

## 30,000 march in Georgia to advance Black rights

BY KEN MILINER

CUMMING, Ga. — More than 30,000 people marched here January 24 in a "Brotherhood March," the largest civil rights demonstration in the South in over two decades. The outpouring came to this tiny town in Forsyth County on less than a week's notice, after a violent attack here on 75 peaceful demonstrators January 17.

The sea of marchers poured down Old Buford Highway to the Forsyth County Courthouse and held a rally — exactly what marchers had been prevented from doing the week before as a result of the Ku Klux Klan attack and the lack of police protection.

Because of massive outrage at the Klan violence, police officials and the state government were under big pressure to protect the second march. Over 3,000 police and soldiers were on duty, including 1,700 Georgia National Guardsmen called out by Gov. Joe Frank Harris and hundreds of state and local cops.

In a switch observed by many who have marched for civil rights before, the Guardsmen and cops, who formed a ring around the entire march route, had their backs to the marchers and their eyes on the jeering riffraff who gathered to scream, "Go home niggers."

The huge size of the march stunned the racists, who had mobilized from around the country. Waving Confederate flags and spitting out racist and anti-Semitic epithets, the countermobilization peaked at about 1,000.

The racists included many youths, women and children, as well as veteran white supremacists such as J.B. Stoner, just out of jail for bombing an unoccupied Black church in Alabama in 1958. All of them fell into stunned silence as Blacks and whites with linked arms marched for as far as the eye could see in either direction.

According to a report in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Shane Pruitt, leaning on the staff of a Confederate flag as the marchers approached, blurted out, "God Almighty, man, look at all those people." As the awesome crowd turned in the direction of the courthouse, he said, "Man, they're still coming. Look at that."

The sheer volume of the protest delayed the departure from the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta for over four hours that Saturday morning. When the caravan finally got under way, some 4,000 people were left behind without transportation.

At one point the line of vehicles going to Cumming stretched for three miles along Georgia Highway 400. Upon arrival, the over 300 buses and hundreds of cars and vans unloaded for almost three hours. The last marcher did not reach the courthouse until the one and a half hour rally had ended. March organizers estimated that



Massive throng of antiracist marchers approaches courthouse in Cumming, seat of Georgia's Forsyth County.

over one-third of the demonstrators were white.

Leading the protest were Coretta Scott King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Joseph Lowery, Atlanta City Councilman Hosea Williams, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) President Benjamin Hooks; and U.S. Congressman John Lewis.

They were joined by prominent figures from across the country, including Democratic presidential hopeful Gary Hart, U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), U.S. Sen. Wyche Fowler (D-Ga.), Dick Gregory, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and many others.

A welcoming committee for the marchers included Nunn, Cumming Mayor Ford Gravitt, and County Commission Chairman Leroy Hubbard. Roger Crow, president-elect of the Forsyth County

Chamber of Commerce, personally greeted thousands at the beginning of the march.

The massive turnout on January 24 showed that the racist violence televised around the world the week before had stirred widespread outrage.

Millions had watched in disbelief as over 400 Klansmen and their supporters

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## Coup attempt highlights crisis in Philippines

BY FRED FELDMAN

An unsuccessful coup attempt by Philippine military units, coming five days after the murder of 18 demonstrators by troops and police, deepened the crisis wracking the government of President Corazon Aquino. It highlighted the intensifying social conflicts in the country.

The coup attempt began January 27 when rightist military units supporting ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos attempted to seize the Defense Ministry, two air bases, the main power company, and radio and television stations.

Four soldiers were reported killed as units defending the government pushed back the attack on the Villamor air base near Manila.

On January 27 Army Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos publicly negotiated for the surrender of holdouts who had occupied a Manila radio station.

"The armed forces of the Philippines is fully in control of the military situation and supports the government," he said.

The antigovernment units included members of the Guardians, a military fraternity involved in a previous coup attempt last July when soldiers seized a Manila hotel and proclaimed a Marcos crony as president. After surrendering at that time, the coup plotters were allowed to return to duty with hardly a reprimand.

Nor was any action taken last November when officers linked to then-Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile openly boasted of their plans to strike at the government.

This time Aquino said that "the full force of the law" would be brought against those involved.

"This attempt reflects the inability of some elements, both in the military and in the civilian sector, to face the fact that civilian government is here to stay and that nothing will derail our efforts to establish full constitutional democracy in the coming plebiscite."

She was referring to the February 2 plebiscite on a constitution drawn up by a commission she appointed. Rightists par-

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## Hearing held on gov't spy files

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK — The political rights case against government spying and disruption, won by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance last August, was back in U.S. District Court here January 27.

At issue is the one remaining uncompleted section of the decision issued by Judge Thomas Griesa on Aug. 25, 1986.

After finding the 45-year government disruption operation against the socialist organizations and their members illegal, the judge announced that he would grant an injunction against government use of secret files that were "obtained illegally or developed from illegally obtained informa-

tion."

When he issued his decision, Judge Griesa mandated further proceedings to "identify precisely what documents and records fall into this category." He noted that at stake in the arguments over this injunction is the disposition of "the enormous files in the Federal Government relating to the SWP, the YSA and certain of their members."

The January 27 hearing represented a big step forward in advancing the fight for an effective injunction. Since the decision was issued five months ago, one off-the-record conference was held last November in the judge's chambers to discuss how to

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## Prominent figures celebrate publication of Castro book

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — Many prominent figures in the fight for social change in this country and internationally attended a meeting and reception here on January 23 to celebrate the publication of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*. The book contains the edited transcript of an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro conducted by Rep. Mervyn Dymally and Prof. Jeffrey Elliot. It was published by Pathfinder Press.

Dennis Rivera, executive vice-president of Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, welcomed the 275 people in attendance. His union donated the use of the Martin Luther King Labor Center for the evening.

Keith Wright, special assistant to Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins and his Harlem coordinator, brought greetings to the meeting on behalf of Dinkins.

A significant number of Black, Caribbean, and Latin American activists attended the event.

A broad range of special guests were in-

troduced during the course of the meeting and many messages were read.

Mary-Alice Waters, member of the board of directors of Pathfinder, chaired the gathering. She pointed to one of the central themes of the evening: the importance of this book for advancing the right of the people of the United States to learn the truth about Cuba.

It is also a blow, she said, against the de facto travel ban that prevents most U.S. residents from visiting Cuba. And it helps make more difficult U.S. government attempts to blockade information coming from Nicaragua, South Africa, and elsewhere.

Mervyn Dymally, the chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and a ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was scheduled to be the keynote speaker, but illness prevented him from coming. His legislative assistant, Marwan Burgan, ably represented him, and brought greetings on his behalf.

New York State Assemblyman Roger

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# Steelworkers voice views on USX pact

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

CHICAGO — Skepticism, confusion, anger, resignation, and relief. These were the mixed emotions of steelworkers as they considered their vote on the proposed contract between their union and the USX Corp.

Informational meetings were held around the country the week of January 19-24 to explain the provisions of the settlement to the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) membership. A vote to ratify the contract would end the six-month lockout of 21,000 workers.

Militant reporters talked to workers outside the contract meetings and at skeleton picket lines the union maintained in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Utah. Most workers predicted the contract would be approved but expressed resentment over the concessions they would be forced to accept.

The four-year contract would cut wages and benefits by \$2.45 an hour and immediately eliminate 1,300 jobs. Three holidays will be lost. During the first two years of the contract, workers will also give up a week of vacation time and an additional holiday. Shift premiums will be cut by a third.

Every Steelworkers member eligible to vote was sent a ballot along with a booklet summarizing the agreement. The booklet contained a brief introduction by the union's negotiating committee urging approval of the pact.

## Encouraged to retire

In a move designed to encourage older workers to retire early, "special pensions" with a \$400 monthly supplement will be granted to each worker taking early retirement. One employee on layoff is supposed to be recalled for every two who retire with special pensions.

Many workers, however, were skeptical that they would ever get back to work. "Nobody with less than 20 years' seniority is going to get back in," a worker from Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio, said. Most workers at the Geneva Works in Orem, Utah, believe that mill will be closed soon. "You can see the handwriting on the wall," said Ray, a bricklayer with 31 years in.

"This is just my opinion," he continued, "but this time the union stuck out its chin and said take a whack, and the union didn't give one lick back. Now we have people at the point that they're hungry and will take anything."

## Contract meetings

As workers filed into the Genesis Convention Center in Gary, Indiana, to hear the USWA leadership's explanation of the contract, they were making angry comments about what they had read. But the crowd sat subdued for several hours as they listened to a discussion about the contract language.

The union leadership says they have se-

cured stronger language about the use of outside contractors on jobs inside the mills. "Maintenance or repair work or work associated with the fabricating of goods, materials, or equipment purchased or leased cannot be contracted out unless it passes the reasonableness test," the summary booklet states. The "reasonableness test" is a list of 11 criteria none of which are listed in summary.

"I don't want you to think that this is over, no matter what the contract says," George Vrhoretis, Local 1014 grievance committee chairman, told union members at a January 20 Gary meeting.

"They'll use their lawyers and try to make this contract say what they want it to say," he added. "We'll have a fight on our hands no matter what we do."

Local union presidents voted on the con-

tract before it was taken to the membership. Larry Regan, Local 1014 president, was one of four presidents who opposed the proposed settlement. Thirty-eight voted in favor. "I am against concessions," Regan said, "we gave enough in 1983. Back then they said our jobs would be secure. We have lost 7,000 jobs [at the Gary Works] since then. So much for job security."

Other workers were confused over the combination of job classifications. Hank Vernia, a welder in Local 1014, said, "I am more confused than ever over this. We still don't know if we have our jobs. We don't know who will be doing what job."

## Union in weaker position

There's no doubt the union will reenter the mills in a considerably weaker position

from the very first day. The contract summary spells out requirements for a three-week "restart period" where job classifications can be totally ignored and no grievances may be filed over seniority, hours of work, overtime, vacation scheduling, or foremen working.

The 31,000 steelworkers eligible to vote have until January 31 to mail their ballots to the USWA International headquarters in Pittsburgh.

*Holly Harkness is a member of USWA Local 7999 in Chicago. This article is based on reports from steelworkers Omari Musa and John Votava in Chicago; Louise Halverson in Pittsburgh; Ed Fruit and Mary Zins in Salt Lake City; and from Susan Lamont in Cleveland.*

# Meat-packers reject Iowa Beef offer

BY DIANE SHUR

SOUTH SIOUX CITY, Neb. — Over 2,300 meat-packers voted overwhelmingly here January 25 to reject Iowa Beef Processors' contract proposal. This was the second time the workers turned down IBP's demands for concessions.

The members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 222 have been locked out at IBP's nearby Dakota City plant since December 14. Over 1,700 of those in attendance voted to reject IBP's proposed pact. Only 38 voted to accept it.

At a press conference following the balloting, Local 222 Business Agent Bill Schmitz explained that a large group who attended the meeting refused to vote because they were furious over IBP management's allegation that workers were rejecting the contract because of ignorance and confusion.

Schmitz said the union had agreed to take the second vote because "we wanted to prevent the company from hiding behind phony issues, from being able to say the workers really want to return to work. We want to discuss the real issues: wages, working conditions, insurance, the two-tier wage system, the 32-hour guaranteed work-week," he explained.

The vote came after a federal mediator's attempt to get the negotiations going again. It was at a meeting with the company on January 21 that IBP officials charged that Local 222's membership was not really knowledgeable about the contract.

IBP's most serious threat is that the contract offer is only good until February 1. The company didn't say what it has in store for February 2, but many workers looking back on past strikes assume this means attempting to reopen the plant with scabs.

As workers streamed out of the convention center some stopped to talk. Homer

Fuentes, a worker with 10 years at IBP, explained, "We should at least get back the \$1.07 we gave up in 1982, and we need better insurance. It will take a fight," Fuentes continued, "I know from the strike in 1982."

Txanx, a worker born in Laos who has been at IBP for four years, said, "The foreman tries to hurry us up too much and many people end up quitting. I don't speak English too good," he said, "but I know that the union helps us."

Looking ahead, another 10-year veteran

of the plant said, "When the company reopens the plant and tries to run scabs, we'll fight. What other choice do we have?"

Closing the press conference, UFCW Packinghouse Division head Lewie Anderson said the union is trying to mobilize outside support for the locked-out workers from other unions, community organizations, and from farmers.

Anderson also announced that demonstrations will be organized against Occidental Petroleum, IBP's parent company.

# Protest held at Minn. Hormel plant

BY LYNNE FAIN

AUSTIN, Minn. — One hundred and fifty meat-packers and their supporters demonstrated here January 21. The protest marked the first anniversary of the Minnesota National Guard being sent to town to allow Geo. A. Hormel & Co. to reopen its Austin packing plant here with strike-breakers.

Over 800 of the former strikers have not gotten their jobs back.

At 5:30 a.m., demonstrators met at the office of the Austin United Support Group. Carrying flashlights and signs, they marched to the Hormel plant's south gate. Spirits were high during the demonstration, which received coverage in the local media.

Austin United Support Group leader Barbara Collette explained that the purpose of the demonstration was to protest the National Guard being sent to Austin "because it was an attack on working people, and to let people know that the struggle is not over."

The line of protesters stretched 200 yards facing the entrance to the Hormel plant. Despite the cold weather the demonstration lasted an hour.

Afterwards, the protesters marched back to the Support Group office where Ray Rogers from Corporate Campaign, Inc. spoke. CCI organized support for United Food and Commercial Workers' union Local P-9 during their strike against Hormel.

Rogers shared his experience from touring the country talking to unionists and others about the Austin meat-packers' fight.

"There is support for this struggle around the country, and we, the Corporate Campaign, will be with you through the entire struggle, it's not over," he said.

Later, 85 protesters laid a wreath on the monument Local P-9 retirees erected to three members of an ABC Television news crew who were killed in a helicopter crash while traveling to Austin to cover the National Guard occupation.

Preparations are under way for a national rally in Austin on March 14. Publicity has gone out to unionists and supporters around the country. The day's activities will include a parade and a rally. For more information contact the Austin United Support Group at P.O. Box 396, Austin, Minn. 55912 or call (507) 437-4110.

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# White House urges more funding for 'contra' terrorists

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Though shaken by the continuing revelations of the Iran arms-contra crisis, the White House has not abandoned its efforts to drum up support for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

In his State of the Union address January 27, President Ronald Reagan declared, "I will fight any effort to shut off their [Nicaraguan contras'] lifeblood and consign them to death, defeat, or a life without freedom. There must be no Soviet beachhead in Central America."

Several key administration officials made public appeals on the contras' behalf January 23, at the start of a new propaganda push designed to portray them as "freedom fighters" worthy of U.S. assistance. This comes at a time when some legislators are considering an effort to block \$40 million in aid to the contras, the portion of last year's \$100 million in congressionally approved assistance that has not already been disbursed.

Frank Carlucci, Reagan's new national security adviser, argued in a speech in Washington against "terminating our support for the democratic resistance" — the White House's euphemism for the contra terrorists. Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, claimed that it would be "absolutely crazy" to abandon the contras.

## Cocaine dealers

But a front-page article in the January 20 *New York Times* did not help the White House's campaign any.

According to the report, investigators of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) have uncovered "convincing evidence" that the U.S. flight crews that dropped arms to the Nicaraguan contras "were smuggling cocaine and other drugs on their return trips to the United States."

Many of the flights went through El Salvador's restricted Ilopango air base. When crew members operating out of El Salvador learned of the DEA investigation early last fall, one of them warned that they had White House protection, specifically mentioning Lt. Col. Oliver North, the National Security Council staffer who has played a central role in both the Iran arms sales and the contra supply network.

Although the DEA's investigation was not formally closed, its agents stopped pursuing it. Now, however, several of the committees set up to probe the Iran-contra affair are again looking at the drug-smuggling evidence.

On January 26 George Morales, a drug smuggler, pleaded guilty in a U.S. district court in Florida to operating a criminal enterprise in providing money and supplies to the contras. His planes were also being used to import cocaine. In return for the guilty plea, the government agreed to recommend a 20-year prison term rather than a life sentence.

## A CIA mercenary talks

In recent weeks, information gathered by federal and congressional investigators has also shown that the CIA's direct role in recruiting, training, and arming the contras has been more extensive than either the White House or the CIA itself have acknowledged so far.

Although it is only now being reported, a U.S. mercenary told FBI and Justice Department investigators in March 1986 that he had been recruited by the CIA in October 1984 to form a Green Beret-style special forces unit to fight with the contras. The mercenary, Jack Terrell, was a member of the ultraright Civilian Matériel Assistance, a "private" organization involved in raising funds and supplies for the contras. He recruited 10 U.S. mercenaries, but they were expelled from Honduras before they could see any action, Terrell told the investigators.

This operation came at a time when Congress had explicitly barred any U.S. aid to the contras, and was thus illegal.

Some investigators had urged in early 1986 that a federal grand jury launch a

probe into this recruitment and into reports that CIA operatives were also shipping arms to the contras, the January 15 *Wall Street Journal* reported. But the U.S. attorney's office in Miami, where many of the contra-support activities are based, stalled until later that year.

## Reagan's 'findings'

Besides recruiting mercenaries outside the agency, the CIA also gave the contras direct assistance.

The supposedly legal basis for this was provided by a secret intelligence order — called a "finding" — signed by Reagan on Jan. 9, 1986. According to the Jan. 14, 1987, *Washington Post*, this authorized the CIA to provide intelligence advice, training, and communications equipment to the contras, totaling \$13 million last year.

Although Congress had formally barred direct U.S. military aid to the contras at the time, the "finding" took advantage of Congress' decision to make an exception of "intelligence and communications aid." That exception was so broadly worded, one intelligence official told the *Post*, that a CIA officer could "do just about anything except pull the trigger."

It was a similar presidential finding, signed by Reagan just a week later, that provided the official authorization for the secret arms sales to Iran.

The use of such presidential findings was first given legal status in the Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980, which permitted the White House to authorize covert



Reagan with contra leader Adolfo Calero in 1986. Evidence is mounting that U.S. flight crews who supplied contras with weapons also smuggled drugs into this country.

CIA operations if the president certified that they were in the interests of U.S. "national security" and if specified committees of Congress were notified.

In practice, this method of governance by decree has enabled the administration to get around certain laws formally restricting covert CIA operations. Even the congressional notification requirements have not, in fact, been adhered to.

A recently uncovered memorandum by North on routing the U.S. arms sales to Iran via Israel explicitly suggested to Reagan that "under an appropriate finding, you could authorize the CIA to sell arms to countries outside the provisions of the laws and reporting requirements for foreign military sales."

Besides Israel, which has been used by Washington to send arms to both Iran and the contras, this circuitous arms sales and supply network also drew in several other governments.

It was previously known that U.S. officials had solicited the Brunei and Saudi Arabian regimes for aid to the contras. Recent information obtained by congressional committees, and reported in the January 23 *Washington Post*, also cited the governments of Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan.

Little is known about how much, if anything, the latter three governments actually provided. But the sultan of Brunei is reported to have kicked in \$10 million, and the Saudi monarchy some \$20 million.

# How Watergate scandal led to Nixon's forced resignation

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Second of three parts)

The first article in this series, published last week, traced the opening stages of the "Watergate crisis." This included the revelations about illegal government spying and other crimes that began in July 1972 when five burglars were arrested in the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C.

The article concluded with the exposure of the involvement of top government officials in the burglary and cover-up, the opening of hearings by a special Senate committee, and President Richard Nixon's reluctant decision to approve the May 18, 1973, appointment of a special federal prosecutor.

The investigations increasingly centered on the issues of Nixon's personal role in the crimes of the White House staff. As Republican Senator Howard Baker put it: "What did the president know, and when did he know it?"

In June 1973 John Dean, a former White House aide who jumped ship when he suspected he was being set up as a scapegoat, testified at televised hearings of the Senate committee.

Dean discussed the "Huston plan," which stemmed from a June 1970 meeting of Nixon with the heads of the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency, and Defense Intelligence Agency. The meeting, which followed the nationwide explosion of protests that followed the U.S. invasion of Cambodia (now called Kampuchea) in May 1970, led to the adoption of a plan calling for burglaries, opening of mail, and other activities against foes of U.S. policy. The report, approved by Nixon in July, pointed out that these activities were "clearly illegal."

"There was also maintained what was called an enemies' list," Dean said, "which was rather extensive and continually being updated."

Most damaging of all from the standpoint of the senators, Dean said that Nixon had been directly involved in efforts to cover-up the role of government officials

in the Watergate break-in, including through payment of hush money to the captured burglars.

The White House was further damaged by Nixon allies, such as former White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman. Millions watched on television as Haldeman answered 150 questions with, "I can't remember" or "I have no recollection."

But Nixon insisted he was innocent. It appeared that the issue could boil down to his word against Dean's.

Then a decisive source of evidence turned up. A White House aide admitted in July that, at Nixon's request, he had installed a taping system in the White House. Since 1970, every discussion and phone call had been taped.

Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox now asked for several tapes. Nixon refused, claiming a right to secrecy — or, as he called it, "executive privilege." Cox went to court to force Nixon to turn over the tapes.

In October, as this battle heated up, Vice-president Spiro Agnew pleaded guilty to tax evasion charges and resigned. Nixon chose Representative Gerald Ford to replace him.

Federal Judge John Sirica, who had tried the burglars, ordered the White House to turn the tapes over to him. An appeals court upheld his ruling.

On October 20, 1973, Alexander Haig — who succeeded Haldeman as Nixon's chief of staff — ordered Attorney General Elliott Richardson to fire Cox. Richardson refused and resigned. Deputy Attorney General William French Smith followed Richardson's example.

After finding a Justice Department official who would carry out the order, the White House announced that the special prosecutor's office had been abolished.

In the wake of what became known as the October 20 "Saturday Night Massacre," 3 million letters and telegrams of protest flooded Congress. Most called for Nixon's impeachment. The House of Representatives voted November 15 to have the Judiciary Committee investigate whether impeachment was called for. The

editors of the *New York Times*, *Time* magazine, and other publications called on Nixon to resign.

Nixon backed down. He agreed to turn over nine tapes. Leon Jaworski was appointed as the new special prosecutor.

But administration officials now claimed that two of the nine tapes did not exist. An 18-minute erasure was found on a third — eliminating parts of a discussion between Nixon and Haldeman.

Special Prosecutor Jaworski went to court in April 1974 demanding tapes and documents of 64 White House discussions. The administration then released 1,200 pages of edited tape transcripts.

Even sanitized to eliminate outright proof of criminal actions, the transcripts were devastating to Nixon. His conversations, peppered with racist remarks, revealed an administration with no qualms about trampling on democratic rights or hiding the truth.

When Senate investigators compared the few tapes they had received with the transcripts of them published by the White House, they found discrepancies. The March 22 transcript, for instance, deleted this March 22, 1973, declaration by Nixon to his aides on the investigations: "I don't give a shit what happens. I want you to stonewall it, let them plead the Fifth Amendment, cover up, or anything else if it will save it — save the whole plan."

On July 24, 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon must turn over the tapes to Jaworski. When he did so, they proved what almost everyone by then was sure of — that the president had controlled the cover-up from the start.

At the end of July, the House Judiciary Committee approved articles of impeachment against Nixon. Impeachment in the House, and removal from office in a trial by the Senate, now seemed certain.

Nixon announced his resignation on Aug. 8, 1974. On September 9 he got a full pardon from his successor, Gerald Ford — guaranteeing that he could not be prosecuted for crimes he committed during his presidency.

(To be continued)



# Prominent figures hail Castro book

Continued from front page

Green, chair of the state Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus, spoke first. He singled out the book's chapter on what motivates fighters for social justice and on the qualities of leadership.

Making an observation echoed by several other speakers, he contrasted Castro with the political leadership of the United States, which is "incapable of understanding the dynamics of history."

The book, Green explained, comes at an important time for young activists in this country. He specifically referred to the thousands of youths who had marched in New York earlier in the week against the racist lynching in Howard Beach in December. They "need this book as a guide" to be able to study how other people have won their freedom so they can do the same thing here at home, he said.

A standing ovation greeted Fred Dube, a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa and professor of African Studies and Psychology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

## 'Freedom fighters love Fidel'

Referring to the Cuban president as a "comrade in arms," Dube said, "If you are a freedom fighter, if you are a lover of democracy and freedom, then, of course, you just love Fidel Castro."

But if "you are an oppressor, a racist, and an imperialist, then you hate Fidel Castro."

"Why is this man who is leading a small little country like Cuba so much of a threat to" the U.S. government, Dube asked. It's obviously not out of any fear of a Cuban invasion of the United States. Rather, Castro represents a "bad example" of "people who are free to decide for themselves," who have banished illiteracy, hunger, and racism.

Dube praised Cuba's agreement to send soldiers to Angola in 1975 to defend that country against a South African invasion.

Sandra Levinson, director of the Center for Cuban Studies in New York, warned about proposed new restrictions on travel to Cuba by the U.S. Treasury Department. If passed, they would make it much harder for professional researchers to travel to Cuba.

The Center for Cuban Studies organizes trips between Cuba and the United States and makes available Cuban literature and publications.

Levinson said that books such as *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History* are important in filling the vacuum in knowledge about Castro and the Cuban revolution that exists in this country.

Another fighter against the U.S. government's attempt to erect an iron curtain between the United States and Cuba is Prof. Frank Bonilla, director of the Center for



Fred Dube, ANC (top left); Marwan Burgan, legislative assistant to Rep. Mervyn Dymally (top right); Sandra Levinson, Center for Cuban Studies (bottom left); and Larry Seigle, Pathfinder Press (bottom right).

Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College and chair of the City University of New York committee that arranges faculty and student exchanges with Cuba.

Bonilla described his and others' unsuccessful efforts to get visas for Cuban professors to visit the United States.

Bonilla stressed that the section of the book on the debt of the semicolonial countries merits special attention. The facts and analysis that Castro seems to "so spontaneously" reel off, said Bonilla, are actually the product of many years of research and education of the entire Cuban people about the international debt crisis.

Don Rojas emphasized the importance of the section in the book where Castro discusses the overthrow of the Grenada revolution in October 1983 by the clique led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. Castro also condemns the subsequent U.S. invasion and occupation of the island.

Rojas was press secretary to Grenada's former prime minister, Maurice Bishop, who was murdered in the 1983 coup. Rojas currently represents the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement on the Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Rojas explained that the U.S. blockade makes it difficult for people in the Caribbean to have access to literature from revolutionary Cuba, especially in the countries where English is the predominant language, which are also countries with large populations of African origin.

"Now the challenge before Pathfinder," he said, is to insure that this book, along with the range of titles that Pathfinder publishes, get around as widely as possible in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Referring to the section of the book on Grenada, Rojas said that the "clarity of the Cuban leadership on these events has indeed helped others throughout the Caribbean . . . to get their political bearings."

Marwan Burgan explained why this interview has gotten relatively little coverage in the major media compared to other books about Cuba. In this case, he said, "The authors did not decide to editorialize, to censor, and to selectively decide what you should read."

Burgan said that when he read the book he discovered that the ideas in it are "not really astounding — it's what any humanist person should believe in. There are no extraordinary views" in the interview.

He also read a statement by Dymally condemning the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative.

The other interviewer, Jeffrey Elliot, sent greetings to the meeting. He explained that he couldn't be present because he was

in Minneapolis promoting the book.

The final speaker was Larry Seigle, the member of Pathfinder's board of directors who worked most closely with the authors on preparing the manuscript for publication. Seigle also represented Pathfinder at the Third International Havana Book Fair in Cuba last September.

## Power of ideas

What makes this Castro book so important, said Seigle, is that "these are ideas whose interest, whose attraction, whose power come not from Fidel Castro," but "from the fact that they express the aspirations, the goals, the dreams, the interests of the vast majority of humanity."

And it is these ideas, said Seigle, that Pathfinder is all about.

Internationally, Seigle explained, there are a growing number of political organizations and currents, which despite their different origins, are being drawn closer together as they all try to learn and apply the lessons of previous and ongoing struggles to end oppression and exploitation.

"They share a common objective of studying the lessons of the working-class movement internationally, to build on that knowledge so as to advance humanity

along the course history is dictating today as the way forward," Seigle continued.

It is this common objective that explains why Pathfinder publishes the collected writings and speeches of Nelson Mandela, Maurice Bishop, leaders of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front, and Castro, as well as U.S. workers' leaders such as James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, and Malcolm X, "who showed the way forward in the fight for Black liberation and the fight for a nonracial society here and everywhere."

It is to aid this process of learning from previous struggles that Pathfinder has embarked on one of its most ambitious projects ever — putting in print for the first time the entire record of the early years of the Communist International.

An increasing number of political fighters in the United States are part of this international drawing together, said Seigle, like those who are saying "enough to lynchings such as the one in Howard Beach, enough to places in this country where Blacks aren't supposed to go such as Forsyth County in Georgia, enough to apartheid and Washington's refusal to break all ties with the racist South African regime, enough to the U.S.-run mercenary war against Nicaragua, and enough to the U.S. government dictating what countries U.S. residents can visit and who can't be invited here."

Among the prominent individuals who attended and were introduced during the evening were: Fernando García Bielsa, Elio Savon, and Gilberto Herrera-Ramírez, first secretaries of the Cuban mission to the United Nations; Nguyen Si Xung, third secretary of the Vietnamese mission; and Hinyangerwa P. Asheke, deputy permanent representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation mission to the United Nations; Dessima Williams, former representative to the Organization of American States of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, and a leader of the Grenada Foundation; Esmeralda Brown, coordinator, Women's Workshop in the Americas and the Latin American and Caribbean Office of the United Methodist Office for the United Nations; Eugene "Gus" Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, California, co-chair of U.S. Peace Council, and a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Boston; Judge Bruce Wright, Supreme Court justice for the State of New York; Gianfranco Gorgoni, photographer for *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*; George Harrison of the Republican Sinn Féin organization of Ireland; and Kathy Andrade, educational director of Local 23-25, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Noted Brazilian jazz musician and political activist Thiago de Mello delivered a well-received performance as part of the program.

## Messages sent to N.Y. meeting

NEW YORK — "While it is indeed true that 'nothing can stop the march of history,' it is also true that the efforts of particular individuals and organizations are vital in assisting history on its forward course. Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution are an integral part of the history — and of the future — of our hemisphere."

This is an excerpt from greetings sent by Solidarity Publications of San Francisco on the occasion of the January 23 meeting here to celebrate the publication of *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, an interview with Fidel Castro published by Pathfinder Press (see accompanying article).

Joe Madison, political director of Service Employees International Union and national board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), wrote in his message, "Even though there may be political and ideological differences between the United States and Cuba, the Cubans are our brothers and sisters; and one day we have got to sit down together at the table of peace."

The National Alliance of Third World Journalists of New York wrote that despite the "deliberate misinformation" propagated by "journalists of imperialism," the

struggle for freedom has prevailed. It is in this "spirit of solidarity" that the alliance hailed the book.

Chan Bun Han of Kampuchea sent a message for the Khmer Association in the United States. He stressed the role of Cuban internationalist volunteers in aiding the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Ben Dupuy, editor of the weekly *Haiti Progrès* and coordinator of the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, pointed out that the U.S. embargo on Cuba is designed to prevent "the free flow of ideas, which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations as ratified by the United States; and in that context we salute the publication of this book."

Actors Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee wrote that this book is "indispensable at this time with all the dangers to progressive thought and common sense that still affect Central America and the Caribbean."

Jim Haughton, director of Harlem Fightback, said that "the developments in Cuba have already had worldwide ramifications and many oppressed nations look to Cuba for guidance as they attempt to develop their country in the interest of their peoples." — M.J.

## from Pathfinder Fidel Castro Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

"Undoubtedly the longest and most wide-ranging interview ever conducted with Cuban President Fidel Castro. In it, Castro speaks directly to the people of the United States on questions of vital importance to citizens of both our countries."

"It spans dozens of topics: U.S.-Cuban relations, the Reagan administration's foreign policy, the New International Economic Order, unity and disunity in Latin America, Cuba's relations with Africa, the events in Afghanistan. . . ."

From the preface by Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally, who with Jeffrey M. Elliot conducted the interview. 276 pages, \$7.95

Available from Pathfinder Bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Hearing held on barring gov't use of spy files on socialists

Continued from front page

proceed in arguing out the scope of the injunction. At that conference, the court asked the two sides to confer and return in a month with some progress. Until the hearing today, the government has stalled and there had been no further motion.

At the January 27 hearing Judge Griesa ordered both sides to present their views to the court in two weeks.

The judge's decision in August found that the bulk of the contents of the government's files are either the direct products of or derived from "four types of FBI activity — disruption, surreptitious entries or burglaries, use of informants, and electronic surveillance (telephone wiretaps and 'bugs' in offices and dwellings.)"

These are the broad categories of government activity reviewed by the judge in his ruling and found to be unconstitutional and unlawful.

The vast bulk of the raw data amassed by the government was the product of their informers. Judge Griesa found that the FBI had 1,300 informers spying on the SWP and YSA, who took 12,600 of their documents between 1960 and 1976 alone.

The judge found that these spies focused on two areas: (1) "thousands of reports recording peaceful, lawful activity," and (2) "a great deal of ... personal information about the SWP and YSA members, and their families," including "marital or cohabitational status, marital strife, health, travel plans, and personal habits."

Judge Griesa explained that the informers provided information on the plaintiffs "so that the FBI could decide where, and by what means, to attempt to disrupt them."

The judge concluded that the use of informers "was wholly incompatible with the SWP's First Amendment right to freely assemble and freely speak on political matters."

A second major source the government used to put together files on the SWP and YSA was burglary. Judge Griesa wrote that he had been presented with proof of "at least 204 surreptitious entries of SWP and YSA offices and at least four such entries of SWP members' homes." He noted that in the course of these black bag jobs, "at least 9,864 documents were removed or photographed."

These documents contained "information concerning the political activities and finances of the SWP and YSA, legal matters, and the personal lives of the members."

The judge ruled that the break-ins were "obvious violations of the Fourth Amendment."

A third source of data for government files was the FBI's SWP Disruption Program itself. Judge Griesa reports that the FBI carried out at least 46 disruption operations against the party and its members.

He ruled that "these disruption operations were patently unconstitutional and violated the SWP's First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly."

The fourth method the government employed to obtain names and information to file and use to victimize activists was electronic surveillance. The judge found evidence that there had been 20,000 wiretap-

days and 12,000 bug-days, from 1943 to 1963. He noted that "the installation of bugs generally required a surreptitious entry into private premises."

The judge ruled, however, that according to federal law the SWP was not entitled to money damages from the government for bugging and wiretapping the plaintiffs.

For violations of the SWP and YSA's constitutional and legal rights in the other three areas — their disruption operations, break-ins, and use of spies — the judge awarded them \$264,000 in damages. "The evidence in this case demonstrates," he ruled, "that the three types of FBI operations here under discussion were directed against entirely lawful and peaceful political activities of the SWP."

Using these unlawful means, the FBI amassed hundreds of thousands of files of raw data, such as informer reports listing all those who attended a party campaign rally, copies of forum mailing lists stolen from party headquarters, and reports on disruption efforts.

The FBI then used these files containing names, political information, and personal gossip to generate tens of thousands of additional files. Evaluations of party activities and plans were produced. Proposals for further disruption efforts were drafted. Materials were assembled to prepare summary characterizations of the SWP and YSA. These characterizations were distributed to dozens of other government agencies for the purpose of singling out and victimizing anyone associated with these organizations.

Names of party supporters were compiled. They were disseminated to other agencies for inclusion on various lists, such as the State Department's "Lookout List," the Immigration and Naturalization Service's "Watch List," or the FBI's own "Administrative Index" of individuals to be rounded up if the president declared a national emergency.

Dozens of copies of these reports, documents, and lists were circulated both within the FBI all across the country and to other

governmental agencies. These were then filed under dozens of different headings, under the names of both political groups and individual persons, or in other files specifically meant to be hidden from potential disclosures, such as "Do Not File" files.

One example was provided recently to the Political Rights Defense Fund, the committee organized to publicize, gather support, and raise funds for the prosecution of the case.

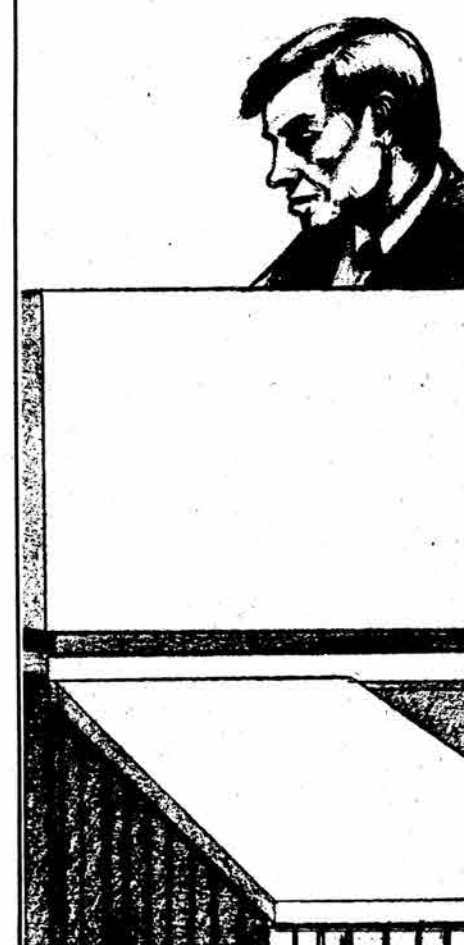
A reporter in California provided the PRDF with a copy of an FBI memorandum sent from its New York office to San Francisco. This document was never released to the SWP during the course of the lawsuit, but other materials demonstrate that the FBI obtained the materials described in it by burglarizing the national office of the YSA in New York in 1965.

This document, which reprints copies of letters sent to the YSA office, reports on both the political and personal affairs of a number of YSA members. These documents, the memorandum shows, were placed in 13 different files in the San Francisco FBI office alone.

At issue in the unfolding court battle over the injunction mandated by Judge Griesa is whether the FBI and other government defendants will be prevented from using these fruits of their illegal operations to continue to victimize the SWP, YSA, and the thousands of individuals the government has associated with them in their files all over the country.

The longer that this issue remains unsettled, the longer such harm will continue to occur — even though the judge has ruled that it should be stopped. And the government will have more time to seek ways to get around the reach of an injunction. The SWP and YSA are entitled to, and need, protection now.

Judge Griesa ruled January 27 that both the government and the SWP must return to his court in two weeks prepared to argue the scope of the injunction he will issue. The government will use all the resources



Militant/Diane Jacobs

Judge Thomas Griesa

at its command to attempt to narrow the reach of the court's order, neutralize its effect, and weaken the overall impact of the judge's historic ruling.

The stakes in this fight extend to all political and union activists who want to organize and act to defend themselves from government and corporate policy. Leonard Boudin, lawyer for the SWP, explained, "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."

## Farm crisis meet held in Minnesota

BY JIM ALTENBERG

ST. PAUL, Minn. — "A new Appalachia is emerging" in all of rural America, Marty Strange said in opening the Third Annual Food and Farm Policy Conference here.

Strange, codirector of the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Nebraska, explained that rural America is today plagued by disinvestment, absentee landlordism, misuse of resources, and bankrupted local government services.

Sponsored by the Family Farm Organizing and Resource Center, the December 12-13 conference here was attended by 200, including activists from a number of Midwest farm organizations.

The meeting took place against the backdrop of an ongoing farm crisis that did not let up in 1986. Prices for farm products have dropped at the same time the value of Midwest farmland has fallen. The *Des Moines Register* reported that farmland

values have dropped by 60 to 70 percent in every county in Iowa, making it difficult for farmers to secure loans. Thousands of farmers have been pushed into foreclosure.

And government farm policy at all levels has served to speed the process of forcing farmers off the land.

In workshops and speeches, conference organizers put forward their solutions to the crisis. Among them was urging passage of legislation restricting corporate control of the land and passage of the Harkin-Gephardt "Save the Family Farm Act." Named for its congressional sponsors, this bill seeks to raise farm prices by removing land from production and by halting agricultural imports into the United States.

Many participants were skeptical of this approach, especially since it meant curtailing food production. North Dakota farm activist Roger Livdahl explained, "No solution could be found for U.S. agriculture outside the solution to global hunger."

Others proposed forcing the large landowners to bring farmland back into production. Many participants were searching for a better understanding of the source of the crisis.

In Minnesota and Iowa, hundreds of farmers have had experience recently with state-sponsored mediators who were supposed to help them "reorganize" their operations. Farms have not been saved by mediation. Instead, farmers have been pressured into deeding their land over to the lending agency now rather than risk everything later. Others have found that they have no control over their finances, no money to live on, and are even barred from taking off-the-farm jobs.

A well-attended workshop on corporate control of land pointed out that 12 insurance companies hold over one-third of the foreclosed farms. Their misuse of the land in pursuit of profits has led to drastic environmental destruction, affecting not only individual working farmers but also many

communities.

This has also affected some capitalist farmers. Raúl Saenz from the United Farm Workers of America explained that the John Hancock Life Insurance Co., after foreclosing on a California vineyard, is now trying to destroy the farm workers union there.

Hormel meat-packers from Austin, Minnesota, set up an informational table at the conference.

A workshop on farm and peace issues discussed the need for farmers to oppose the war in Central America and government military spending.

A highlight of the gathering was the participation of Jaime Tadeo, president of the Peasant Movement of the Philippines. In the evening keynote speech, Tadeo said the same corporations that are ruining U.S. farmers are also destroying the lives of peasants in the Philippines. In both cases, the corporation's assault is backed up by the power of the U.S. government.

Tadeo said that in the Philippines "there can be no justice without fighting for land." He added that while the government of Philippines President Corazon Aquino has given the peasants "democratic space" to organize in, it is seeking to consolidate a base for itself among the landowners. Aquino herself is a big landowner, Tadeo noted.

### 'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The *Militant's* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Chinese gov't cracks down on dissenters

BY FRED FELDMAN

In the midst of a crackdown on student protesters, professors, and others in China, Hu Yaobang stepped down January 16 as head of the Chinese Communist Party, a post he had held since 1981. He was replaced by Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang. Hu remains on the Political Bureau's five-member standing committee.

An official statement said that Hu had made a self-criticism on "mistakes on major issues of political principles." Hu had been identified with moves to allow more criticism of the government and Communist Party officialdom, as well as with economic measures aimed at spurring production and encouraging more foreign trade and investment.

Escalating attacks on dissent followed student-led demonstrations in a dozen

Chinese cities in December and the beginning of January. While voicing support for the economic reforms undertaken by the regime headed by Deng Xiaoping, the students asked for more political rights.

At a December 30 meeting of top government figures, Deng is reported to have signaled a crackdown by declaring that the party had been "too lax in curbing the tides of bourgeois liberalism."

## First directive

The first directive issued by the party's central committee in 1987 quoted Deng as saying, "When necessary we must deal severely with those who defy orders. We can afford to shed some blood. Just try as much as possible not to kill anybody."

In a January 13 discussion with Noboru Takeshita, secretary-general of Japan's rul-

ing Liberal Democratic Party, Deng accused the student demonstrators of advocating "total Westernization" and opposing the party leadership. He cited three party members — Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, and Wang Ruowang — as having violated party discipline and misled the youth by expressing dissenting views.

All three have since been expelled from the party.

Fang, until his recent dismissal, had been vice-president of the University of Science and Technology at Hefei, the capital of Anhui Province. The wave of demonstrations began in Hefei in early December. A speech by Deng condemning Fang was read in all workplaces, the January 20 *New York Times* reported.

On a Chinese television news broadcast January 19, Xu Leyi, a party official,

charged, "Fang was one of the instigators of the student unrest over the past weeks."

Shortly before the protests began, Fang was accused of telling students in Hefei, "Democracy is not a favor bestowed from above, and it should be won by the people's efforts."

Liu Binyan was a popular writer for the *People's Daily*, a Communist Party newspaper. He specialized in slightly fictionalized exposés of corruption in the government and party apparatus.

This is not Liu's first run-in with the authorities. He was expelled from the party for expressing critical views in 1957 and reportedly spent the next 21 years working in a rural labor camp.

Wang Ruowang, the third target of the expulsions, was a Shanghai writer known for his criticisms of the regime.

In addition to the expulsions, two top officials of China's Academy of Sciences were dismissed from their posts.

The Shanghai newspaper *Society* has been shut down, and several films and plays have been banned.

The government announced January 22 that it was establishing a new bureau to exercise "supervision and control" over newspapers and other publications.

## Letter from 1,000 students

By January 19 about 1,000 of the 10,000 Chinese youths studying in U.S. colleges and universities were said to have signed an open letter criticizing the crackdown and the change in party leadership.

The letter said, "We are shocked and deeply upset by his [Hu Yaobang's] departure, which will gravely harm people's confidence in reforms..." The expulsions from the party were also criticized.

"We sincerely hope that the party and the government will persist in reforms, oppose retrogression, persevere in the principle of the rule of law, and avoid punishing people for voicing their opinions."

Both Deng and Zhao Ziyang, Hu's successor in the party post, have stated that the crackdown does not signal any retreat from recent economic reforms.

"The important matter is that we are not going to change our policy," Deng told Noboru Takeshita. "The demonstrations do not influence our open-door policy" on economic relations with other countries.

## Iowa meat-packers fired for strike 'misconduct'

BY KATE KAKU

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa — Eleven meat-packers have received termination notices from Swift Independent Packing Corp. for alleged "misconduct" during their recent strike. Another 190 former strikers are on a "recall list" at the Swift packing plant here.

Members of Local 50 of the National Brotherhood of Packinghouse and Industrial Workers (NBPW) were on strike for 10 weeks against Swift's takeback demands. The company hired scabs as soon as the strike began. Workers voted to end the strike December 4.

The company said that as part of the settlement, 60 strikers would be allowed to return to their previous jobs and the rest of the workers would be put on a callback list based on "job experience" rather than seniority.

In the month since the strike's end only 55 union members have been called back.

NBPW has filed grievances against the company's arbitrary firings. Commenting on the company's charge of violence the chief shop steward, Ross Boyer, said, "One of the guys was arrested for spitting and two others for trying to help their wives."

Union recording secretary Rita Lewis said that during the strike cops looked for excuses to arrest strikers and their supporters. "One of our strikers poured coffee on the ground and was taken away by the cops," she said.

Lewis also reported that the company has hired a part-time work crew. The contract with the union allows the company to hire 15 percent of the work force as casual laborers who work all shifts.

## Subscription renewals continue to grow

BY MALIK MIAH

The number of subscription renewals coming into our business office continues to grow. This past week another 65 arrived — five more than the previous week. They include 44 renewals from readers who first bought the *Militant* during last fall's successful circulation campaign, which netted more than 8,600 new subscribers to the *Militant*.

Since the close of the fall subscription campaign, the business office has received 616 renewals from supporters. Some 341 are from first-time subscribers.

At this rate, prospects are good that our long-term paid readership base can double by February 28, the end of the current renewal campaign. When we kicked off the fall circulation drive in September, the *Militant's* paid subscription base, excluding library and complimentary subs or those sent to prisoners, was under 1,000.

A major aim of the renewal campaign is to significantly increase this paid readership, while at the same time maintaining single-copy sales of the paper to political activists, farmers, workers, and students.

Supporters around the country generally find discussions with subscribers interesting and quite political. As we found in selling subscriptions last fall, the best results tend to come from the collective efforts of distributors.

Matt Herreshoff, a machinist and organizer of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* distribution in Seattle, reports that



*Militant* salespeople got a good response at Georgia march to defend Black rights

after a snowstorm in the Northeast prevented their bundle from arriving on time for Saturday sales, January 24, eight supporters divided into four teams to call and discuss with readers extending their subscriptions.

They were able to reach 30 people, with three renewing their subscriptions. Two bought three-month extensions. The other renewed for six months. "The three were

young political activists," Herreshoff said.

On a typical Saturday, he told me in a phone interview, the eight to 12 supporters in the area divide up: four do renewal work; six to eight go out to the community to sell papers.

"Since we started systematically calling subscribers four weeks ago," he said, "seven people have extended their subscriptions."

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# 30,000 demonstrate for Black rights

Continued from front page

screamed obscenities, gave Nazi salutes, and chanted, "Get the niggers." Several of the 75 marchers January 17 were injured as racists hurled rocks and bottles.

The violence that day focused the attention of millions on Forsyth County, a segregated enclave in Georgia.

In announcing the January 24 march to the media, both Lowery and Williams placed the blame for the Klan violence at the doorstep of Governor Harris for not providing enough security to defend the marchers. Lowery challenged, "The governor of this state ought to join in Forsyth County to send a message to the world. I think the governor ought to redeem himself and redeem his law enforcement officers who are supposed to protect the citizens."

Harris responded midweek by saying that he would not "grandstand" by marching, but would deploy whatever law enforcers were necessary to ensure the safety of the marchers.

By the end of the week, the Cumming-Forsyth County Chamber of Commerce took out a full-page ad in area newspapers welcoming marchers to the county.

As the momentum grew throughout the week, civil rights organizations hummed with activity and thousands of people became involved in building the march. On January 22 a snowstorm hit Atlanta and surrounding areas, closing down the city. But people braved the ice and snow to get to two mass rallies held during the week to organize and to raise money.

## 'I had to be here'

Many of the people this reporter talked to at the demonstration had never marched before, and expressed the same thing — "I had to be here."

Many people traveled long distances to participate. One man jumped in his car when he heard about the march and drove two and one half days from California. There were participants from Kansas, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, New York, and most Southern states.

Three members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, ousted from the Hormel meat-packing plant in Austin, Minnesota, as a result of a strike, had driven throughout the night from Miami. They had been on a speaking tour there. The meat-packers went to Cumming on a bus from the King Center, and discussed unionism and the fight for human rights for hours with others on the bus. They carried a banner in the march that read, "Boycott racism, boycott Hormel."

Six buses came from Columbus, Ohio, and trade unionists brought two buses from St. Louis. Students came in buses from Tuskegee University in Alabama and from A&T University in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Seventy-six members of a church congregation in San Francisco came to march, as well as Trappist monks from Georgia. While union participation was not obviously evident, many marchers told the *Militant* that they were auto workers, garment workers, assembly line workers, etc.

Yoaka Newbill, a young Black woman from Macon, Georgia, had never marched

before. She thought that about 450 people had come from Macon for the day.

I walked part of the way with a family from Cumming who had participated the week before. Arthur Goldberg was optimistic about what the demonstration would mean for the future of Forsyth County.

Dina Anderson, a Cumming high school student who had also marched on the 17th, said she was at the center of a lot of discussion in school, and that many had been embarrassed by the mob violence. At school, her teacher tried to explain, "You can't change human nature." Dina disagreed with the teacher, saying, "People aren't born racists."

As thousands poured down the two-lane highway toward the courthouse, signs were held high, "Forsyth County do right," "Black by popular demand," "Compensation for those driven out of Forsyth," and "Desegregate Forsyth County." A group that had come from New York carried a poster reading, "Justice for the victims of Howard Beach and Forsyth County."

## Several hundred racists

As the rally began at the courthouse, a group of several hundred racists started to try to move into one corner of the march. Georgia National Guardsmen lined up four deep to keep them back. Fifty-six racists were arrested during the day. A small number of marchers were slightly hurt by flying rocks, and one man was cut when racists smashed his car window with a cement block. A Black TV anchorwoman was hit with mud and spat upon when she attempted to interview some counterprotesters.

# Atlanta-area unionists discuss march

BY KEVIN DWIRE

ATLANTA — The January 24 antiracist march in Forsyth County sparked discussions and debate among unionists in plants in this area during the week leading up to the march.

Many workers were shocked at the racist attack on the first march January 17. One Black worker who is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 365 at Arrow Shirts proclaimed, "This isn't the '60s, this is the '80s. We will not stand for this racism."

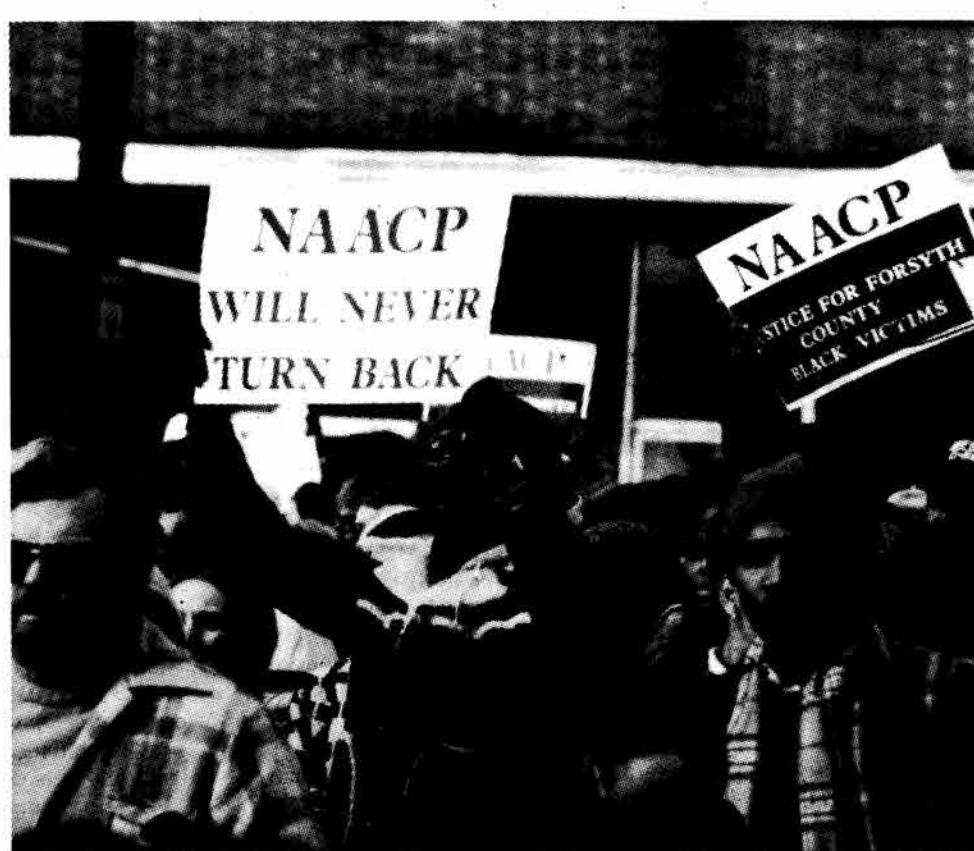
"These people don't know what they started when they attacked last Saturday," said a young Black woman from United Auto Workers Local 10 at the Doraville GM plant. "They started something they can't finish. We're going to go back there and finish it."

At Atlantic Steel, organized by United Steelworkers of America Local 2401, a foreman asked a young white worker if he had attacked the march. He angrily replied, "I wasn't there, but if I had known about it I would have been there, but on the other side of the fence. The only difference is that if someone had started throwing things at me, I don't know if I would have stood there and taken it like those people."

At the Lockheed plant in Marietta, organized by International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709, a white worker who was outraged by the attack brought in newspaper clippings about it all week. "Anyone should live where they want to," he said, and pointed out the threat the Ku Klux Klan poses for working people.

The announcement of the January 24 march was greeted with enthusiasm in the plants. Workers passed around lists to sign up for the march and made arrangements to meet coworkers and march together. One Black member of IAM 709 said, "I grew up in North Carolina in the early '60s and I remember Jim Crow. I'm not going back without a fight." Another, when asked if he would be going on the march, replied that about half of his department was going.

White workers also expressed support for the march and said they would be



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski

January 24 march drew protesters from around country

Because of the large size of the demonstration and the 3,000 lawmen, most marchers had no encounters with the racists, except to pass by them during the march.

Speaking from the courthouse, SCLC President Lowery said, "We did not come to Forsyth County to scare you to death. We came to Forsyth to challenge you to live a life of decency."

He then got one of the best responses of the day when he said, "In 1912, Black people ran off and left some land. . . I believe that if you mean what you say, let's give those people money and compensate them."

Congressman Lewis told the marchers, "I think by being here you are saying that we will not tolerate racism, not in Forsyth

County, not in Georgia, not anywhere in this country."

Senator Nunn said, "One week ago today, we had a group of people march here for brotherhood and a second group of people turned them away. City officials, county officials want all of you to know that that second group does not speak for Forsyth County."

Two of the featured speakers of the day were Dean Carter and Hosea Williams, co-organizers of the march a week before. Williams told the crowd, "Today's march will not end the struggle in Forsyth County. The fight still has to be waged to desegregate this county, and to end its history as a racist hide-away from the rest of the world."

going. An IAM member talked with his wife about going to Forsyth. When she raised the possibility of his getting injured if the march was attacked again, he told her, "Then that's the price you have to pay for freedom."

A white UAW Local 10 member told a Black coworker that she was glad he was going to the march, and to be careful. "This stuff is from back in the '30s," she said. "This is old and we have to get rid of it."

White workers at ACTWU Local 365 expressed support for the march. "I don't go in for this kind of thing [racism] like some whites," said one. "I really do believe that Blacks and whites are equal. I can't be there on Saturday, but I will definitely be there in spirit."

However, not all people supported the marches. At Lockheed two workers who

live in Forsyth County had gone to the first march out of curiosity. Although they didn't agree with it, they condemned the violence.

Another said, "I don't have anything against colored people, but I think that Hosea [Williams] just took those people up there to start trouble. I don't want to get involved with this."

At Doraville, one white worker said people should stay home and leave Forsyth County alone and not become "outside agitators."

Other workers who supported the march said they would stay home because of the possibility of violence.

The result of the week's discussions was that thousands of union members and other workers attended the January 24 march.

Kevin Dwire is a member of IAM Lodge 709 at Lockheed in Marietta, Georgia.

# Facts about Forsyth County

Forsyth County was a cotton-growing area in 1912 when Blacks, mostly farmers, were driven out by racist terror. The pretext was the alleged rape of a white woman by three Black youths.

One of the Blacks was strung up by a lynch mob. The other two were tried by a kangaroo court and hanged while a crowd of 10,000 cheered.

Then nearly 1,000 Blacks were terrorized into leaving Forsyth and neighboring Dawson Counties.

"They come around and told us we had to be out by sundown. . . Or they were going to blow us up," recalled Cleveland Bowen, who was a small child at the time.

Now a resident of Marietta, Georgia, he told the *Washington Post*, "I heard my daddy say he was just one payment from having paid for the farm. We had 40 acres."

Forced to leave their homes, land, and crops behind, the Blacks received no compensation for the plunder of their property.

For decades a sign in the courthouse square in Cumming, the county capital,

warned Blacks, "Don't let the sun set on you in Forsyth County."

But some things have been changing in this white enclave. Poultry processing is now the county's main industry. Since 1980 some 30 factories have moved in, and the population has increased by 27 percent to 35,600. The per capita income has quadrupled since 1970. And a new beltway is being constructed that will integrate the county even more into the Atlanta metropolitan area.

A growing number of Blacks work in the county, make deliveries, or conduct business there in other ways. But Blacks still don't live there. Most restaurants will not serve Blacks.

As late as the 1970s, a local gang burned unfinished houses because the construction crews included Blacks.

In 1980 a Black fireman was shot while at a picnic in the county. The conviction of two white men for aggravated assault marked the first time in the county that whites had been convicted for a crime against Blacks.

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# Ortega salutes African Nat'l Congress anniversary

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

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega hailed the 75th anniversary

## NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

of the African National Congress (ANC) in a message sent to ANC President Oliver Tambo January 7.

"The African National Congress is today the solid vanguard leading our South African brothers in a united manner toward the overthrow of the ignominious apartheid [system]. At the same time it is laying the foundations for a democratic, multiracial South Africa," said Ortega.

"The Sandinista National Liberation Front honors the memory of the thousands of South African patriots who have fallen in the struggle to conquer their legiti-

mate right to a life of dignity.

"We also demand — today more than ever — the unconditional freedom of Nelson Mandela, living symbol of African dignity and the struggle against race discrimination," Ortega declared.

Nicaragua's Sandinista Youth carried out a petition campaign last fall to gather signatures calling for Mandela's release. The campaign was particularly successful in the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields, where many Nicaraguans who are Black live.

Sandinista Youth leader Omar Enrique told the *Militant* that thousands of signatures were collected in the Bluefields high schools. In addition, petitioners got many names in Black neighborhoods, where "the South Africa issue is very deeply felt," he said. Rastafarian youth, who have been somewhat aloof from the Sandinista revolution, were actively involved in the drive.

The National Union of Farmers

and Ranchers (UNAG) inaugurated Nicaragua's first peasant training center outside of the city of León on Dec. 20, 1986. It stands on land formerly owned by a hated commander in the National Guard of dictator Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown here in 1979.

The center has a mechanical workshop, soil and veterinary laboratories, library, graphic studio, printshop, cafeteria, classrooms, and 150 acres of land for experimental crops.

UNAG leader Felipe Mendoza said that in addition to technical training and research, the center will offer courses on the history of Nicaragua and its peasant struggles, land reform, the farm cooperative movement, worker-peasant alliance, and UNAG's tasks and perspectives.

He emphasized that the center will encourage the attendance of women "to increase their participation in production and in organization of the cooperatives."

UNAG President Daniel Núñez thanked the Italian government and the Italian nongovernmental

organization ACRA for their aid in making the \$1 million project come about. He said UNAG is receiving substantial aid from several West European governments, particularly Sweden.

On January 14, Nicaraguan businessman Guillermo Quant Tai — a self-confessed CIA spy — was sentenced to 30 years in jail.

Prior to his trial before the People's Anti-Somozaist Tribunals, Quant had admitted to providing the CIA with information on the location of the Sandinista army's fuel and military supplies. He also named the CIA agents at the U.S. embassy in Managua to whom he reported.

In addition to the jail sentence, the court ruled that Quant's property would be confiscated by the state. He had owned a fuel transportation company and was vice-chairman of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Commerce.

In recent months, Sandinista

television has been featuring popular Cuban TV series. The first program shown, "To Do More Than Dream," tells the story of four young Cubans who volunteer for the army after finishing high school and eventually get sent to Angola, where they help the Angolans defeat a South African invasion.

The second series, "Beyond the Call of Duty," was shown here during the downing of Eugene Hasenfus' CIA plane. It features Cuban Ministry of the Interior agents who infiltrate the Honduran base of Aguacate, where U.S.-paid mercenaries are trained to attack Nicaragua.

In the series, "It Had To Be In Silence," the hero is an undercover agent of the Cuban Ministry of the Interior just after the revolution takes power in 1959. His assignment is to successfully infiltrate Cuban counterrevolutionary circles and get himself hired by the CIA so that the Cubans will receive advance knowledge of Washington's plans to try to overthrow the revolution.

# Farmers in Alabama host visitors from Nicaragua

BY GEORGE A. ROSE

EPES, Ala. — Two visitors from Nicaragua touring the southeast in December got their warmest and most enthusiastic reception from a meeting of 80 Black farmers and other rural activists here. Both the Nicaraguans and the Alabama farmers, discovering they have similar problems and often confront the same enemies, left the meeting eager to develop more contact and mutual support.

Marina Jarquín de Peralta from Matagalpa Province, who has lost two sons killed by the *contra* mercenaries, and Ray Hodgson, mayor of Bluefields, spoke to more than 500 people, most of them Black, during their four-day stay in Alabama. They spoke to student audiences at Alabama State University in Montgomery and the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, to a youth leadership camp in Tuskegee, and to several events in Birmingham.

Within this highly successful tour, the encounter with farmers stood out because of the strong rapport that was established almost immediately.

"I come from a slave heritage just like you," said Ray Hodgson, who explained that much of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast where he is from is peopled by descendants of African slaves brought by the British in the 17th and 18th centuries. There were nods of understanding in the audience as he described how Nicaraguan Blacks, like slaves in the United States, were forced to learn the language of the English slavemasters and had to fight to maintain any aspects of their African culture.

He added that the civil rights struggles of U.S. Blacks were a great inspiration to people in Nicaragua.

Hodgson said that before the 1979 revolution, Nicaraguans had never really ruled their own country. Beginning in the mid-1800s, he said, Spanish control of the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua and British control of the Atlantic Coast was replaced by U.S. domination, enforced by a series of

military invasions. The Somoza family dictatorship, imposed by U.S. Marines in the 1930s, heightened the poverty and misery of the majority of Nicaraguans.

"The wealth from our gold and our coffee and our cotton was building skyscrapers in New York," Hodgson declared, "while we lived in cardboard huts with dirt floors."

## Sharecropping and land theft

Many Nicaraguan farmers suffered under a system much like sharecropping in the U.S. South, Hodgson said. "Once the crop was in, they had to hand over a large part to the landowner. And if the crop failed and the farmer couldn't pay, he probably lost the land."

The story of Marina Jarquín de Peralta, who had spoken briefly through a translator, was typical. Her family, living in the northern mountains, worked hard for many years to acquire a small piece of land. But one day Somoza's surveyors came and measured. They announced that the land was part of the domains of a wealthy landowner nearby. To protest this theft would be to invite death from Somoza's National Guard.

Hodgson was repeatedly interrupted by applause as he described how all this changed with the overthrow of Somoza by the Sandinistas. "They shared up the rich guys' land, which had been stolen from the poor farmers, and said to the farmers, 'This land is yours!' Now the farmers have land, and nothing makes the farmer happier than when he works his own land."

"But your government didn't like that, because they were afraid you might get the idea of doing the same thing!"

"Before, a farmer's kid could never hope for higher education," Hodgson said. "Now the farmer has the chance to send his kids to the highest levels of school."

"It's taken Reagan six years of hard work trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan people. But he'll never do it, he can't do it. He imagines it is just a matter of over-



Nicaraguans told Alabama farmers how revolutionary government in Nicaragua has distributed land to poor farmers. Above, Nicaraguan farmer receives title to land.

throwing a government, a small crust. But in Nicaragua the government is the people. The people decide what is going to happen, and the people have arms in their hands to defend what they have won. You can't overthrow the people. You would have to kill us all."

## 'Give \$100 million to Alabama farmers'

"Why not take the \$100 million Reagan is blowing up down there [in aid to the *contras*] and give it to Alabama farmers?" Hodgson asked, to cheers and applause, "instead of sending it to kill people who are just like you."

The meeting was held at the headquarters of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives in this tiny west Alabama town. The federation, an outgrowth of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, provides technical assistance, training, and other services to cooperatives and individual small farmers. While most of those active in the Federation are Black, the farm crisis of recent years has prompted some white farmers to get involved as well.

After the presentations, the farmers had a lot to say and a lot to ask. Did Nicaraguans who benefited from land reform get actual title to the land, one asked.

Yes, Hodgson affirmed. What about bank loans and foreclosures?

Hodgson explained that no working farmer in Nicaragua could lose his land

through foreclosure. If a crop failed and a farmer could not repay a loan, it's up to the government and the bank to provide technical help.

The Alabama farmers, themselves among the poorest in this country, seemed shocked to learn that most Nicaraguan farmers are so poor they not only lack tractors but don't even have draft animals. On the majority of Nicaraguan farms, the soil is tilled by human muscle power alone.

Several farmers spoke about their own plight and the antifarmer policies of the U.S. government. One older man described how in neighboring Greene County, Alabama, more and more land has been taken over by wealthy whites who don't even farm it but collect government subsidies *not* to raise food. "And all around there people are hungry and can't even have a garden on that land."

The discussion kept returning to one question: "How can we help?" In fact, after the time set for the meeting had passed and other business had to resume in the meeting hall, about 25 people jammed into a smaller room to continue discussing specific plans to link up with the Nicaraguan farmers.

They were especially interested in finding ways to share their tools and their skills with Nicaragua. Upon learning that there are brigades of North Americans who help bring in harvests in Nicaragua, several older people pointed out that they are experienced growers and pickers of cotton.

## U.S. farmers to tour Nicaragua

A delegation of North American farmers will visit Nicaragua March 14-21 to meet farmers in that country. The tour will be hosted by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

Tour participants will visit private farms, production cooperatives, credit-service cooperatives, and state farms.

They will meet with leaders and members of UNAG and the Association of Rural Workers (ATC).

They plan to explore questions such as: What is the government's policy regarding access to land, credit, and equipment? What about farm prices, consumer prices,

and international markets? What role do farmers play in deciding government farm programs?

The tour is being organized by the North American Farm Alliance, a coalition of U.S. and Canadian farmers' groups set up more than three years ago.

The cost of the tour is \$1,200, which includes airfare, hotels, meals, and guide service.

The deadline for applications, which should be submitted with a \$200 deposit, is February 14. Applications should be sent to Jemma Turner — UNAG, P.O. Box 411011, San Francisco, Calif. 94141-1011.



# Coffee harvest 'brigadistas' help Nicaragua's economy



Militant/Héctor Carrión

International and Nicaraguan coffee pickers carry out bags of rojos at Matagalpa plantation

BY DEAN PEOPLES

SAN RAMON, Nicaragua — "¿Ahora que?" ... "¡A cortar café!" (Now what? ... Pick coffee!)

This was a popular chant raised at a rally of about 300 Nicaraguan and international brigadistas at the Laguna coffee plantation in Region VI near the town of Matagalpa.

Nicaraguans of the towns and countryside and brigadistas from many countries rush to the mountains of north-central Nicaragua from December through March to help pick the rojos — the little red coffee beans — that mature rapidly with the arrival of the rainy season.

The early January rally was held at the conclusion of 15 days of picking coffee by a brigade of 37 from the United States organized through Nicaragua Exchange in Washington, D.C. The brigade was named "Constitución Popular" in honor of Nicaragua's new constitution enacted January 9.

Laguna is one of a consortium of 48 state-run coffee farms in the surrounding area. There are about 65 permanent workers at Laguna employed in the community kitchen, the coffee-processing plant, and in cultivating, fertilizing, and spraying the coffee bushes during the rest of the year. At harvest time they are joined by hundreds of volunteer brigadistas to help pick the crop.

## Who participates in the brigades?

The previous couple of years the Sandinistas virtually closed down some government departments and mobilized everyone available to the mountains to pick coffee. This presented difficulties in feeding, housing, and transporting the giant brigades, and disrupted important government offices and factories.

The brigades are now comprised of workers recruited from closer to the region where the coffee is grown and is limited to those brigadistas who have proven to be good pickers in the past.

We were joined at Laguna by brigades of

Nicaraguan students, whose classes are in recess from December through March; by a brigade of Sandinista police from a nearby town, and a weekend brigade of 82 army reservists who were conducting preparations in the area.

A brigade from Holland was picking with us, and we also encountered brigades from Sweden, Switzerland, Britain, Australia, Germany, and Canada.

The amount of human toil that goes into producing the coffee we slosh down so liberally is striking. The terrain is often very steep and muddy. This makes climbing up to where the coffee is to be picked, and carrying out the heavy bags, very difficult.

Each rojito must be picked carefully by hand so as not to damage the branches or the other berries that are not yet ripe. Each berry contains two coffee beans. The coffee bushes are picked about once a week during the season as the beans ripen.

The workday is 10½ hours, six days a week, for the coffee pickers, and 12 hours at the coffee-processing plant and for the women who work in the kitchen. We were up at 4:30 a.m., had breakfast at 5:00, marched to the field, and were ready to begin picking at the crack of dawn.

The brigadistas and permanent farm workers had agreed to work part of the day on their traditional holidays of Christmas and New Year in order to bring in the coffee crop that matured exceptionally fast this year.

Sunday was a special voluntary work day in solidarity with El Salvador. Workers can contribute some or all of their earnings to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Most people showed up for work on Sundays.

The goal for international volunteers amounted to a 100-pound sack a day. For

Nicaraguans the goal was twice that.

Conditions of life at Laguna were difficult. During most of our two-week stay the hose delivering water to the barracks was not functioning. Most washing and bathing was done at a nearby creek. Meals consisted of tortillas, beans, and rice three times a day. Some of the women and children who lived at the farm picked coffee with no shoes on.

## Changes at Laguna since revolution

Although the people at the farm are very poor compared to those in the United States, farm workers who had worked at Laguna under the previous owner explained some of the gains that they had made.

It had been owned by a wealthy Italian airline pilot closely associated with Anastasio Somoza's tyranny. The farm had been used as a torture center.

Under the old administration, workers worked longer hours and were paid less, did not get lunch, and were not allowed to see their production records to verify earnings. Women were not paid independently for their work; their earnings were given to their husbands. Workers who complained were fired, beaten, or worse, and they were never allowed into the owner's house.

This house is now used as a school for the children whose families reside at Laguna, for meetings and parties, and as administrative offices. A child-care center has been constructed, latrines have been installed, and health care is available now.

Under the old ownership the coffee was grown inefficiently, only to provide a source of income so that the owner could buy luxury items for himself. Now it is cultivated intensively in order to contribute to providing the means to improve the economic and social conditions of the whole

country.

One afternoon our brigade met with Francisco Franco-Sosa, the administrative director for Region VI for MIDINRA, the governmental department which oversees agrarian reform and agricultural development. He explained how important this region is for Nicaragua's economy.

The sale of coffee generates large amounts of foreign exchange because the price is relatively good now. This money is needed to buy industrial goods to keep the economy going and the army supplied in its war against the contras.

Also 30-35 percent of Nicaragua's cattle are raised in this region, 60 percent of all vegetables are produced here, and there is an important dairy project.

## 'Contras' driven out

This year the government hopes to reach production goals set for basic grains in this region for the first time because the contra forces have been driven out.

People have been moving closer together into more easily defended settlements and cooperatives, and taking more responsibility for organizing their own defense in cooperation with the army. The Association of Rural Workers organizes defense at the state farms.

The defeat of the contra forces in Region VI has allowed many people to stay on the land and be productive instead of migrating to the cities.

Although the contra forces have been defeated, some terrorist activity still occurs. The MIDINRA administrator told us that the day before, a truck had been bombed in which two people were killed and several children injured. A few days earlier three campesinos were killed while walking along a road at night about 50 miles from Laguna.

# 'Militant,' 'PM' popular with brigade

BY MARY GUTKANST

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — It was our last day in Nicaragua, and before we went to the Plaza of the Revolution for the signing of the new constitution, seven of us from the "Popular Constitution" coffee-picking brigade stopped by the *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* bureau office.

Reporters Cindy Jaquith and Harvey McArthur gave us a tour of the place and described how they cover developments in revolutionary Nicaragua.

Some brigadistas picked up copies of *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life* and *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro, which are available at the *Militant-PM* office. (Both books are published by Pathfinder Press in New York.)

Four of these brigadistas are new subscribers to the *Militant*. During our three weeks in Nicaragua, 15 of the 37 brigade members decided to subscribe to the *Militant*, and one to both *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*. Four people on the brigade were already regular readers of the socialist publications. Elizabeth Lariscy from Toledo, Ohio, was top subscription seller.

Brigadistas included a commercial fisherman working in Alaska, more than a dozen students from around the United States, artists from the San Francisco area, and industrial workers. The brigade's top picker, or *vanguardia*, was a 40-year-old administrator from Topeka, Kansas.

At our brigade evaluation meeting, Bob, a restaurant worker from Buffalo, New York, told us he agreed with the emphasis on production. The coffee harvest is a top economic priority for the country.

Bob made his first trip to Nicaragua last year with Witness for Peace. In addition to getting the latest issue of the magazine *New International*, which features South Africa, Bob subscribed to the *Militant*. He said he'd waited long enough to get a "radical publication."

## Impressed with coverage

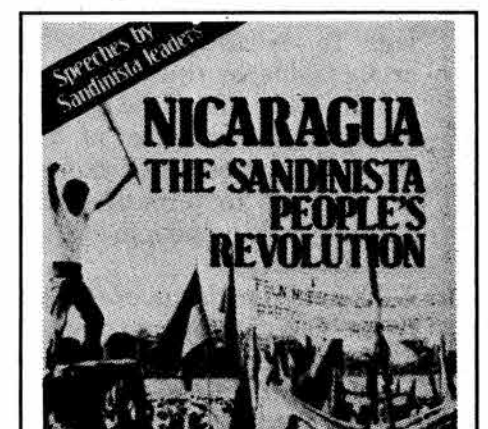
Michael read the *Militant* for the first time when fellow brigadista Dean gave him a copy. Michael had been a packinghouse worker and was impressed with the coverage of the Austin, Minnesota, meat-packers' struggle, as well as the articles from Nicaragua. He got an introductory subscription and a copy of Fred Halstead's pamphlet, *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota*.

Another brigadista, a student from upstate New York, told me he first saw the *Militant* on the Great Peace March from California to Washington, D.C., last fall. He already had three speaking engagements set up for when he got back and planned a rice and beans fundraising dinner.

He and his roommate, also on the brigade, plan to get an anti-intervention group together on their campus. And they

intend to get in touch with the Young Socialist Alliance.

In our final brigade meeting, we talked about participating in solidarity activities back home. We discussed press interviews and slideshows, and material aid for Nicaragua. The April 25 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco against the contra war in Nicaragua and apartheid in South Africa will be a focus for many of us.



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## Join a Nicaragua work brigade



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# Howard Beach victims give evidence to special prosecutor

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — With a grand jury now hearing evidence in the case, the two survivors of the Howard Beach lynch assault have provided an extensive account of what happened the night of December 20 to the special prosecutor now handling the case.

Prosecutor Charles Hynes told reporters he had met with Cedric Sandiford and Timothy Grimes January 15 and that their detailed account provides "essential evidence which will significantly aid our inquiries."

Hynes added that Sandiford and Grimes had been "completely forthcoming."

Grimes had managed to elude the Howard Beach thugs, but Sandiford was badly beaten. His stepson, Michael Griffith, was killed by a car when he ran onto a highway trying to escape his attackers.

In the aftermath of the attack, Sandiford and Grimes became convinced that city officials were engaged in a cover-up of the lynch gang.

They charged that the local prosecutor, John Santucci, refused to seriously consider their account of what happened and was conducting what Sandiford branded a "masquerade" investigation.

Rather than give credibility to a sham prosecution, the two refused to cooperate with Santucci and demanded appointment of a special prosecutor.

Gov. Mario Cuomo finally deferred to strong public pressure and designated Hynes to take over the case from Santucci.

Earlier, a city judge dismissed murder and manslaughter charges against three admitted participants in the attack, leaving charges of "reckless endangerment."

Hynes has not said if he will limit himself to these lesser charges or press the grand jury to reinstate the murder and manslaughter charges.

And while his aides indicated he would question other participants in the attack, they did not specify if Hynes would seek additional indictments or simply use them as witnesses against the three who have been booked.

Meanwhile, in another notorious case, a special investigation found that excessive restraint had been used against Michael Stewart, the graffiti artist, who was beaten to death by city transit cops in 1983.

It was also charged that the arresting cop had lied about Stewart's condition and had been guilty of dereliction of duty.

After being beaten unconscious, Stewart was taken to a hospital, bound and in a coma. He died 13 days later.

Despite the testimony of a number of eyewitnesses to the savage beating, a half dozen of the cops involved were acquitted in November 1985.

Public anger was so deep that the next day, Mayor Edward Koch recommended a special probe. Now, with the year-long study in hand, transit officials said a new study would be made to determine what to do about it.

The report charged it was a dereliction of duty that the arresting cop had Stewart taken to the hospital "hog-tied in the cargo section of a police vehicle with no officer monitoring him." It also found it "unwarranted" that Stewart was bound, hands to his feet, to "restrain" him when there were at least 11 cops in the immediate area.

Stewart's family has a \$45 million suit pending in the case. Alton Maddox, Jr., attorney for Sandiford in the Howard Beach case, is one of the lawyers representing the Stewarts.



On January 21 some 4,000 New Yorkers protested murder of Michael Griffith. Public outcry since December resulted in governor appointing special prosecutor.

## Willie Turks' killer is back on the street

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — When state investigator Charles Hynes was appointed special prosecutor in the case of the racist attack at Howard Beach, he suggested that the outcome of the Willie Turks case showed that justice could be obtained. Turks was beaten to death by a racist gang in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn in 1982.

The defendants in that case "went to jail, that's been proven," Hynes said.

Others also recalled the Turks case.

New York Times reporter Michael Oreskes wrote, "Mayor Koch attended Mr. Turks' wake, and civil-rights protesters marched through Gravesend."

The weekly Village Voice cited the Turks case as an example of justice done.

In the January 20 issue, an article criticized Queens County District Attorney Santucci for his slow entry into the Howard Beach case. "These delays," the Voice

said, "starkly contrast with the response of Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman in the 1982 murder of Willie Turks. Within an hour of that killing, an assistant D.A. was on the scene."

The Voice went on to criticize attorneys Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason for pointing to the Turks case as an example of justice not done.

Maddox and Mason represent Cedric Sandiford and Timothy Grimes, survivors of the December 20 Howard Beach attack.

The Voice berated them for saying that New York's track record is, "Never convict a white person for killing a Black person."

To show how irresponsible Maddox and Mason are on this, the Voice asserts that "the murder of Willie Turks resulted in the manslaughter conviction of Gino Bova, who is now doing five to 15 years in prison."

### Bova back on street

In making this point, the Voice either didn't realize, or neglected to mention, that Bova was back on the street last year, after serving three years of his five-to-15 sentence.

Three years for participating in an attack in which one man was beaten and stomped to death and another barely escaped with his life. An example of justice done?

What really happened in the Willie Turks case?

On the night of June 22, 1982, Turks, a city transit worker, and two coworkers, Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper, drove from work to a nearby shop to pick up some bagels. Driving away, their car stalled and they came under fierce attack by about 15 racists armed with pipes and bottles.

Badly beaten, Dennis Dixon managed to escape. He ran toward the scene of a car accident where there were cops and an ambulance. His head streaming with blood, Dixon told the cops what happened and urged them to go quickly to aid his two coworkers.

The police responded, "We'll send somebody... We'll call someone."

At that point Dixon was about to keel over and they put him in the ambulance.

They took him to a hospital and sewed him up.

Later they brought Willie Turks in. A policewoman told Dixon that Turks had been found with his skull cracked open and his brains hanging out.

Only five of the estimated 15 thugs who participated in the attack were indicted. One of the five was killed in an unrelated incident and four eventually went to trial. Bova was tried first.

The defense handpicked the jury. Blacks were excluded. So were transit workers — white or Black.

In Brooklyn, which is estimated to be 50 percent Black and Latino, they came up with a jury of 11 whites and one Latino.

Bova was acquitted of second-degree murder and given the five-to-15-year term for manslaughter and assault. With time off, it came to three years.

The other three got off even easier. In later trials, two of them got three to nine years. If, from their vantage point, all goes well, they'll do even less time than Bova. The third drew two consecutive one-year terms.

### Response to killing

The Turks killing did evoke deep anger and some protest. But not enough sustained action to force an effective prosecution.

A month after the killing, 1,500 protesters marched in Gravesend, scene of the attack.

Dixon worked persistently and courageously to keep the spotlight on the case.

Activists in Transport Workers Local 100, of which Turks had been a member, pressed the case. Officers of the union gave some support.

The National Black Independent Political Party worked hard on the case. Several civil rights leaders gave their support, as did a few union officials.

But those pressing the case were not able to actively involve broader forces — union, civil rights, student, religious, and community groups. Because the response was not strong enough, city officials were able to get away with a faint-hearted prosecution. The resulting slap-on-the-wrist sentences were no deterrent to future attacks.

What attorney Maddox is saying today about the Turks case is not a recent opinion.

At the time the jury gave its verdict in the Bova case, Maddox declared, "It is a signal to the white community that they can get away with stomping Black people to death."

Howard Beach confirms that Maddox wasn't just blowing off steam.

The Willie Turks case does not tell us we can now relax and rely on a special prosecutor. It tells us how urgent it is to involve maximum forces in an ongoing fight to make sure that the Howard Beach killers of Michael Griffith are tried, convicted, and given a maximum sentence.

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Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

## Behind the gov't crisis

The current U.S. government crisis has enabled millions of working people to learn a great deal about how Washington is an enemy of democracy and the self-determination of nations.

What triggered the crisis was the failure of the U.S.-backed *contras* to spark a civil war in Nicaragua. But the crisis is deeper than that.

The U.S. rulers find the constitutional structure of U.S. capitalism more and more of an obstacle in pursuing their war on working people at home and abroad.

The current issue of *PM* features an extensive article about this crisis and its meaning for working people in the United States.

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# Union, church leaders back April 25 action

## Protest will hit apartheid and Washington's intervention in Central America

Presidents of several national trade unions and numerous church officials are included in the list of initial sponsors for the April 25-27 actions against U.S. government intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa.

The list was released by the Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa, which called the demonstrations.

The upcoming events include a march and rally in Washington on April 25. A similar action, mobilizing activists from the Western states, will be held the same day in San Francisco.

### Labor

Morton Barr, president, Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)  
Owen Bieber, president, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)  
Kenneth Blaylock, president, American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO)  
Bernard Butsavage, president, International Molders and Allied Workers Union (AFL-CIO)  
William Bywater, president, International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine Workers and Furniture workers (AFL-CIO)  
César Chávez, president, United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO)  
Mary Hatwood Futrell, president, National Education Association  
James Herman, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union  
Dolores Huerta, vice-president, United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO)  
Georgianna Johnson, president, Local 1199 — Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, RWDSU (AFL-CIO)

and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)

### Religious

Sister Luise Ahrens, M.M., president, Maryknoll Sisters  
Sister Helen Amos, R.S.M., president, Sisters of Mercy of the Union  
Rev. James Andrews, stated clerk, Presbyterian Church (USA)  
Archbishop Anthony Sablan Apuron, O.F.M., Cap., Archbishop of Agaña, Guam  
Sister Kaye Ashe, O.P., prioress general, Sinsinawa Dominicans  
Asia Bennett, executive secretary, American Friends Service Committee  
Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, NYC  
Rev. Arie Brouwer, general secretary, National Council of Churches  
Most Rev. Edmond Browning, presiding bishop, Episcopal Church  
Sister Kay Burton, SNJM, provincial director, Sisters of the Holy Names  
Sister Margaret Cafferty, PBVM, congregational superior, Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
Rev. Ben Chavis, executive director, Commission for Racial Justice  
Bishop C.D. Coleman, senior bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church  
Bishop Philip Cousin, 11th District, African Methodist Episcopal Church and president, National Council of Churches  
Bishop James Crumley, Jr., Lutheran Church in America  
Bishop Paul Duffey, United Methodist Church  
Bishop Nicholas D'Antonio, O.F.M., Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans  
Rev. Walter Fauntroy, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Church of the Brethren  
Bishop P. Francis Murphy, Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore  
Sister Maureen McCormack, S.L., president, Loretto Community  
Bishop James Niedergeses, Catholic Diocese of Nashville, Tennessee  
Sister Anne O'Neil, RSCJ, provincial, Society of the Sacred Heart, U.S. Province  
Sister Kathleen Popko, S.P., president, Sisters of Providence  
Rev. Avery Post, president, United Church of Christ  
Bishop Kenneth Povish, Catholic Diocese of Lansing, Michigan  
Sister Carol Quigley, IHM, president, Leadership Conference of Women Religious  
Rev. Graham Rights, president, Provincial Elders' Conference, Moravian Church, Southern Province  
Archbishop Mar Athanasius Samuel, Syr-

ian Orthodox Church of Antioch  
Rabbi David Saperstein, director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism  
Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Sister Julie Sheatzley, CSJ, president of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Medalle  
Rev. J. Ralph Shotwell, executive director, International Council of Community Churches  
Bishop John Snyder, Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida  
Rev. Gordon Sommers, president, Provincial Elders' Conference, Moravian Church, Northern Province  
Bishop Walter Sullivan, Catholic Diocese of Richmond, Virginia  
Rev. C.T. Vivian, chairman, Center for Democratic Renewal  
Dr. Doris Anne Younger, general director, Church Women United



Militant/Ernest Harsch  
New York antiwar demonstration last October. A massive turnout is expected for demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on April 25.

Keith Johnson, president, International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO)  
James Kane, president, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE)  
David Livingston, president, District 65, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)  
Frank Martino, president, International Chemical Workers Union (AFL-CIO)  
Gerald McEntee, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)  
Joseph Misbrenner, president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)  
Henry Nicholas, president, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees (AFL-CIO)  
James Norton, president, Graphic Communications International Union (AFL-CIO)  
Charles Perlik, president, The Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO)  
Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO)  
Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO)  
John Sweeney, president, Service Employees' International Union (AFL-CIO)  
William Winpisinger, president, International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO)  
William Wynn, president, United Food

Sister Helen Flaherty, S.C., president, Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati  
Sister Patricia Flynn, SSND, provincial leader, Baltimore Province, School Sisters of Notre Dame  
Sister Helen Maher Garvey, BVM, president, Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit  
Sister Joyce Hoben, provincial moderator, Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (Ohio Province)  
Bishop Clinton Hoggard, Fourth Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church  
Bishop William Hughes, Catholic Diocese of Covington, Kentucky  
Rev. John Humbert, general minister and president, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)  
Bishop Joseph Imesch, Catholic Diocese of Joliet, Illinois  
Rev. Jesse Jackson, president, Rainbow Coalition  
Rev. Joseph Lowery, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Bishop Raymond Lucker, Catholic Diocese of New Ulm, Minnesota  
Rev. C. J. Malloy, Jr., general secretary, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.  
Bishop Dale Melczek, Catholic Diocese of Detroit  
Rev. Donald Miller, general secretary,

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Baryshnikov invited to perform in Moscow

Mikhail Baryshnikov, the internationally known ballet dancer who defected to the United States in 1974, has been invited to perform as a guest dancer with the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow.

The invitation was revealed at a January 19 news conference in New York by the Bolshoi Ballet's director, Yuri Grigorovich, who said the offer had the Soviet government's official sanction. The news conference had been called to outline the repertory of the Bolshoi's upcoming tour of the United States.

If Baryshnikov accepts the invitation, he would be the first major defector to return to the Soviet Union to perform under official auspices. Grigorovich said that "much is changing" in the Soviet Union and that he regarded Baryshnikov and other defectors to be "artists of the world."

Grigorovich said that he had recently discussed cultural affairs directly with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. "We are expecting a period of great change," Grigorovich said, "which most people welcome."

### Buthelezi role cited in South African massacre

Assailants burst into a home in the Black township of KwaMakhuta, near Durban, January 21 and opened fire with automatic weapons. Twelve of the 13 people in the house at the time were killed, among them seven children ages three to seven.

The house belonged to the father of a leading activist in the United Democratic Front (UDF), the coalition of more than 600 anti-apartheid groups that has been leading many of the protests against the South African regime's policies. The father, Willie Ntuli, was killed. His son, Vincent, a leader of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhuta Youth League, had been in hiding at the time and escaped the massacre; but he was arrested by the police when he returned to the house after the killings.

Leaders of the UDF blamed the attack on Inkatha, the political organization of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The head of the KwaZulu Bantustan, Buthelezi is a key ally of the apartheid regime and a proclaimed opponent of the UDF and the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). His Inkatha thugs have frequently beaten and murdered UDF supporters in the Durban area.

While formally denying responsibility for the massacre, Buthelezi admitted that his Inkatha members were involved in armed "retaliation" against the UDF.

Speaking in New York during his visit to the United States, ANC President Oliver Tambo also blamed the massacre on Buthelezi. "There is nothing new in



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

South Africa about that," Tambo said. "This has been going on for some time and is aided by the police. There you have a problem of a leader who has placed himself in the hands of the regime."

### S. Korean officials ousted in torture death

In response to widespread public outrage in South Korea over the death by torture of an arrested student, President Chun Doo Hwan on January 20 dismissed his interior minister and national police chief.

The 21-year-old student from Seoul National University, Park Chong Chol, had been killed a week earlier during interrogation by two officers of the special anticommunist police squad. He suffocated when his throat was crushed while the officers were plunging his head into a bath filled with water.

The regime has attempted to present the case as an isolated incident, but political activists and leaders of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party said Park's killing was just "the tip of the iceberg" of widespread, institutionalized torture of political prisoners.

### Ghana protest hits British policies

Thousands of Ghanaians rallied outside the British embassy in Accra, the capital of the West African country, January 12 to protest a visit by Lynda Chalker, minister of state in Britain's Foreign Office.

The demonstrators condemned the British government's ties with the apartheid regime of South Africa. They also called for the unconditional repeal of recent immigration laws in Britain that make it harder for Ghanaians and other peoples from Africa and Asia to enter that country.



## 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 Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**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.

### 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.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Report from Nicaragua.** Speaker: Danielle Beauvais, Young Socialist Alliance, recently spent two weeks in Nicaragua. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

**Eyewitness Account from Forsyth County, Georgia.** Speakers: participants in the January 24 march. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## 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.

## LOUISIANA

### New Orleans

**Eyewitness Report from the Cumming, Georgia, Civil Rights March.** A panel of march participants. Sat., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

**The Struggle for Palestinian Liberation Today.** Speakers: representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and November 29th Committee. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Do Blacks Have A Stake in the U.S. War Against Nicaragua?** Speakers: Clarence Fitch, New York-New Jersey coordinator of Vietnam Vets Against the War, who led a tour of Vietnam vets to Nicaragua in 1986; Héctor Carrión,

member of Managua, Nicaragua, bureau of the *Militant* newspaper in 1985-86. Sat., Feb. 7, Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013. Fifteen percent discount on all books during month of February.

**Women in South Africa.** Video interview with Winnie Mandela. Speaker: Itumeleng Mokate, representative, African National Congress. Sat., Feb. 14, Dinner, 6 p.m.; video and presentation, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

**Malcolm X. The Man and His Ideas.** A film, *The Struggle for Freedom*. Discussion led by Ken Morgan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 21, Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

**From Howard Beach, New York, to Forsyth County, Georgia: The Fight Against Racist Violence.** A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

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

**Howard Beach to Boston: Stop Racist Attacks.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave., 2nd floor, Allston. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**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.

**The Anti-apartheid Movement Here and Abroad. What Way Forward?** Sun., Feb. 1, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Miles of Smiles and Years of Struggle.** Film about the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Blacks in the trade union movement. Discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### 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.

643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose.** Speakers: Moira Morrissey, 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.

**Celebrate Solidarity With Puerto Rican Independence.** Speakers: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican national hero; José López, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. Welcome Shelley Miller, grand jury resister, on her release from prison. Sat., Jan. 31, Dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Earl Hall, Columbia University, 116th and Broadway. Donation: \$3. Dinner, \$4. Ausp: New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism. For more information call (212) 243-0202.

**Georgia: Mass Protest Beats Back Racists, Shows Way to Win Justice in Howard Beach Lynching.** James Winfield, National Committee member, Young Socialist Alliance, participant in January 24 antiracist march in Georgia. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 6, Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Music Against Apartheid III.** Featuring Africa's legendary Babatunde Olatunji and his Drums of Passion, Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Band), and famed South African composer and musician Sathima. All proceeds to African National Congress of South Africa. Fri., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. Borough of Manhattan Community College, 199 Chambers St. (near City Hall). Tickets \$10 and \$12 (\$15 at door). Ausp: N.Y. Southern African Solidarity Coalition. For more information call (212) 828-2696 or 690-7180.

## 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.

**The Freedom Struggle in South Africa.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., March 1, 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

**Nelson Mandela and the Liberation Struggle in South Africa.** Speaker: Dennis Brutus, exiled South African poet and anti-apartheid activist. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## TEXAS

### Dallas

**The Political Legacy of Malcolm X.** Video showing and presentation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

### Houston

**Stop Racist Attacks: From Howard Beach to Georgia to Houston City Hall.** A panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## 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 St., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**A Socialist Response to Reagan's State of the Union Address.** Speaker: Buddy Beck, Socialist Workers Party and member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 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: Greg Rosenberg, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; John Domisse, 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.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**In Defense of Abortion Rights.** A panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Sun., Feb. 1, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### Morgantown

**Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement and the Fight Against Racism Today.** A panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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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, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W. 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

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

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

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

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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.

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

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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.

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

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.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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



Oh — "It was not one of the big smuggling rings anyway." — A drug enforcement agent explaining why the feds dropped a probe of drug-running by the crews that ferried arms to the *contras*.



Harry Ring

**Thought they were working for Ollie** — Army recruiters in Minnesota are being reassigned or otherwise penalized for yielding to pressure from superiors to break

rules to meet ambitious recruitment goals. High school diplomas were forged and other corners cut.

**Must have been a logic prof** — Education Secretary Bennett prefers that rather than spending more on education, children should be able to read better.

**It figures** — Jeannette Rankin was the first woman elected to Congress (from Montana in 1916). For that reason she was honored with a statue in the Capitol's Statuary Hall and an official book. All of the others with statues there have hardcover books. Rankin's is a paperback.

**For early withdrawal?** — In

lieu of interest on certificates of deposit, an Illinois bank offers a set of automatic weapons.

**The sane society** — What with paranoia about terrorism, escalating corporate espionage, and increased marital infidelity, New York's Counter Spy Shop is doing nicely, including impressive sales of the Bullet Proof Super Car (up to \$385,000.) Features include armor plate, steel enforced tires, and machine gun ports.

**How tasteful can you get?** — Designers of the Super Car had considered a driver's seat that would cream a hijacker against the roof. But they decided this was "overly distasteful."

**One with a Swiss bank account** — We missed the announcement, but Imelda Marcos said she had been asked to endorse a line of shoes and said that if she accepted, she would contribute the profit to a human rights foundation.

**Unemployment checks accepted** — Dogs that lose weight and build muscle tone often regain some of the playfulness they had as pups, assures Beverly Harkey of the Doggery Animal Center, a chic L.A. dog spa that features treadmills and Jacuzzi.

**Modern times** — We remember when a mail-order catalog

was something you used to order your winter underwear. Now one from Tiffany's offers a clip of cultured pearls set in 18-karat gold, plus diamonds set in platinum. \$45,000.

**That's the Street Wall Journal?** — The *Wall Street Journal* threatened trademark-infringement action against the *Small Street Journal*, a 1,000-circulation children's monthly.

**Thought for the week** — "We are the only industrialized nation in the world that has no system for guaranteeing health care for all. Consequences are unforgivably harsh." — Robert Ball, former Social Security commissioner.

## Philippines government shaken by attempted coup

Continued from front page

ticularly oppose the charter's provision guaranteeing Aquino a term of office ending in 1992. Unions and other popular organizations voice opposition because the constitution's provisions would obstruct social changes like land reform and allow Washington to keep military bases in the country at least through 1991.

The coup attempt took place in a highly tense atmosphere created by the gunning down of peasants and their supporters who had participated in a January 22 march in Manila demanding the distribution of land and other measures.

About 10,000 people participated. When Aquino refused to meet with their representatives, they marched toward Malacañang Palace, where the president's offices are located.

As the procession came to a bridge near the palace, troops opened fire.

"The demonstrators fell to the ground, screaming, in a swarming mass as the firing continued," reported a dispatch from Manila in the January 23 *New York Times*. "Some troops aimed handguns and automatic rifles at the mass of huddling demonstrators 40 yards away."

Many were shot in the back while fleeing. Others were shot in the head.

After the shootings, police riding in jeeps chased down smaller groups of demonstrators, firing automatic weapons and lobbing tear gas canisters at them.

In addition to the 18 killed, about 100 people were wounded.

Most of the victims were men and women in their 20s and 30s who had come to the demonstration from farming and

fishing villages a few hours' journey from Manila.

The first line of riot police carried shields bearing the slogan, "Maximum Tolerance" — part of the effort to refurbish the image of the armed forces in the wake of Ferdinand Marcos' ouster last year.

"As far as I'm concerned we did exercise maximum tolerance against these wild men," boasted Gen. Ramon Montano, head of Manila's police forces. "We have tolerated them for so long."

The massacre was the worst in the Philippines since the September 1985 killing, under the Marcos dictatorship, of 28 peasant protesters on the island of Negros.

The January 22 killings were followed by the breakdown of talks between the government and representatives of the New People's Army, which has won wide support among Philippine peasants. Saturnino Ocampo, a leading representative of the guerrillas in the negotiations, said the killings were "part of a pattern by the military to destabilize the situation and blame it on us."

The 60-day cease-fire between the government and the guerrillas, scheduled to expire February 8, continued.

In the face of massive popular anger, Aquino sought to dissociate her administration from the massacre. She announced that an independent, nongovernmental commission would investigate the killings, and that Gen. Montano would be placed on leave of absence during the probe. She ordered the release of all those arrested at the protest.

On January 23 Gen. Fidel Ramos admitted that "the peacekeeping forces overreacted to the situation."

Five of the seven members of the Philippine Human Rights Commission submitted tentative resignations to Aquino. Maris Diokno, who resigned as a government negotiator in the talks with rebel representatives, called the killings "unjustified."

Jaime Sin, the archbishop of Manila and a strong supporter of Aquino, declared January 25 that the government's failure to implement land reform was "in great measure" responsible for the shootings. Sin warned that the Aquino government had roused "genuine hope" among the peasants by its promises of land reform. He said the regime's "credibility" depended on "its sincerity and readiness to act in this area."

Opponents of the massacre declared January 26 a "national day of indignation."

On that day, about 15,000 protesters paraded past the spot where the massacre took place. Over the objections of military and police officials, the government removed barricades set up to block the marchers from reaching the palace gate and ordered cops to stay out of sight on side streets.

A line of government officials, including cabinet members, greeted the demonstrators. Hundreds of other people had been mobilized to provide a buffer against any new attack on the demonstrators.

"For 45 minutes," reported the *Washington Post*, "leftist workers, students, and peasants paraded slowly past the palace, some with upraised fists clenched, others waving banners. They resurrected chants and protest songs that were popularized in years of anti-Marcos demonstrations." Some young marchers shouted slogans in support of the New People's Army.



Philippine protesters flee after troops fire on January 22 march

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

February 4, 1977

Mrs. Kehr came home June 24 and found her house and garage broken into, her furniture gone.

So she called the police, and a Detective Cross came for her statement.

But there were no fingerprints and no suspects.

Those last weeks of June were a low point for some 20 FBI agents around the country too. William Gardner, a lawyer in the Justice Department, had phoned them. There was going to be an official inquiry into political burglaries done by the FBI during the early 1970s.

A few weeks later Mrs. Kehr saw an ad for a bracelet. Who knows why it caught her eye? For whatever reason, she decided to check it out.

The person selling it lived just down the block. A young woman named Frances answered the door and invited Mrs. Kehr in. Have a seat, Frances said, while I get the bracelet.

Mrs. Kehr looked around the room — dumbstruck. That chair. The couch. The library table. It was all hers, her stolen furniture.

An agitated Mrs. Kehr went home and called the cops. She just wanted her furniture back. She didn't know her call would help touch off a nationwide scandal for the FBI.

Frances' roommate, the man who had Mrs. Kehr's stolen furniture, turned out to be no ordinary prowler.

He was FBI informer 481-S. Timothy Redfearn. Or, "lennon," as he signed his reports on the Young Socialist Alliance, the group he had infiltrated.

Because Mrs. Kehr called the cops; because the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party were suing the FBI; because Redfearn and his bosses had a falling out among thieves; and because people just don't like the smell of Watergate-style tactics — for all those reasons a huge government cover-up unraveled last summer.

A few weeks ago, January 5, Redfearn was sentenced to up to 10 years for

burglary.

It wasn't the furniture heist that became a national scandal though, but another burglary that Redfearn pulled July 7.

About 4:30 that morning he drove over to the Militant Bookstore, headquarters for the Denver SWP and YSA. He cut through the padlock, quietly entered, and went straight for a file cabinet in the inside office.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
**February 5, 1962** Price 10c

ALBANY, Ga. — Negroes in this south Georgia city were asked at mass meetings that overflowed two churches to boycott the city's buses and downtown stores. The January 23 boycott call was made by leaders of the Albany Movement — the group that initiated anti-segregation demonstrations in December in which 700 persons were arrested.

A January 28 *New York Times* report says that a check showed the bus boycott to be effective and that "scores of automobiles packed with Negroes passed the intersection checked. Some of them were driven by volunteers in a car pool, which was organized by the Albany Movement."

Negro leaders had asked the city to end discrimination in public facilities, honor the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission desegregating bus stations, and to return money paid for bail during the mass arrests in December.

At the mass meetings, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Field Secretary Charles Sherrod asked the Negroes to "remember Miss Ola Mae Quarterman when you think about riding a bus." Miss Quarterman was arrested three weeks ago when she took a front seat on a city bus.

Sherrod had been arrested January 18 when he took a seat in the Trailways Bus terminal lunchroom in Albany after purchasing a ticket. The arrest was in violation of the Federal ICC ruling.

SNCC has strongly criticized the United States Justice Department for failing to enforce the ICC ruling in south Georgia.

An excellent introduction to Marxism...

### Socialism: Utopian and Scientific

by Frederick Engels

Pamphlet tells how socialist movement began and describes its scientific approach to philosophy, history, and economics. Pamphlet explains why a revolution by workers is necessary to end the devastation caused by capitalism; a revolution that can open up the productive capacity of society and end exploitation. 64 pp., \$1.25

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Pregnancy ruling codifies gains

All supporters of women's equality should welcome the January 13 Supreme Court ruling upholding the constitutionality of state laws requiring employers to grant special job protection to employees who are unable to work because of pregnancy.

This decision registers the progress made by the massive civil rights movement, as well as the women's rights movement, in forcing the government and the employers to take some affirmative action to begin to bridge the social and economic gaps that are the consequence of race and sex discrimination.

The court's 6-to-3 vote to uphold state pregnancy disability laws is also a measure of what the Reagan administration, Congress, employers, and the right-wing have not been able to accomplish in rolling back women's rights, despite the fierce barrage of propaganda against affirmative action, legal abortion, government funding for child care, and the very notion of equality itself.

The Supreme Court decision involved the case of Lillian Garland, a receptionist for the California Federal Savings and Loan Association. She lost her job after taking time off to give birth.

A California law requires that women who take up to four months' disability leave for childbirth be guaranteed their jobs back. At least nine other states have laws that specifically protect the jobs of women who take time off to give birth.

This is no small question for working people. Of the 44 percent of the work force that is female, 90 percent are expected to have children at some point in their working lives. Many women lose their jobs when they are forced to take a leave to have a baby.

Garland's employers challenged the California law on the grounds that it provides special rights for pregnant women and therefore discriminates against men.

Under the federal Pregnancy Discrimination Act, which was passed by Congress in 1978, employers can't discriminate against pregnant workers in hiring, promotion, or disability benefits for pregnancy, childbirth, and other related conditions. Such benefits must be provided on an equal basis as other non-occupational disabilities and illnesses.

What the Supreme Court has now decided is that it's constitutional to go beyond simply outlawing discrimination against workers who are pregnant. It is in keeping with the civil rights laws, the court affirmed, to provide preferential treatment — affirmative action — in order to try to make up for the inequality between male and female workers.

It is this upholding of affirmative action and preferential treatment of the oppressed that the Chamber of Commerce, Justice Department, and three judges who voted against the court majority objected to so strongly.

The California law, complained Justice Byron White

in his dissenting opinion, "permits employers to single out pregnancy for preferential treatment."

Justice Thurgood Marshall, who wrote the majority opinion, said that the California law's preferential treatment of pregnant employees is not discriminatory. Rather, it "promotes equal employment opportunity" because it "allows women, as well as men, to have families without losing their jobs."

The heart of the issue here is a simple biological fact: pregnancy is a peculiarly female disability. Only women become pregnant. And they do so in a society where women confront discrimination on the basis of their sex. Women's wages are lower than men's; women bear the brunt of caring for children; women are kept out of certain jobs that are predominantly male; and there are still laws that make it legal to discriminate against women. Therefore, protective legislation, which helps working women who are pregnant keep their jobs, makes male and female workers a little more equal.

"Similar treatment [of men and women] may lead to inequality," pointed out Marian Johnston, California's deputy attorney general. That's why special treatment is needed.

The court's decision will give a boost to the fight to get pregnancy disability legislation passed in the other states that don't have it, as well as on the federal level.

The changes in the position of women workers codified in this decision strengthen the work force by lessening the divisions along sex lines among workers. It strengthens the fight for temporary disability leaves for all workers, with all kinds of disabilities.

By reaffirming that it takes special measures, not simply "race and gender neutral" treatment, to overcome the second-class status of women, the ruling also helps the fight for the rights of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, and others who benefit from affirmative action programs.

The labor movement should hail this decision and propose that it be extended to the entire work force.

The fight for affirmative action for women — in hiring, promotion, training, and benefits — must be right in the center of the struggle by labor for women's equality as well as defense of labor's own immediate needs. Discrimination against women drags down the wages, working conditions, and unity of the entire working class.

For women workers who have children, the fight for government-funded child care, that is open around-the-clock and available to all workers, is of crucial importance.

It is around these issues, combined with uncompromising support for legal abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other democratic rights for women, that the labor movement must mobilize and fight.

# New ID measure hurts all workers

For the first time all workers applying for a job in this country will have to prove they are U.S. citizens or otherwise legally entitled to work here.

Regulations specifying the kind of documentation workers will have to submit to get a job have been drawn up by the Immigration and Naturalization Service — *la migra* — under terms of the reactionary "Immigration Control and Reform Act" passed by Congress last year.

The rights of all workers will suffer from these measures. They open the door to greater invasions of the right to privacy and give the government new means of keeping track of workers.

The new provisions will especially reinforce the pariah status of undocumented workers and increase discrimination against all other foreign-born workers.

Under the new immigration law, it is illegal for employers to knowingly hire undocumented workers. But for every employer who is selectively fined or jailed, hundreds of others will be placed in a stronger position to blackmail and pocket big extra profits from workers without papers.

"I might pay a fine, or maybe even go to jail for being good enough to hire you," will be the bosses' refrain.

Legally denied the right to work, undocumented workers are separated out as an outlaw caste with no right to minimum wage, safe working conditions, or the right to join a union.

And discrimination and harassment against foreign-born workers who do have papers, but whom the employers think look "illegal," will be stepped up.

Under the new regulations, which are to be finalized and go into effect in April, U.S.-born workers will have to produce either a passport or two of several other documents — for instance, a birth certificate and a driver's license. Other documents will be required of naturalized citizens and legal residents.

Job applicants will have to fill out a new "I-9" form on which they will have to give biographical data and affirm that they are legally entitled to work. Those who give information deemed to be false will be subject to prosecution for perjury.

Some undocumented residents will be able to apply for amnesty. Legal status will be granted to those who can prove to the satisfaction of *la migra* that they have lived here continuously since before Jan. 1, 1982.

Each amnesty applicant must pay a \$100 fee, plus lawyers' bills. Those denied amnesty will have to pay another \$50 each to appeal.

When the drive began in the 1970s to pass an anti-immigrant bill, some of those who favored it pressed to have the law include a proviso requiring all workers to carry a national identity card — an internal passport. Objections to such an antidemocratic move were strong enough to prevent it from being included in the new law.

But requiring workers to produce birth certificates, etc., to exercise the elementary right to hold a job is a step in the direction of a national ID card. That alone is a mark of how reactionary the entire law is and why the entire labor movement should condemn it.

# How did the parasitic caste arise in the USSR?

BY DOUG JENNESS

In the last two columns I've attempted to show why the Soviet Union is not capitalist or imperialist.

While I like to hope that my presentation convinced many readers, I realize that some may be asking: "Isn't there a new type of ruling class in the USSR, one that is different than the capitalist class in the United States and other countries? How else can you explain the repressive policies and social inequalities that exist in the Soviet Union?"

In order to evaluate the social formation that now dominates political and economic life in the USSR, it is necessary to take a look at its origins and evolution.

When the workers and peasants overthrew tsarism and capitalist political rule in 1917, they established their own government. They participated in this government through their own mass organizations and were able to advance their interests through it.

Working people mobilized behind the new regime to expropriate the capitalist class and begin the process of building a society based on nationalized property relations. Millions threw themselves into the successful effort to defend their government from a counterrevolution-

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ary war in which troops from more than a dozen capitalist countries participated.

The victory in this civil war was achieved not only by military organization; with just that the exploited classes could not have won. It was accomplished by the moral standing of the regime, whose revolutionary measures and unstinting support for the exploited and oppressed inspired and won solidarity from working people throughout the world.

But the young workers' and peasants' republic faced many difficulties from the outset.

Chief among them was the economic and cultural backwardness of the country and the international isolation resulting from the failure of working people to take power in any other country, particularly in Europe. On top of this, tens of thousands of the most able workers, with the most consistent revolutionary outlook, were killed in the civil war.

All of these elements helped generate widespread pessimism. And they reinforced tendencies for people to look out for their own individual interests, rather than carry forward the collective effort to advance the fight of working people in Russia and internationally.

Under the conditions of backwardness and scarcity, these moods gave an impulse to securing economic and social privileges. An entire section of the government and the Communist Party apparatus based itself on and became part of this privileged, self-serving layer as it developed. It skimmed off for its own consumption a disproportionate share of what working people produced.

This stratum resorted to police measures against workers and peasants to safeguard its position, gutting the democratically run institutions of the early years of the revolution.

This layer, however, did not acquire the essential characteristics of a new ruling class. Unlike the capitalist or slaveowning classes, this privileged bureaucratic formation didn't take shape as a result of deeply rooted needs of production. Slaveowners are necessary to an economy based on slave labor; capitalists are indispensable to production based on wage labor. But the privileged layer that emerged in the Soviet Union and still exists there is not necessary to an economy based on nationalized property and centralized planning.

To the contrary, it is an obstacle to the most rational and equitable development of a planned economy. It is a parasitic growth on the new economic foundations established by the workers. It more closely resembles a caste than a class.

The political takeover by this parasitic caste did not occur without resistance. Many workers continued their activities as revolutionary communists. They continued to see the road forward for working people in the USSR to be inseparably linked to the struggles of workers and oppressed peoples internationally.

As the privileged bureaucracy consolidated its hold over the country in the late 1920s and 1930s, it savagely repressed these working-class fighters. Tens of thousands were purged, exiled, imprisoned, and murdered.

The most prominent leader of the Soviet government to continue carrying out a revolutionary internationalist course was Leon Trotsky. During the battle to maintain this perspective, Trotsky wrote many articles and documents describing the new bureaucracy and its rejection of revolutionary communism. I particularly recommend to readers *The Third International After Lenin* (\$8.95) and *The Revolution Betrayed* (\$7.95), both published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Next week, we'll look into whether or not there's anything progressive about the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy.



# Drug testing is attack on the rights of workers

BY JIM MILES

It seems the main topic of conversation among rail crews on the Chicago & Northwestern railroad these days is, "Who got fired this week?"

At least 17 brakemen and five engineers have been

## UNION TALK

fired in the Chicago yard since last August when the company began implementing extensive drug and alcohol tests.

These are the same types of tests that were administered to the crews involved in the Amtrak and Conrail collision January 4. Sixteen people have died so far from that accident. Drug tests have supposedly turned up "traces" of marijuana in the blood and urine of the two Conrail crew members.

The smoke screen being put up by politicians, the Federal Railway Administration, the rail companies, and the media is that drunken, drug-crazed rail workers are re-

sponsible for accidents that endanger lives, property, and the environment.

Highly inaccurate drug tests, which violate the provisions of the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing individuals the right to protect themselves from unwarranted searches and self-incrimination, are portrayed as guarantees of public safety.

The reality behind the smoke screen is that it gives the carriers yet another green light to eliminate jobs and attack work rules and union rights.

The "Omnibus Drug Bill" passed into law by Congress last fall calls for penalties of up to five years in prison and \$10,000 fines for operating trains or engines under the influence of drugs or alcohol. The companies are pushing through large-scale firings of workers accused of drug use under the threat of criminal prosecution for those who test "positive."

The real threat to public safety, however, comes from the deteriorating conditions railworkers are being forced to work under. Trying to maximize profits, the carriers invest as little as possible in maintaining and improving rail beds and equipment.

The only radio the Conrail crew had before the Amtrak collision was a weak handset which prevented their being able to communicate directly with the Amtrak crew. Similar conditions prevail on the Northwestern where extra-board crews feel lucky to get even a handset radio.

Some workers are simply fired for refusing to be tested or urinate while a company official watches.

The majority of those fired on the Northwestern so far are Black. Since the criteria for subjecting a worker to a test can be as little as "suspicious or unusual behavior" in the eyes of a company official, the potential for a racist firing increases.

The United Transportation Union (UTU) is challenging the legality of testing in the courts. That's important, but it's not enough. We have to join together with airline workers and other unionists to publicly expose the undemocratic, union-busting fraud of drug testing.

The Bill of Rights is a conquest of all working people. We as trade unionists have a big stake in defending it.

Jim Miles is a member of UTU Local 577 and a brakeman in the Chicago & Northwestern's Chicago Freight Terminal.

## LETTERS

### Still want 'Militant'

I have hesitated renewing my subscription because I was not sure if I still wanted the *Militant*. I have finally decided that, yes, I do still want to receive your paper.

I would also like to comment on the Howard Beach killing and racism in this country. It is quite evident to me, a white, suburban youth, that despite the success of the "Cosby Show," racism is still rampant in this country. The killing in Howard Beach illustrates this clearly.

It is therefore imperative that all those who wish for a better future for all of mankind do their best to put an end to racism. This will not be easy, though. Racism is rooted very deeply in our society, and much work will be required to finally weed it all out.

E.H.  
Morgantown, West Virginia

### Marx on tape

*Militant* readers who are disabled or who know people who are disabled may be interested to know of a source of Marxist literature on recorded tape.

A few years ago, when I lost the ability to read books in the normal fashion, I discovered Recording for the Blind, Inc. (RFB), a service primarily but not exclusively oriented toward blind and disabled students. RFB has dozens of Marxist titles, including many classics by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

After spending a year and a half listening to these titles, I began to thirst for some of the new Pathfinder titles I saw advertised in the *Militant*. I was recently able to strike a deal with Pathfinder to have some of these titles recorded by RFB.

In the coming year disabled readers can expect to see the following titles made available: *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*; *Nelson Mandela, The Struggle Is My Life*; *Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*; *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*; *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*; *Teamster Rebellion*; and *Socialism on Trial*.

Blind and disabled people who are interested in applying for the services of RFB can write them at 20 Rozel Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540, or call (609) 452-0606.

Mike Rose

Austin, Texas

### Omaha branch

Congratulations to the Socialist Workers Party for opening a new branch in Omaha, Nebraska, and setting up the Iowa district. The presence of the party here will add

great depth and clarity to the political discussions taking place here, which has been sorely lacking since the branch closed in Lincoln.

The meat-packers' struggles and the training of Nebraska National Guard forces in Honduras are issues on the immediate agenda, and the socialist views on them need to be heard. I'm glad they're back.

I don't get up to Omaha very often, but I'd like to be on the mailing list when they start the forum series.

Please keep me informed of your activities.

R.L.  
Lincoln, Nebraska

### Howard Beach coverage

Thank you for the job you are doing in covering the news around the world. There are so many articles that I would have no knowledge of if it weren't for left-wing papers such as yours.

Here is \$24 for a year's subscription, and I want to let you know that as a result of your coverage of the Howard Beach incident, I am writing a letter to New York Governor Cuomo asking that that incident be looked into further until it is cleared up and justice is done.

E.C.  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

### Northwest Airlines

In the first week of this year, Northwest Airlines, where I work, reported to the federal authorities two cases of alleged tampering with aircraft at its Twin Cities maintenance facilities. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the FBI are currently conducting investigations at the maintenance hangars.

This comes at a time when representations elections are about to take place at the airline. Fourteen thousand clerical, passenger service, and ground service employees will be choosing among the International Association of Machinists (IAM), Air Line Employees Association, and the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks as to which will represent them. The mechanics have been, and will continue to be, represented by the IAM.

There is a lot at stake in these elections. If the IAM wins the vote it will mean that all personnel on the ground — from the ticket counter and baggage area to the hangars — will be brothers and sisters in one union.

The company and the local media have seized upon these alleged tamperings to smear the IAM. Union personnel are assumed to be the guilty party. All the articles and news spots devoted to this incident wind up dis-

cussing the "labor dispute at Northwest Airlines."

A spokesperson for the FAA announced, "We are stepping up surveillance as we usually do when there is a labor dispute at an airline."

The IAM has rejected any implication that it has anything to do with the whole affair and has launched its own investigation.

No evidence that I know of indicates a union mechanic carried out tamperings, and insinuation that this is the case is dangerous to the union. Northwest mechanics are the ones committed to safe aircraft, not the company, which encourages speedup and imposes overtime; and not the FAA, which has recently reduced its fines for safety violations by the airlines.

Meanwhile, as the IAM election campaign heats up, a who-dunit climate of suspicion is being fostered. And as unionists are gearing up for this campaign, FAA and FBI snoops will conveniently be breathing down our necks.

Jean Armbruster  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

### China

I am outraged at your "Students protest across China" article! [*Militant*, January 9].

How do you expect to develop an independent revolutionary perspective when you side with the U.S. ruling class? Sorry I subscribed.

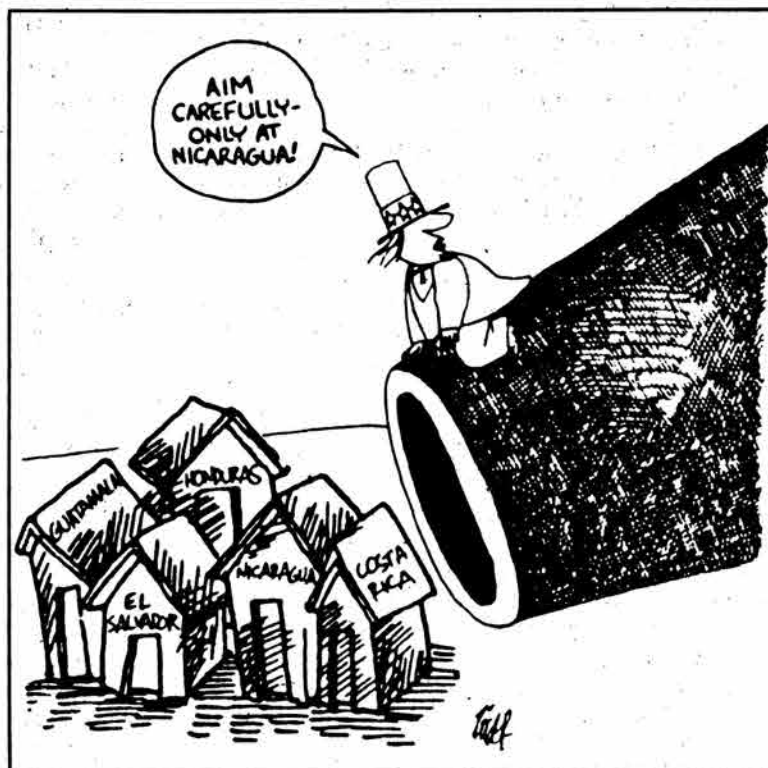
A reader  
Maryland

### Portec strike

Chanting "Let them go, let them go!" 80 pickets from United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8652 and their supporters surrounded Troy, New York, police cars outside the Portec plant. The cops were taking away three union activists arrested after the police attacked the picket line. The angry pickets had surrounded the front gate, and the management and its van-load of scabs found themselves unable to get out.

The striking steelworkers, who make railroad ties, were joined by representatives from union locals organized into the Solidarity Committee of the Capital District. This united demonstration of labor unity and the arrests took place several weeks ago.

The Portec owners called in the police to rescue the scabs. As 15 police cars arrived and the cops escorted the bosses through, the angry workers struck up a chant that must have been heard in Albany, across the river: "What do we want? Union! What does Portec want? Scabs!" Cars going up the hill in this working-class Troy neighborhood honked their horns



Barricada/Róger

and shouted in solidarity.

The strike was provoked by Portec's owners on November 2. The company refused to negotiate when the contract expired. It wanted to cut back on benefits and freeze wages.

It may be a long time before Portec's bosses negotiate. "In November, December, and January it's too cold to repair train tracks anyway. So there isn't much reason for Portec to produce track ties," said Nicholas Bizaro, president of Local 8652.

Bizaro noted, "The union offered management a six-month extension on the contract provided the company increases hospitalization coverage in the meantime. But Portec turned us down."

"Frankly we feel as though they wanted us to go out — to test us, to see how strong we are."

Larry Lane  
George Kontanis  
Albany, New York

### King Day

A second national celebration honoring Martin Luther King, Jr., was held on January 19 in the Old Court House in St. Louis.

The building is a historical site where the state court made the first ruling in the infamous Dred Scott case, which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857. The decision in this case legally affirmed that Black slaves were property and these property rights were protected by the Constitution anywhere in the United States.

The King Day civic ceremony was addressed by many community, religious, and labor leaders. Later that night, the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Human Rights Awards Banquet was held at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 25 union hall. It was spon-

sored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Keynote speaker Lennox Hinds, attorney representative to the United Nations for the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, gave a presentation on how Blacks, Native Americans, Latinos, and poor people need to fight for our rights that are spelled out in the Constitution. Several UAW locals and Region 5 UAW CAP Council members were there, along with civil rights, religious, and antiwar activists.

Joe Allor  
St. Louis, Missouri

### 'Blood in My Eye'

Just wanted to thank you for sending me my copy of your newspaper. At the same time I would like to know if there is any way you could get me a copy of the book *Blood in My Eye* by George Jackson and anything you may have on Lolita Lebrón.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

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

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.



## Rojas speaks on Caribbean struggle

### N.Y. meeting hears representative of Anti-Imperialist Organizations

BY MALIK MIAH

NEW YORK — Some 350 people packed a meeting room at Columbia University to hear Caribbean journalist and revolutionary Don Rojas January 24. Rojas was concluding a five-city tour speaking on "The Freedom Struggle in the Caribbean and Central America."

Rojas is the former press secretary of Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who was murdered after a coup in October 1983. Shortly after, the U.S. government organized an invasion and imposed a puppet regime on the island.

The evening meeting was sponsored by several Central American and Caribbean organizations in the New York area. More than 20 other groups endorsed the meeting.

José Soler of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party opened the meeting. The goal of the gathering and of Rojas's tour, Soler said, was to introduce a new and unprecedented development in the Americas — the formation of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Formed in June 1984 at a broadly attended meeting in Havana, Cuba, the Anti-Imperialist Organizations includes more than 30 parties from some 20 countries in the Spanish-, English-, French-, and Dutch-speaking Caribbean and Central America. Rojas represents the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada on the 10-party Coordinating Committee of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

After being greeted with a standing ovation, Rojas explained the significance of the new organization, calling it "the most important and positive development in our region over the past three years."

#### 'An idea whose time had come'

Although formed after the defeat in Grenada, Rojas said, "This organization — in the most fundamental sense — was a product of the survival of the [1959] Cuban revolution for more than a quarter century, and of the victories of the Grenada and Nicaraguan revolutions in 1979. It was an idea whose time had come."

This organization, Rojas said, is a step toward overcoming the artificial divisions among the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America imposed by different colonial powers over nearly 500 years.

"The competing powers divided us — their servants and their slaves — along language lines," Rojas said. "And the imperialists have sought to turn our languages, to turn the rich cultural diversity of our Caribbean peoples and nations, against ourselves."

The formation of the Anti-Imperialist

### N.Y., Chicago meetings discuss April 25 action

There were large turnouts in both New York and Chicago for the initial meetings of local coalitions to build the April 25 demonstration.

The April 25 action in Washington, D.C., will demand an end to the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and apartheid in South Africa. An action with similar demands will be held in San Francisco the same day.

Held at the Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199 hall January 28, the New York meeting was attended by 200 unionists, students, and solidarity and anti-apartheid activists. A coalition office has been set up at 1199's headquarters.

Unions, solidarity groups, students, and Black rights organizations were represented at the Chicago meeting at Columbia College on January 24. About 100 activists participated.

Next week's *Militant* will carry reports on the New York and Chicago meetings.

Organizations, he said, shows that it is possible to forge "unity in action out of diversity and ideological plurality. It is possible to put our rich diversity to work as a positive force for cooperation and progress."

Such unity, Rojas explained, is necessary to achieve the political independence from imperialist domination and to put an end to the ruthless exploitation of the region's working people and resources.

"The struggle for freedom in the Caribbean and Central America," he said, "is the struggle for social and economic development."

Rojas detailed the wretched social and economic conditions of the peoples of the region in countries with regimes subservient to imperialism. An alternative path — one based on independence from imperialism and reorganizing society to give priority to the needs of the vast majority — has been taken by Cuba, Nicaragua, and, for four and a half years, by Grenada.

"Only anti-imperialist struggles and anti-imperialist victories," he said, "can put our peoples on this new path."

As an example of these two opposing roads, Rojas contrasted the abysmal conditions in Grenada today under the U.S.-imposed regime of Herbert Blaize to the gains in education, medical care, and democratic involvement that had been registered by the People's Revolutionary Government under the leadership of Maurice Bishop.

Rojas said that his own party, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, was "a revolutionary democratic, anti-imperialist" organization with the goal of resisting the reactionary policies of the U.S.-imposed regime and of struggling to restore a government based on the interests of the Grenadian people.

Rojas called on people in the United States to support the Anti-Imperialist Organizations in whatever way possible. "Help us get out the word of our joint activities and our common goals," he said.

## Sandinistas assess Contadora tour

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The U.S. government is more politically isolated in Latin America today and in a weaker position to pursue its military aggression against Nicaragua. This is the assessment of Sandinistas here in the wake of a Central America tour by Latin American foreign ministers and the general secretaries of the United Nations and Organization of American States (OAS).

The tour was organized by the Contadora Group, whose stated purpose is to find a negotiated settlement to the military conflict in the region. The group is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela, whose foreign ministers were part of the delegation.

Also joining them were the foreign ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, countries that make up the Support Group to Contadora, and UN General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and OAS General Secretary João Baena Soares.

The delegation visited all five Central American nations in late January. They discussed with each government the possibilities for negotiating an end to the regional military conflict that is rooted in Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan government seized the initiative during the tour to present the delegation with a nine-point program for negotiations.

As expected, Washington lined up the governments of El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras to flatly reject the Nicaragua



Militant/Ernest Harsch  
Don Rojas at Columbia University meeting.

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations, Rojas said, will be publishing regular materials in three languages — English, Spanish, and French — and holding regional meetings on matters of common concern.

#### Mobilize against 'contra' war

A central focus of the group, he said, will be to mobilize opposition to U.S. imperialist-organized militarization and oppression in the region — in particular the mercenary *contra* war against the Sandinista-led revolutionary government in

Nicaragua. He appealed to those in the audience to support this effort.

"In the final analysis, it is you who live, work, and struggle in this country who are the guardians of our region's sovereignty. You are the ones who must continue to shout: 'Hands off Nicaragua!'"

Brief remarks were also made to the meeting by Bill Starr, a chaplain and member of the Columbia University Students in Solidarity with Nicaragua; Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haiti Progrès* and leader of the Committee Against Repression in Haiti; and Richard Høyen, president of the Jamaica Democratic Association. Eddie Demmings of the National Conference of Black Lawyers gave a fund appeal.

Kay Saunders and Santiago Grullón, representatives of sponsoring Bahamian and Dominican groups, co-chaired the event. The Dominican singer Lumi presented solidarity songs.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Don Rojas toured here January 21 and 22. Although his main broadly sponsored meeting was canceled due to a major snowstorm, Rojas joined a panel of antiwar and solidarity activists to speak on the current situation in the Caribbean and Central America.

He was joined by Grenada's former ambassador to the Organization of American States, Dessima Williams; Fritz Longchamp, executive director of the Washington Office on Haiti; Dumi Matabane, African National Congress representative in D.C.; and a member of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador diplomatic mission here. The panel was chaired by Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of El Salvador national coordinator, Angela Sanbrano.

Forty-five peace, antiwar, anti-apartheid, and solidarity leaders came to the meeting.

guan proposals. But the three governments felt compelled to meet with the delegation, despite their insistence that negotiations are not possible at this time.

When the tour came to Honduras, several hundred Honduran citizens organized a demonstration to welcome the delegation and demand that President José Azcona cooperate with its efforts.

The Guatemalan government told the delegation its stand was "active neutrality."

At the conclusion of the tour, Pérez de Cuéllar said, "Unfortunately, I didn't find a desire [on the part of the five governments] to sacrifice positions in order to arrive at a solution." However, he and the rest of the delegation said they would pursue negotiations efforts as well as possibly send international observer teams to the Central American countries' borders, a step the Nicaraguan government supports.

The Sandinistas consider the tour a significant blow to Washington's attempts to isolate Nicaragua diplomatically and to line up other Latin American governments behind U.S. efforts to militarily crush the Nicaraguan revolution. The participation of the OAS in the delegation, over Washington's explicit objections, is viewed as particularly significant.

As the Sandinista daily *Barricada* put it: "The tour demonstrates the changes in Latin American mentality, above all within the OAS, which was created by the United States in its own image and with whose blessing political crimes have been carried out, such as the invasion of Guatemala in

1954 or the isolation of Cuba."

This traditional OAS role, *Barricada* continued, "has now finally been defeated by history itself. In other words, Latin America is telling Washington that the days when the OAS banner could be used to intervene in countries like the Dominican Republic are now past."

Overall, said *Barricada*, the tour demonstrated that Reagan's war policy toward Nicaragua "remains isolated" in Latin America. "This underlines the real and objective possibility of a peaceful solution, whenever the U.S. rulers have the will to accept that course."

In an interview in *Barricada*, Nicaragua's vice-foreign minister, Víctor Tinoco, singled out what the Sandinistas consider the most important of their nine points for negotiations.

First, he said, is the proposal for renewal of U.S.-Nicaragua talks. If Washington would agree to such talks, the Nicaraguans would be open to discussing the regulation of international military maneuvers and the presence of foreign advisers in Central America.

A second option, said Tinoco, is the renewal of negotiations among the five Central American nations under the auspices of Contadora. This would include Nicaragua renewing its proposal to discuss limitations on weapons levels in all five countries.

Third, Nicaragua is willing to drop its lawsuits against the governments of Honduras and Costa Rica in the World Court if those two governments agree to accords with Nicaragua guaranteeing mutual border security.