.

USX rejected the offer and proceeded to lock out its employees. After six months, the company succeeded in winning big takebacks in the negotiations as the price of allowing steelworkers to return to their jobs.

The other big steel companies will now press for more takebacks as well. LTV has already asked for protection under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy laws as a prelude to imposing more takebacks.

USX will also attempt to press the advantage it gained during the lockout. The battle on the mill floor will begin the day the company reopens the mills. For the owners, the takebacks registered in the new pact are only the beginning. The drive to combine jobs, speed up production, and undermine safety regulations — regardless of the wording of the contract — will intensify.

To make the pact easier for steelworkers to swallow, USX agreed to modernize its remaining mills in the Monongahela Valley near Pittsburgh, rather than close them down.

Such pledges from the billionaire families that own USX are worthless. Their investment decisions — whether they exploit workers in steel, oil, or fast food — will be made on the basis of profit and profit alone.

There will be more layoffs and shutdowns in steel, as the contract itself makes clear.

Competition among the steel bosses over who can take the most out of the wages, jobs, safety standards, and rights of steelworkers is going to become more fierce.

This competition is spurred by the crisis of the steel industry, which stems from competition for shares of the world capitalist market.

As USX negotiator J. Bruce Johnston wrote last August in a threatening letter to the locked-out workers, "Only a few basic steel companies may survive. There is not enough room in the steel lifeboat for everybody."

The success of the steel bosses in gaining big concessions in the recent round of steel negotiations guarantees stepped-up attacks on steelworkers, aimed at making them take the full brunt of the shakeout in the industry.

Is the Soviet Union an imperialist country?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Imperialism must be about one of the most hated and unpopular formations in the world today, including in the United States. One mark of this is that U.S. politicians don't use the word "imperialism" to describe their policies. Can you imagine the reaction among working people in this country if Democratic and Republican offi-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

cials were to openly declare, "We're conducting an imperialist foreign policy. That's what we're for, and we're proud of it."

Such candor would expose the carefully cultivated, but false, image of the U.S. government as the champion of freedom and democracy around the world.

The word imperialism, in fact, is so widely accepted as pejorative that apologists for capitalism try to discredit the Soviet Union by pinning this label on that country. President Reagan has added his own invective, dubbing the USSR the "evil empire."

Is there any scientific content to "Soviet imperialism" or is this simply an epithet used by anticommunists?

A close examination of imperialism in this century reveals that it has features that are very different from earlier forms of imperialism, such as those that existed in ancient Rome and during the early years of capitalism when merchants reigned supreme.

A description of these characteristics will show that they don't apply to the Soviet Union.

Imperialism in our epoch is a stage in the development of capitalism. Toward the end of the past century, increasing concentration of industry in a few of the most economically developed countries gave rise to monopolies. Increasingly fewer enterprises controlled greater and greater shares of the market. They acquired their own sources of raw materials and their own transportation systems.

This process went hand in hand with the concentration and growing power of banking capital and its merger with industrial and commercial capital. The dominant role of finance capital marked a new stage in the evolution of capitalism.

Typical of this stage was that the accumulation of capital reached gigantic proportions. An enormous surplus of capital arose in a handful of countries that could not be profitably invested at home.

A drive began to seek new arenas for profitable investment in countries where raw materials were cheap, wages low, the cost of land relatively inexpensive, and capital scarce.

One result of this expansionist drive has been the division of the world into a very small number of oppressor nations on one hand and the rest of humanity on the other.

One reflection of this division today is the mammoth debts owed by the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to the big bankers in Western Europe, North America, and Japan.

Tens of millions of working people labor to pay the interest on these huge debts. But the debts continue to mount.

One reason is that the imperialists' monopoly pricing generates unequal trade relations with the oppressed countries. The latter generally sell their commodities at low prices and pay for manufactured goods from the imperialist countries at higher prices.

As a result of their monopoly position, the exploitation of workers and peasants in the semicolonial world awards the imperialists not only the average rate of profit, but a surplus profit.

It is the imperialists' drive to hold onto and expand their markets, sources of raw materials, and investment possibilities that is the source of war today.

This portrayal of imperialism clearly excludes the Soviet Union. As I explained last week, the Soviet Union is not a capitalist country. Capitalism and imperialism were overturned in Russia nearly 70 years ago.

There are no Soviet bankers getting rich off interest payments from the Third World. There is no piling up of surplus capital that is driving an exploiting class to look for profitable investments.

The USSR's ties with countries like Cuba, for example, are quite different than U.S. imperialist relations with that country before 1959.

Cuba, today, does not suffer from unequal terms of trade, protectionist measures, or the dumping of low-priced goods in its relations with the Soviet Union. It has also been able to obtain credit on easy terms.

With this assistance, Cuba has made big strides in industrial and technological development while providing impressive medical care and educational programs.

Some readers might ask, however, whether Moscow's invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 don't reveal a new type of imperialism. This will be taken up in a coming column along with a description of how a privileged bureaucratic caste emerged in the Soviet Union.

New directives limit prisoners' reading material

BY HARMEEN ROWE

By revising its policy on prisoner accessibility to books and other reading materials, the Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) has openly disregarded an important area of prisoner rehabilitation. Referred to as Directive No. 4911, this correctional policy is interpreted as another form of educational repression by DOCS.

AS I SEE IT

This directive establishes the procedure for packages and articles sent or brought to correctional institutions. In Section 6, under "educational supplies," it says, "Books, magazines, newspapers, and periodicals [are to be sent] from publisher or approved distributor only [and will be] subject to Media Review guidelines."

This publishers-only rule, in effect, serves as a crippling blow to prisoners who view broad access to educational materials a priority in their rehabilitative efforts.

Although the directive goes on to explain its intent to protect correctional institutions from contraband and other threats of safety and security, it fails to make clear why books are considered a threat.

According to prison officials, Directive No. 4911 does not represent censorship or a weakening commitment to rehabilitation. It is an effort, they say, to maintain secu-

urity and cut down on the amount of drugs coming into the prisons.

In all fairness, I have to disagree. As an inmate with over a decade of experience with "the system," I have become acutely cognizant of the numerous excuses by DOCS to either remove or weaken the prisoner benefits gained by the 1971 uprising of prisoners at Attica. In fact, my observations of DOCS have convinced me that there has always existed deeply ingrained prejudices against truly rehabilitating prisoners.

The inability to acquire suitable academic skills while incarcerated has been determined to be a contributing factor to the 67-70 percent recidivism rate in New York state today. With close to 40 percent of the state prison population functionally illiterate, prohibiting books, magazines, and other reading materials to prisoners contradicts the theory behind corrections: reducing the offender's potential for further criminality.

Today because of the increasing conservative mood that is sweeping the correctional apparatus, prison administrators are returning to the old punitive philosophy and forsaking rehabilitation concepts. Directive No. 4911 is a prime example of this changing mood.

Another is Directive No. 4572, governing the receipt and review of literature for prisoners.

This directive is supposedly implemented to protect those inmates whose "emotional instability and antisocial attitudes" are such that access to certain inflammatory or disruptive literature may interfere with the operation of a

therapeutic program.

This directive actually serves as a backup for Directive No. 4911.

Last year, I challenged the intent of this Media Review directive. During April 1985 I was denied access to two issues of the *Militant* by the Media Review Committee, who held that "any publication which advocates and presents a clear and immediate risk of lawlessness, violence, anarchy, or rebellion against governmental authority is unacceptable."

The committee also stated that "this publication should not incite disobedience towards a law enforcement officer, etc."

Although I believe that rules, regulations, and policies are necessary to insure order and a semblance of structure in the prison system, I do not agree with the issuance of directives that inhibit the self-rehabilitation of prisoners.

I view these two directives as obstacles fraught with explosive social consequences if allowed to become a permanent fixture of institutional policy.

Our knowledge of human behavior tells us that punishment is an essential part of the learning process, but only when it is constructive and supportive. I feel that I am a victim of an arbitrary institutional arrangement to deprive me of a right to academic liberty. I remain at odds with this correctional policy.

Harmeen Rowe is an inmate at Wallkill Correctional Facility in Wallkill, New York.

LETTERS

Austin food caravan

I read the article in the January 9 issue of the *Militant* dealing with the food caravan to Austin, Minnesota. As a business agent at United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 789, I am incensed at this quote attributed to Jim Guyette: The caravan was an indication "that a UFCW local has broken through the slanders and lies put out about us."

The food caravan was not a political issue for Local 789. Fellow union workers were in need, and this local felt they should be helped. It's as simple as that. Politics played no part in the decision.

This local union's rank and file is very divided on the Hormel issue. Many people support the strikers' cause all the way. Others feel the strikers went too far. Some feel there is blame for all concerned to share. No matter who's to blame, the out-of-work strikers are struggling to make ends meet. Local 789 believes they deserve our help in making ends meet.

Jim Guyette has no right to take a stand for Local 789 on the Hormel-P-9 issue. He never talked to the local union's officers to come to the conclusion his quote infers. One has to wonder how much of what Jim Guyette says is based on real facts or on his own conclusions drawn from what sounds good to him.

Shame on you, Jim Guyette. You've turned a good deed into politics. Ultimately, once again, your people will suffer because of your rhetoric.

Sincerely and fraternally,
Jerry Feucht
business representative
UFCW Local 789
Oakdale, Minnesota

Justice for janitors

A recent survey of St. Louis-area janitors showed they bring home an average of \$98 a week after taxes. The typical janitor is a 46-year-old woman with at least two dependents. Most are women, and the vast majority are Black.

William Stodghill, president of Service Employees' International Union Local 50, pointed this out in speaking to 100 janitors, students, and faculty members who demonstrated recently at Washington University in St. Louis. They were protesting a cutback contract offer by Clean Tech Company. This was the second of two demonstrations. The first took place in downtown St. Louis.

Stodghill addressed the rally

THE "SURVIVAL
OF THE PLANET"
PEOPLE ARE
HERE TO MEET
WITH YOU.

SEN.
KLUMK

OH, I HATE
DEALING
WITH THESE
SINGLE-INTEREST
GROUPS!

THAVES
© 1986 BY NEA INC.

about the need to publicize the union's demand for a fair wage. He noted that last year there were picket lines and rallies in support of janitors in other cities — Pittsburgh and Denver, for example.

A petition signed by more than 300 students and faculty was presented to the union in support of its cause.

The local approved a new agreement by a relatively close vote. The new contract calls for an across-the-board pay increase of 7.5 percent. This will amount to a 25-cents-an-hour increase over the next two years of the three-year contract.

Stodghill said the local would soon begin to organize the 4,000-plus St. Louis-area janitors who are nonunion and not covered by the contract.

Joe Allor
St. Louis, Missouri

Militants like myself

I'm an ardent reader of the *Militant* newspaper. I wish to congratulate you and your entire staff for the marvelous job you are doing every week to let "militants" like myself know what's going on in Nicaragua, South Africa, and around town.

A prisoner
Dannemora, New York

Library subs

To sharply increase the exposure and readership of the *Militant*, why don't you offer free subscriptions to the main branch libraries of our major cities? You could also provide free subs to the libraries at our major colleges and universities.

To help defer the cost, which shouldn't be too great, you could establish a library fund just as you have for prisoners.

Tens of thousands of new people would see the *Militant* for the first time every week. Isn't this worth the small cost involved?

A reader
New York, New York

U.S. intervention

I think the article by Margaret Jayko in the January 9 issue of the *Militant*, "Behind crisis rocking Washington," was thought-provoking!

First of all, I believe it was not so long ago that many people considered U.S. government intervention in Nicaragua inevitable. Things change, of course, but have the general conditions in the United States and the world changed that much?

For instance, even though (as Jayko states) living standards are under attack, can one conclude that this factor (among others) is sufficient to stay Washington's hand? And, yes, there is an economic crisis in the capitalist economy. But can it be said that it would be impossible to sell the idea of U.S. intervention in Central America?

Let's not forget the massive power of the media to whip up hysteria. I believe, for instance, that the United States could have used ground troops in Libya and "gotten away with it." Everybody was slandering Libya at the time.

I think Jayko's article may be a bit of wishful thinking, but I'm not sure. I hope she is correct!

Mark Heinemann
Tucson, Arizona

Imperfect governments

I enjoy getting the *Militant* each month. However, sometimes I feel your articles are too far to the left and therefore are extremely biased.

Why don't you guys ever write about any of the human rights abuses in Poland or Russia? I'm not an advocate of capitalism, but I think something should be said (that isn't positive) about the Soviet Union or any of the other Eastern bloc countries. They have political prisoners who are imprisoned merely for saying something negative about their dictator (I mean ruler).

Your newspaper includes excel-

lent up-to-date articles on events in Central America, Chile. But you seem to have forgotten that there are other imperfect governments around the world — aside from the United States.

A weekly subscriber,
D.S.
Glendale, Wisconsin

Since I was 16

I have been reading your paper since I was 16. It's been great — the only paper to cover the Nicaraguan revolution and South Africa. I will continue support for the *Militant* and the Young Socialist Alliance.

D.B.
Chicago, Illinois

Repression

First, I request that you kindly place me on your mailing list to receive your newspaper. At this time I would love nothing more.

Second, I believe it should be known that fascism in its most advanced form is here in Amerikkka. I have been attacked for making statements of this sort. But repression forbids the people from accepting the truth and challenging the lie. The repressive Amerikkkan system tends to make the truth hurt.

A prisoner
Auburn, New York

Enlightening

I am a prisoner in the Texas Department of Corrections. Recently, a friend let me read a copy of the *Militant*, and I found it enlightening, revealing, and, I believe, more accurate than the corporate newspapers with their biased viewpoints.

However, my friend has left, and as a result, I no longer have access to the *Militant*.

As an indigent prisoner, I wonder if I could be allowed a waiver of the subscription costs. If so, rest assured that I would very much appreciate it.

A prisoner
Lovelady, Texas

Cold war propaganda

The ABC television network is planning to broadcast a pernicious piece of cold-war propaganda in February.

The 12-hour miniseries, entitled *Amerika*, takes place in 1996, 10 years after the Soviet Union has conquered the United States. Oh, and Central America is now known as "Greater Cuba."

This would be an excellent opportunity for the *Militant* to run a series of articles on such questions as whether the Soviet Union really intends to conquer the United States, what the nature of the Soviet Union is, and whether Cuba is really trying to conquer Central America.

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Correction

A factual error appeared in last week's *Militant* article on the merger of Northwest and Republic airlines. In the merged airline, the International Association of Machinists will continue to represent the mechanics and cleaners. Baggage handlers represented by the IAM before the merger will have to choose among three unions, according to a National Labor Relations Board ruling.

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

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

New French-U.S. aggression in Chad

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Seeing an opportunity to strengthen their domination over Chad and to strike a blow at neighboring Libya, the French and U.S. governments have rapidly escalated their intervention in the Chadian civil war.

Since December tons of French and U.S. military equipment have been airlifted to Ndjamen, Chad's capital, to bolster the reactionary regime of President Hissène Habré, whose army is confronting Libyan-supported rebel forces in northern Chad.

Since early 1986, some 1,200 French troops have been stationed in central and southern Chad, along with bombers and jet fighters, to back up Habré's troops.

The \$15 million in emergency U.S. military aid includes trucks, small aircraft, arms, ammunition, and surface-to-air missiles. It also includes an unknown number of U.S. military personnel, supposedly to train Chadian troops in the use of the U.S. equipment.

"Around-the-clock flights of U.S. and French transport planes into and out of the airport at Chad's capital these days give every indication that there is more fighting to come," began a report from Ndjamen in the January 13 *Washington Post*.

The real aggressors

French President François Mitterrand and numerous U.S. officials have tried to justify their intervention as a response to "Libyan aggression." But this is simply a mask for their aggression. French troops began terrorizing the country long before the first Libyan soldier ever set foot on Chadian soil.

A French colony since early in this century, Chad won its formal independence in 1960, but remained under French political and economic domination. In the mid-1960s, thousands of French troops intervened to put down a rebellion among the peoples of the north, who were led by the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat). But the revolt persisted.

Although Frolinat broke up into several factions in the mid-1970s, opposition to the French-backed regime in Ndjamen became so great that Paris was forced to concede the establishment of a coalition government in 1979. Called the Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), its president was Goukouni Oueddei, the leader of the largest Frolinat faction at the time.

CIA ousted Goukouni

But the French and U.S. governments remained hostile to the GUNT. In particular, they disliked some of Goukouni's anti-imperialist foreign policy stands and his close ties with Libya, which gave military and economic aid to his government.

The CIA, with the help of the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes, funneled \$10 million in covert support to a right-wing rebellion led by Habré. With this backing, Habré's forces captured Ndjamen in June 1982 and drove the GUNT from power.

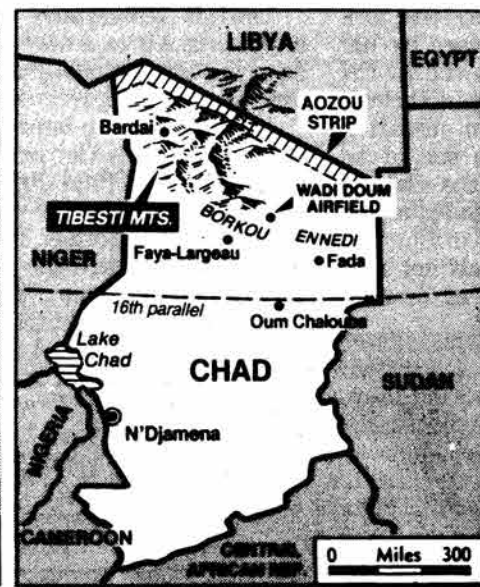
Habré's repressive and proimperialist regime met considerable opposition. The military and political organizations loyal to the GUNT regrouped and secured control over much of the remote, mountainous north.

The GUNT also obtained continued Libyan military support, including direct backing from Libyan troops. The Libyan regime of Muammar el-Qaddafi viewed this as a defensive measure, since Washington's support to the Habré regime was part of the broader U.S. campaign designed to isolate Libya and overthrow its government.

Despite considerable U.S. and French military aid to Habré, including the direct backing of French troops and aircraft, a military stalemate set in. This was symbolized by the French decision to draw a "red line" along the 16th parallel, cutting the country in half and in effect temporarily



French jets bombing rebel installation in northern Chad



conceding the GUNT's control of the north.

Split among rebel groups

But over the past year or so Habré has made some gains in consolidating his regime. In this, he has benefited from sharpening factional conflicts within the GUNT, winning over several of its key figures and groupings.

The disputes within the GUNT are complex. Some take the form of regional, language, and religious conflicts; others reflect differing political perspectives. The Libyan regime's annexation of a strip of territory along Chad's northern border (known as the Aozou strip) and its interference in the GUNT's internal political life have provided additional sources of conflict.

The most dramatic rupture in the GUNT surfaced in August and October 1986, when troops loyal to Goukouni clashed with those of another GUNT faction, the Revolutionary Democratic Council (CDR),

led by Acheikh Ibn Oumar.

In October Goukouni declared in an interview from Tripoli that he was being held there under house arrest. One of his aides later maintained that Goukouni was wounded in a shoot-out with Libyan security personnel. Libyan radio broadcasts proclaimed that Goukouni had been ousted as GUNT president and Acheikh Ibn Oumar named to take his place.

The fighting among the groups in northern Chad then intensified. The military leaders of Goukouni's faction announced that they were allying with Habré's army to combat both the CDR and the Libyan forces. They reportedly have several thousand troops under their command.

This break-up of the GUNT and the rift with Libya provided Paris, Washington, and Ndjamen with an opportunity to press beyond the 16th parallel. French planes dropped supplies to Goukouni's supporters in the northern Tibesti Mountains. Chadian government troops, with French logistical and supply assistance, captured the town of Fada, north of the "red line."

A top French officer, Gen. Jean Saulnier, has warned of more extensive French intervention in the north. Speaking to reporters in Ndjamen January 11, he declared, "We have intervened north of the 16th parallel in the past, . . . and we will not rule out intervening in the north once again."

A few days earlier the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that French "military observers" were already operating in the north with Chadian government forces.

Hundreds hear Caribbean activist

BY CATHY SEDWICK

SAN FRANCISCO — Don Rojas, a spokesperson for the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, spoke to over 350 people here January 17. Rojas toured the Bay Area January 15-18.

Former press secretary to slain Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Rojas currently represents the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada on the 10-party Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

The tour was kicked off by a breakfast with trade union officials prominent in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America. It was held at Local 15 of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians.

On January 16 more than 100 people honored Rojas at a reception in Oakland sponsored by the U.S.-Grenada Society. Speakers included Rojas; Yvonne Golden and Barbara Lee of the U.S.-Grenada Society; Wilson Riles, Jr., of the Oakland City Council; Alameda County Supervisor John George; State Assemblyman Elihu Harris; and Maudelle Shirek of the Berkeley City Council.

The January 17 meeting was co-chaired by Phil Hutchings of the Don Rojas Tour Committee and Supervisor John George.

Pedro Noguera, anti-apartheid activist and assistant to the mayor of Berkeley, introduced Rojas. Noguera recalled some of his experiences in Grenada during the years of the revolutionary government between 1979 and 1983. He participated in the popular literacy campaign as an international volunteer.

Rojas described the goals of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations, which he

explained is the first attempt in the history of the region to forge a broad alliance of anti-imperialist forces. It has the potential to help bridge the historical divisions between the people of Central America and the Caribbean, he said.

Rojas explained that a quarterly bulletin of the organization was planned. He encouraged the audience to help get out the bulletin and get out the word about the goals of the organization.

Closing to a standing ovation, Rojas shouted: "Forward on our feet, and never on our knees!"

Yvonne Golden urged the meeting to take up Rojas' call for ongoing support and activity.

Welcoming remarks and greetings were brought to the meeting from representatives of two member organizations of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations: Gustavo Acosta of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and Brunilda Santos of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

In addition to the meetings, Rojas was interviewed by a number of radio stations and newspapers. The *Sun Reporter*, a San Francisco Black newspaper, has agreed to serialize Rojas' speech.

CHICAGO — Caribbean-born revolutionary Don Rojas spoke to more than 50 people January 19 at Northeastern Illinois University Center for Inner City Studies on this city's South Side. The meeting was sponsored by the Chicago chapter of the Black United Front (BUF).

Conrad Worrill, chair of the National Black United Front, welcomed everyone to the meeting, which began with a moment

of silence for Maurice Bishop and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Worrill noted that Rojas had edited BUF's first newspaper in the 1970s. He pointed to the recent lynching of a Black man in Howard Beach and urged everyone present to join BUF members in wearing green armbands on January 21 — a national day of outrage.

N.Y. celebration for Castro book

NEW YORK — The recent publication of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, a wide-ranging interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro, will be celebrated at a meeting here on Friday, January 23.

Mervyn Dymally, member of the U.S. House of Representatives and chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, will be the featured speaker at the meeting. The gathering will be held at 7:30 p.m. at the Martin Luther King Labor Center of Local 1199 Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, 310 West 43rd St.

Dymally and Jeffrey Elliot, professor of political science at North Carolina Central University, conducted the interview with Castro in Havana.

Nothing Can Stop the Course of History was published a few months ago by Pathfinder Press, which is sponsoring the meeting.

Tony Benn, a Labour Party member of the British Parliament, recently wrote, "It is a marvelous and vivid account of Fidel's thinking on so many issues and I believe should be very widely read in the labour movement and, indeed, throughout the world, because Cuba has, in so many ways, proved itself to be an example of

what can be achieved for the common people against the most unfavorable external pressures."

Joe Madison, a national board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wrote that Dymally and Elliot "have presented us with a balanced, frank, and open insight into one of the most formidable and intriguing leaders in the world today. . . . Beyond the personal insight, we see a man with extensive knowledge and understanding of world affairs, and an undeniable compassion for the liberation of his nation."

In addition to Dymally, several other prominent speakers will discuss the interview and the importance of its publication. They are Fred Dube, representative of the African National Congress; Roger Green, a New York state assemblyman who chairs the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus; Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop; Prof. Frank Bonilla, director of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College; Sandra Levinson, director of the Center for Cuban Studies; and Larry Seigle of Pathfinder Press.