

Sandinista leader answers Reagan

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Reagan is reaffirming his policy of war. We are reaffirming our policy of dignity, of struggle, of no surrender; our policy of peace," said Gen. Humberto Ortega, head of the Sandinista People's Army, January 28.

Ortega was addressing 2,500 Nicaraguan union officials, community activists, and women and youth leaders here the night after President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union speech. In his speech, Reagan pledged to continue aiding the *contra* mercenaries waging war on Nicaragua.

Ortega pointed out that the Reagan speech comes in the context of the irreversible defeat being suffered by the *contras* at the hands of the armed Nicaraguan people. Already in the first 28 days of 1987, Sandinista troops have killed 300 *contras* and wounded 200. Meanwhile, pressure is increasing on Washington from Latin American governments to negotiate with Nicaragua.

Nevertheless, Ortega continued, "we should be clear that the military situation remains serious." The Reagan administration still hopes "to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution."

He reported that Washington has recently increased the number of warships off Nicaragua's coasts and the number of spy flights over the Pacific Coast and the Managua region in particular. Meanwhile a U.S. destroyer has arrived in the Costa Rican port of Puerto Limón.

The U.S.-organized mercenaries continue to try to infiltrate Nicaragua's northern and southern borders. The CIA is currently trying to launch an offensive from Honduras into Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, home of most Nicaraguans who are Black or Indian.

Military defense thus remains the central task for Nicaraguans in 1987, Ortega explained. "We have to prepare ourselves in order to demonstrate that our people are willing to fight."

This will include a major campaign to give thousands of Managuans military training over the coming months. They will both strengthen defense here in the capital and be ready for missions in other parts of the country.

Through this mobilization, Ortega said, Managuans can help defeat the remaining *contras* in the countryside "more rapidly."

Those Managuans not called up for military training will be organized into a militia.

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Philippine plebiscite sparks intense debate

BY DEB SHNOOKAL AND RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA — In the first vote since dictator Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown in February 1986, Filipinos voted 4-to-1 for a proposed new constitution. The plebiscite was held February 2.

The supporters of the government of President Corazon Aquino and its rightist opponents presented the issue in the plebiscite as simply "for or against Aquino."

The campaign to ratify the new constitution adopted slogans such as "Yes for stability, yes for democracy," and, "Give peace a chance."

Events in the weeks preceding the vote on the constitution tended to reinforce the popular appeal of such slogans.

The Aquino government was rocked by a number of crises leading up to the February 2 referendum. On January 22 a demonstration of peasants demanding land was fired on by the military as it marched to the Malacañang presidential palace.

Nineteen were killed and many wounded. This was the first large-scale massacre of peaceful protesters under the Aquino government.

While ordering an inquiry into the shootings, which became known as the "Mendiola massacre" after the name of the bridge where it took place, Aquino refused to put the blame squarely on the military.

Some in the Aquino camp were deeply shaken by the incident. A majority of the members of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights resigned in protest.

Maria Diokno resigned from the government negotiating team conducting peace talks with the National Democratic Front. This coalition supports the armed struggle waged by the rural-based New People's Army.

In response to the shooting, the NDF withdrew from the talks and abandoned the public office it opened in the National Press Club in December. NDF negotiators went into hiding. A 60-day cease-fire between the guerrillas and the government is due to end February 8.

The Aquino government was also damaged when tapes were published revealing that Aquino and executive secretary Joker Arroyo, under pressure from the U.S. State Department, had discussed influencing the votes of members of the commission that drafted the constitution. The issue was whether the constitution should allow U.S. military bases on Philippine soil.

The May 1 Movement (KMU), a militant trade-union federation, and the Philippine Peasant Movement (KMP) responded to the massacre with a rally of 30,000 on



Nineteen peasants were murdered by military as they demonstrated for land outside presidential palace January 22.

January 26 at Malacañang. This was followed by "people's strikes" in Mindanao, Cebu, the Bataan Export Processing Zone (BEPZ — a free-trade area), and many other parts of the country.

Less than a week after the January 22 shootings, some 500 rightist-led soldiers attacked several military and other installations. They succeeded in capturing a building housing television station Channel 7 and a radio station. They holed up there for four days, attracting support from enthusiastic Marcos loyalists.

Aquino threatened the rebel officers with court-martial. But armed forces chief Fidel Ramos ignored her threat to storm the occupied station. He waited until the rebels

agreed to surrender peacefully to him. Aquino then praised Ramos' actions at a rally of 300,000 supporting ratification of the constitution.

On January 31, just before the plebiscite, three pickets were shot dead and 36 others were wounded when the military smashed through barricades in an effort to break a strike in the BEPZ.

At a February 3 news conference called to protest this attack, KMU Chairman Crispin Beltran demanded Aquino prosecute those responsible.

"It is ironic that while the government treats the workers and peasants with violence and deception, it treats criminal elements with leniency."

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Kanak freedom fighters meet in New Caledonia

BY SAM MANUEL

ARAMA, New Caledonia — Over 400 Kanaks and independence supporters attended a national congress of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) held here January 30-February 1.

The FLNKS grew out of an uprising against French colonialism in 1984-85. Even the French authorities estimate the FLNKS enjoys the support of at least 80 percent of the Kanaks and a smaller number of whites and Polynesians. The population of New Caledonia is 120,000, half of which are Kanaks, the indigenous inhabitants of the island.

Though it is a French colony, New Caledonia has a 43-member territorial assembly with limited powers. Representation comes from four regions. The FLNKS controls three of the four.

The central purpose of the congress was to decide how to respond to the French government's proposal for a referendum on independence for the island, tentatively scheduled for July.

The French proposal is an unabashed attempt to undercut the impact of recent international political gains made by the FLNKS. Last August, 13 island countries

in the area known as the South Pacific Forum group voted to recommend to the United Nations Decolonization Committee that New Caledonia be listed as a non-self-governing country — that is, a colony of France.

Among the countries included in the South Pacific Forum are Fiji, Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Samoa, New Zealand, and Australia.

Sam Manuel will soon join Deb Shnookal and Russell Johnson in the Philippines, where they will provide on-the-spot coverage. Before arriving in New Caledonia, Manuel was in New Zealand and Australia.

Reaction from Paris has been swift. Vanuatu's Prime Minister Walter Lini revealed on Radio Australia that French aid to Vanuatu had been cut by 10 percent.

"French aid will be distributed differently now, countries like Vanuatu cannot expect more money while they are doing nothing."

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Civil rights activists attend church in all-white Georgia county

BY SARAH JEAN JOHNSTON AND KEN MILNER

CUMMING, Ga. — Veteran civil rights leader Hosea Williams led a caravan with 75 people from Atlanta to eight all-white churches in Forsyth County on Sunday, February 1.

Escorted by County Sheriff Wesley Walraven, and monitored by the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and an observer from the U.S. Justice Department, the caravan met no incidents at any of the churches.

This action took place one week after 30,000 antiracist protesters marched through the streets of Cumming. That action was in answer to a Ku Klux Klan-or-

ganized attack on an antiracist march on January 17.

In the first major act of integrating an institution in Forsyth County, the biracial group from Atlanta was received by close to 2,000 Forsyth residents. In many cases, there was an emotional outpouring of warmth and friendship.

At the Cumming United Methodist Church, chairs were unfolded to make room for eight Blacks who were seated in the aisle. Harold Lawrence, the pastor, offered a welcome to the delegation and urged, "You join us whenever possible." He then invited a Black minister, Ody Wright of Atlanta's Salem Baptist Church,

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Australian Blacks resist racist attacks

BY SAM MANUEL

BOGGABILLA, Australia — Aboriginal people (Blacks) in this rural town, located in the state of New South Wales, have been victimized by repeated violent attacks in recent years.

Moreover, Blacks from Boggabilla and Toomelah are provided with virtually no social services and recreational facilities. On the weekends, they often go to the largely white town of Goondiwindi just across the border in Queensland. That state is notorious for its racist policies and treatment of the Aborigines.

The area exploded on the weekend of January 10-11 as Black youths, subjected to one attack too many, fought back against white thugs. The struggle was touched off

when a young Black, Bruce Boney, was thrown out of a pub and dance hall in Goondiwindi.

The 17-year-old told the *Militant*, "I paid the \$5 admission fee and went in to take a seat. No one said anything to me at the door. Several minutes later a white guy who works as a bouncer there told me that I had to go."

Boney was given no reason for his eviction and his money was not refunded.

As Boney was escorted out, two white youths entered the pub through a window. They were followed by a Black youth named Reggie Hinsh. Inside, 10 white thugs pounded on Hinsh and brutally beat him. None of the 50 other people in the pub attempted to stop the beating.

When Black youths outside attempted to rescue Hinsh, the gang inside shut the doors and windows. "Reggie almost escaped," said Boney, "but they dragged him back inside and continued to beat him."

Somehow Hinsh managed to escape his attackers. If he had not, many feel that he could have been beaten to death. He was taken to the hospital where he required several stitches and was treated for multiple injuries.

Several whites then came out of the pub led by Tony Hampstead, who is known by the Blacks as "Mad Dog." They began to bash in the windows of cars on the street that were occupied by Blacks.

The next day several carloads of Blacks entered Goondiwindi. Two of the pubs in

the town, the Royal and the Victoria, were damaged. The Victoria Hotel's owner claimed that there had never been any discrimination against the Blacks at his hotel. He stated, "They've never been refused a drink here." But he added, "They will be banned from the hotel. I don't care if they take me to court for racial discrimination, they are not coming back in here."

One of the patrons at the pub reportedly described the Blacks as "a big dark cloud of blowflies crossing the street towards us."

"There were so many Blacks in here you could hardly breathe," he said.

A Queensland cabinet minister, Peter McKechnie, accused the Blacks of "belting up people at random and smashing windows." In a not so subtle display of racial prejudice, he stated, "It's all right if a few of them want to get down into the riverbed or wherever. That's their business. But to attack innocent people will not be tolerated."

He concluded, "We don't have this sort of problem with Aborigines living here."

According to Race Discrimination Commissioner Irene Moss, however, "Complaints have been made about racism in the town's hotels, shops, schools, and sporting teams."

In the face of the recent attacks on Blacks, the New South Wales Teachers Union has called upon the state government to provide space in New South Wales classrooms for Black students currently assigned to attend school in Goondiwindi.

The Moree Aboriginal Legal Service has announced that it will defend all those Blacks that are charged.

The events in Goondiwindi have put a spotlight on the racist conditions faced by Blacks in Australia. As one Aboriginal leader in Toomelah explained, "We can't just sit by and ignore what's happening to us. We were defending our pride, our dignity when we went to Goondiwindi."

Activists go to church in all-white county

Continued from front page to speak.

Wright invited the congregation of 200 to attend his church in Atlanta.

A number of residents of Forsyth County explained to the *Militant* that if it had not been for the march the week before, they wouldn't have had the courage to do this.

These actions took place in a climate where the St. Pines Church in Forsyth had been burned to the ground on January 23. Many believe the fire was set by racist scum in response to a few Black families from north Fulton County having attended the church.

Prior to the Atlanta caravan's arrival, some white churchgoers were heckled in front of their churches by a small grouping of racists.

At one church, a white couple drove up, saw the caravan, backed out of the church parking lot, and drove away.

Hosea Williams said the reception "did something positive for our attitude toward Forsyth County."

Immediately after the January 24 march, the Atlanta media started raising questions about the impact of demonstrations. At first, they complained about the cost of cops to defend the marchers. By January 28 the *Atlanta Constitution* carried a front-page article and an editorial attacking the march.

In an article titled "March has limited impact on real needs of Blacks, critics say," Robert Woodson, chairman of a right-wing outfit called the Council for a Black Economic Agenda, said the demonstration was a show of weakness on the part of civil rights organizations. He described the march as an example of their obsession with the past, and unwillingness to tackle drug abuse, unemployment, and other problems that plague the Black community.

C.T. Vivian, a longtime civil rights activist and national head of the Center for a Democratic Renewal, responded to the attacks. "They are trying to divert us from the cause to what are only symptoms," he said.

In a press conference organized by the Atlanta Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (ASCAAR), State Representative Mable Thomas called on the Georgia General Assembly to create a commission of inquiry to investigate the possibility of financial compensation for Blacks driven from Forsyth County in 1912. She also called on Gov. Joe Frank Harris to appoint such a panel, which would make her bill in the legislature unnecessary.

On January 30 Hosea Williams, for the Coalition to End Fear and Intimidation in

Forsyth County, delivered a six-point program of demands to Forsyth County officials.

The coalition calls for a biracial committee to work toward improving opportunities for Blacks in the county. The committee would be responsible for carrying out the six points, including the return of land or property taken from Blacks in Forsyth; having the federal government investigate public and private employment practices; exchange programs between Fulton County, where Atlanta is located, and Forsyth County; and the investigation of businesses that receive government funds to ensure equal opportunities for Blacks.

The president of the Forsyth County Chamber of Commerce, the mayor of Cumming, and other officials drove to Atlanta February 2 to meet with the governor and hand deliver a written response to Hosea Williams at the Atlanta City Council meeting.

The coalition is now considering a response.



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski
Protester at January 24 march in Forsyth County.

Sandinista leader answers Reagan

Continued from front page

itary duty will also have an important task: increasing production. Through the sacrifices of the workers and peasants, the war-induced decline in Nicaragua's economic production is finally being reversed. While Nicaragua suffered a 5 percent economic decline in 1985, in 1986 it was able to reduce that negative rate to -0.41 percent. The goal for 1987 is to surpass zero growth and achieve a 2.1 percent growth rate.

Ortega pointed out that the U.S. government had hoped through its war to bleed Nicaragua dry economically and thus demoralize the people. This has failed. Nicaraguan working people have instead chosen to survive on a subsistence economy for several years now, rather than surrender

to the U.S. government.

"The strategic accomplishment of the revolution is that in the midst of this bloody war, which we have been winning, we have maintained this subsistence economy," said Ortega. "We have maintained the people's hope for a better life. This is the accomplishment of the revolution. This is the victory of the people."

The capacity of oppressed peoples to sacrifice and struggle are more powerful than Washington's military might, he said. The U.S. rulers cannot comprehend this. "That's why they lost in Vietnam; that's why they lost in Korea; and that's why their mercenary forces are losing here against our people."

The meeting closed with chants of "Here, no one will ever surrender!" the national Nicaraguan slogan for 1987.

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Coalition meetings show broad support for April 25 march

BY LISA AHLBERG

NEW YORK — Some 200 activists from labor, church, solidarity, anti-apartheid, and student groups met here January 28 to begin discussing plans to build New York-area participation in the April 25 march and rally in Washington, D.C. A few days before, 125 people met in Chicago January 24 to form the Chicago April Mobilization Coalition.

The breadth of the New York and Chicago coalition meetings shows the potential that exists to mobilize significant participation in the April 25 action against U.S. government policy.

The march will demand an end to the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and its support to apartheid in South Africa.

Sonia Ivany from Hospital and Health Care Employees Union Local 1199 welcomed everyone to the New York mobilizing meeting. "We're committed to making this demonstration a massive statement," she explained.

Union backing for the action is growing. A steering committee meeting the previous week was attended by Jan Pierce, an international vice-president of the Communications Workers of America; Dennis Rivera, executive vice-president of Hospital Employees Local 1199; Sam Meyers, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 259, and Ernesto Joffe of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Several New York officials have recently added their names as sponsors of the action, and representatives from a number of unions attended the January 28 coalition meeting.

Organizations represented at the meeting also included the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Nicaragua Solidarity Network, American Committee on Africa, U.S. Peace Council, Northern Manhattan Coalition for Immigrant Rights, Bloque Socialista, Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Mobilization for Survival, Vietnam Veterans Against War, Rainbow Coalition, Democratic Socialists of America, Soviet-American Friendship Society, Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The meeting was chaired by Leslie Cagan, a national coordinator of the Washington, D.C., action.

David Dyson, union label director for ACTWU and executive director for the Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador, spoke.

Also speaking was Jeff Mackler, a representative of the West Coast Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, which is organizing a march and rally in San Francisco on the same day as the Washington action.

Several participants urged the New York coalition to add a point to the national call condemning the racist assault in Howard Beach in December that led to the death of Michael Griffith.

A representative of the Grenada Foundation urged that a demand addressing U.S. government intervention in the Caribbean also be added.

Cagan explained that the national demands of the coalition will remain focused on U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. support to apartheid, but encouraged local coalitions to put out their own materials incorporating additional demands.

Several working committees were established to begin organizing publicity, outreach, and transportation.

Chicago meeting

Among the participants at the Chicago meeting were officials from the International Association of Machinists, American Federation of Government Employees, Service Employees' International Union, ACTWU, and the UAW. Also attending was Cecil Cain, from the North American Meat Packers Union in Austin, Minnesota, who is touring Chicago.

Numerous solidarity and anti-apartheid organizations sent representatives. The

meeting was chaired by Rev. Clyde Brooks, president of the Chicago chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

There was discussion over whether additional demands should be added, but the meeting voted overwhelmingly to endorse the national demands. Jack Spiegel, a leader of the Chicago Peace Council, who had argued for inclusion of a demand condemning Reagan's Star Wars plan, called on those who had criticized the national appeal to join the local coalition anyway. "We cannot leave this meeting," said Spiegel, "without committing ourselves" to the demands of the national march.

Potential for a united action

The actions in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco are beginning to receive publicity in a number of left-wing, labor, and solidarity publications.

The *California AFL-CIO News* has carried an article publicizing the Western States Mobilization in San Francisco.

The Alert, published by CISPES, said, "The movements for peace and justice in Central America and Southern Africa have issued an historic call for a Spring 1987 national demonstration to protest U.S. inter-

vention."

The *People's Daily World* has carried several articles on the action. On January 21 it quoted Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, as saying, "The national April 25-27 days of protest initiated by trade unions can be the biggest demonstration against Reaganism and for peace in U.S. history."

The November-December issue of *Democratic Left*, published by the Democratic Socialists of America, reported, "DSA's National Interim Committee voted to make the march a major priority for the spring."

In a recent issue of *Frontline* Linda Paras, a member of Line of March's National Executive Committee, says "focusing our mobilization this April on the issues of the U.S. war in Central America and the Reagan administration's criminal partnership with South African apartheid takes excellent advantage of the present political juncture."

"Massive public protest with a sharp focus will exploit this moment to the fullest advantage," Paras added.

The *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly published in New York, wrote in a February 4 editorial, "High among activists'



Militant/Della Rossa

Participant in November 1 antiwar protest in Los Angeles. National actions on April 25 will be held in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

priorities in the months ahead should be the April 25-27 Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa. This action, a mass march and rally in Washington on the 25th and civil disobedience on the 27th, has a broader character than most other mobilizations of recent years."

This article is also based on a report from Militant correspondent Tom O'Brien in Chicago.

More facts surface in N.Y. lynching

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — "These four guys chased Griffith down 90th Street to his death on the parkway. This was cold-blooded murder."

This comment by a police official here, quoted in the February 3 *Newsday*, summed up new information that has come out about the December 20 lynching of Michael Griffith by a racist gang in Howard Beach.

Special prosecutor Charles Hynes is now reportedly asking a grand jury to deliver murder indictments against three members of the gang, based on the confession of a fourth. Three other whites involved in the attack were charged with reckless endangerment after a judge dismissed murder charges against them on December 29.

According to articles in the *New York Times* and *Newsday*, reportedly based on the testimony of a lynch-gang member, a group of white youths in a parked car shouted racist epithets at Griffith, Charles Sandiford, and Timothy Grimes as they entered a pizza parlor in Howard Beach, an overwhelmingly white neighborhood. Their car had broken down on a nearby highway.

The whites then returned to a party, and at least one said, "There's some niggers in the pizza parlor. Let's go kill them."

A gang of 11 racists then left the party and attacked the three Blacks as they left the pizza parlor.

Sandiford was savagely beaten by several of the racists swinging baseball bats and tree limbs. He made his escape by fleeing through a hole in the fence along the highway. Timothy Grimes escaped unhurt by fleeing to an overpass.

Another group of assailants chased Griffith for blocks "to the edge of the highway, if not into the lanes of traffic," reported the February 4 *New York Times*. The Black youth had "little choice but to go on the highway," where he was struck by at least one car and killed.

The special prosecutor has now submitted evidence to the grand jury that Dominick Blum, the driver of the car that struck Griffith, committed a felony by leaving the scene of the accident. Previously, police and prosecutors had refused to bring any charges against Blum, a court guard and the son of a police officer, even though he admitted leaving the scene.

But officials now say that evidence indicates Griffith may have been first struck by another car. Sandiford has said that the assailants pursued the three victims in cars as well as on foot.

Earlier, Sandiford had said he thought that Griffith had fled with him through a hole in the fence near the highway and had then been struck by a car. Sandiford had been badly beaten about the head with a baseball bat and one eye was damaged. He later declined to view a police lineup because of his impaired vision.

The new evidence coming to light confirms the charges by Sandiford, Grimes, and their attorneys Alton Maddox, Jr. and C. Vernon Mason that the police and city officials were engaged in a cover-up. Queens District Attorney John Santucci ad-

mitted that he had been reluctant to press the attackers to provide evidence.

When Sandiford refused to cooperate with the cover-up, Mayor Edward Koch and other officials claimed this made prosecution virtually impossible.

"The first thing you want to do is get some of them [the lynchers] to become an informant — that is basic prosecutorial technique," said Mason. "But that was not Santucci's approach. His approach was to try to convince the public that he had an uncooperative witness" in Sandiford.

Cudahy steps up use of scabs to break meat-packers' strike

BY TONY PRINCE

CUDAHY, Wis. — The strike by 850 meat-packers at the Patrick Cudahy packing plant continues to gain support in the Milwaukee labor movement. A hundred workers from the Briggs & Stratton plant, the largest factory in Milwaukee, walked the picket line with striking meat-packers on January 25.

Members of other unions in the area, including the United Auto Workers, United Electrical Workers, International Brother-



Cudahy workers protest as cops help employers bring scabs into struck Wisconsin plant.

hood of Electrical Workers, and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, have also walked the picket lines with the meat-packers.

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-40 have been on strike since the beginning of January after rejecting Cudahy's takeback demands.

The company is moving full speed ahead with its plan to resume full production with scabs. By January 27, 375 scabs were working in the plant and 1,000 hogs were being slaughtered a day. Eight thousand hogs were slaughtered on a normal day before the strike began.

The previous week the union tried to resume negotiations. It said it would agree to have the company's wage offer submitted to binding arbitration and would restudy existing piece-work rates.

The company responded by making what it termed a "final offer." Negotiations broke off immediately since that offer was identical to the initial takeback contract that had provoked the strike in the first place.

The union has launched a boycott of Patrick Cudahy products. Other unions in the area have also put out their own materials urging a boycott of Cudahy goods.

Local P-40 has formed a women's auxiliary that has been going to grocery stores urging that Cudahy products be taken off the shelves.

Contributions to aid the strikers can be sent to UFCW Local P-40, 3559 E. Barnard Ave., Cudahy, Wis. 53110.

Tony Prince is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Local 64 at Eagle Knitting Mills in Milwaukee.

Conference to discuss coal miners' situation

Will feature public talk on Malcolm X

BY MALIK MIAH

PITTSBURGH — A group of coal miner activists meeting here January 31–February 1 discussed plans for an Active Workers Conference later this month. Called by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, the conference will bring together the SWP membership from seven cities to discuss strengthening the party's political activity in the coal-mining regions.

The seven cities are: Price and Salt Lake City, Utah; St. Louis; Birmingham, Alabama; Morgantown and Charleston, West Virginia; and Pittsburgh.

The conference will be held in Pittsburgh February 21–22. In addition to discussions on the problems facing coal miners, a public meeting will be held on February 21 where SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes will speak on "Malcolm X Today."

Decisive importance

Mac Warren, reporting for the SWP leadership, explained that following closely and being part of the fights of coal miners is of decisive importance to building a revolutionary workers party in the United States today. The SWP set this as a national priority nearly a decade ago, and it remains just as important today, Warren said.

This means being active in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), Warren explained. And it means discussing politics with coal miners and their families.

This perspective, Warren said, requires the collective efforts of all socialists in the mining areas, including steelworkers, garment workers, electrical workers, other industrial workers, and students.

Warren emphasized that the importance of the struggles in the coal fields can be seen by looking at what's going on politically in the country and the world.

The U.S. employers and their government, he said, are incapable of granting major concessions or security to workers and farmers. What they offer most working people is, in fact, more debt, wars, unemployment, farm foreclosures, and a lower standard of living.

Hormel example

The fightback of Hormel meat-packers in Austin, Minnesota, for more than two years, Warren said, reflects what's to come. They are like workers all over the country who have been hit by concessions but are striving to find a way to use their union to fight back. Although what they've done so far is exceptional, Warren said, it is repeatable. They've set an example to other workers. And they've helped spark a wave of struggles in the packing industry that continue today.

In this context, the UMWA is particularly important because it is in a more favorable position to fight back than other industrial unions. "Miners in the early 1970's," Warren said, "revolted against the top bureaucracy and established a series of democratic rights that have not been reversed."

The UMWA is not a housebroken union,

Warren added. The membership fought the employers' takebacks in 1977–78 and 1981 with strikes. "It forced the operators to accept a no-concessions contract in 1984," he said, "in contrast to what other industrial unions have been forced to accept."

The UMWA and its traditions continue to have a big significance for the labor movement as a whole.

At the same time, however, another thing has been happening, Warren said. Over the last few years, under the blows of the employers' offensive and the restructuring of the coal industry, tens of thousands of miners have lost their jobs. Scores of mines have closed.

More coal is produced with fewer miners. Average tons per miner-day has increased from below 15 in 1975 to nearly 27 today.

Moreover, the UMWA represents only about 40 percent of production, down from 80 percent 10 years ago.

Working miners at the meeting reported an increase in injuries.

As the struggles of miners deepen, Warren explained, the response of class-conscious fighters will require working together with other workers in a rounded political way. This includes participating in antiwar activities and anti-racist actions, as well as socialist educational activities such as election campaigns, distribution of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, books,



Problems faced by miners to be discussed at conference. Over past decade, UMWA has not made concessions like those forced on other unions.

pamphlets, etc.

During their discussion, Kipp Dawson of Pittsburgh and Kathy Mickells of Morgantown described their participation, and that of others, in some important local and international activities. They pointed to a conference sponsored by the International Miners' Organization and hosted by the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain that they both attended last fall. They were invited to the conference, along with another woman miner, as guests of Britain's Women Against Pit Closures.

Organizers see opportunities

Tom Leonard, SWP organizer in St. Louis, said the perspective outlined at the meeting will encourage party members in St. Louis to work more closely with working farmers, as well as with coal miners in southern Illinois.

Mary Zins, organizer in Salt Lake City, said collaboration between party members in her city and Price is essential to most ef-

fectively organize discussions and other activities with miners in the Utah and Western coal fields.

The meeting also heard a report from Kathy Mickells on the activities and perspectives of the Coal Employment Project (CEP). The CEP was formed to help women get hired into the mines. The first woman miner hired on was in 1973.

Much of the report and discussion centered on how to maintain the employment gains of women miners. Mickells said the only way to defend affirmative action in hiring in times of layoffs is to fight for a modification of the seniority system so the percentage of women in the mines is not lowered.

The Active Workers Conference is open to members of the seven SWP branches and invited guests.

The public meeting on Malcolm X will be held at the William Penn Hotel, 530 William Penn Place, Mellon Square, on Saturday, February 21, 8:00 p.m.

Defeat in Vietnam led to Watergate

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Last of three parts)

The first two articles in this series, which appeared in the January 30 and February 6 issues, described the development of the Watergate scandal. Beginning with the July 1972 capture of five burglars in the Washington, D.C., offices of the Democratic National Committee, the articles concluded with President Richard Nixon's forced resignation in August 1974 and the full pardon subsequently granted him by his successor, Gerald Ford.

The scandal that brought Nixon down had its roots in the Vietnam War. In 1965, after several years of increasing the number of U.S. troops (called "advisers") in Vietnam, the U.S. government began massive bombing of North Vietnam. It drastically escalated the contingents of what became a 540,000-troop occupation force in South Vietnam. The goal was to defeat the liberation struggle in the south of the country and stabilize the U.S.-imposed regime there.

The Vietnamese people put up a stiff fight against the occupation forces and the U.S.-backed government. The war became increasingly unpopular in the United States, and among the U.S. troops sent to fight. A broad antiwar movement developed, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people in demonstrations.

The U.S. government had other problems as well. Blacks had refused to subor-

dinate their demands for equal rights to the war effort. The war period saw the final blows to Jim Crow segregation in the South, and massive explosions of Black protest in cities across the country.

Under these circumstances the billionaire families who rule this country and their political representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties became deeply divided over the war.

This division was reflected in the big-business media. Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* became increasingly critical of the government's war policy.

Some government officials expressed their opposition by leaking secret information to the media about the U.S. war. The most publicized instance came in 1971. Daniel Ellsberg, a former State Department and Pentagon official, made a series of documents, referred to as the Pentagon Papers, available to the *New York Times*.

The Pentagon Papers showed, among other things, that the U.S. government had lied to the American people in claiming that the war was caused by aggression from North Vietnam.

In April 1970, U.S. troops invaded Cambodia (now called Kampuchea). A massive outpouring of antiwar protests, including a national student strike, rocked the United States. Washington was forced to pull its ground troops out of Cambodia. By now, a big majority of the U.S. ruling class was convinced that the war was unwinnable and must be ended.

The Nixon administration was unwilling to admit defeat in Vietnam, however.

In face of growing popular opposition to the war, the administration stepped up its surveillance and harassment of antiwar groups.

The White House also carried the use of such methods over to dealing with critics in Congress; the government itself, including the Republican and Democratic parties; and the major media. Exposure of this ultimately brought about Nixon's downfall.

'Plumbers' unit formed

In May 1969 the *New York Times* reported on Washington's then-secret bombing raids against Cambodia. Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his national security adviser and later secretary of state, launched a hunt for the source of the embarrassing leak.

Wiretaps were placed on the phones of more than a dozen of Kissinger's closest

associates in and out of government. *New York Times* correspondent William Beecher (who had written the news story), CBS reporter Marvin Kalb, and other journalists were among the targets of wire-tapping.

The operations escalated with the publication of the Pentagon Papers. The White House Special Investigations Unit was formed, known as the "plumbers" because of its goal of plugging leaks.

As part of a campaign to discredit Ellsberg and assure his conviction (he was being tried for making the Pentagon Papers public), this outfit carried out the September 1971 burglary of his psychiatrist's office.

The White House also developed a secret "enemies list," on which the names of prominent politicians, businessmen, union officials, newspapers, and others opposed to Nixon's policies appeared.

John Dean, a White House aide who later testified against Nixon in U.S. Senate hearings, developed a plan to "use the available federal machinery to screw our political enemies," as he put it in a White House memo.

In 1972 a full-scale effort was launched to guarantee Nixon's reelection by disrupting the Democratic Party.

Although Nixon won reelection handily, the administration did not succeed in putting a stop to the mounting opposition to the war that reached into every corner of the United States, nor in turning the tide of battle in Vietnam. Shortly before the election, Nixon began moving decisively toward a negotiated settlement involving the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The gigantic defeat in Vietnam had greatly undermined the Nixon administration. When government-connected burglars were caught red-handed in the Democratic Party's headquarters in the Watergate, it did not have the authority or credibility to put a firm lid on the story.

Revelations about the administration's illegal acts first trickled out, then poured, and then became a flood. These exposures did more than reveal some of the crimes of the White House gang. A corner was lifted on the illegal and antidemocratic actions that have long been standard operating procedure for the FBI, CIA, and other cop agencies.

The administration became so discredited that Nixon's presidency became a liability for the ruling class he served. Nixon was forced out.

Malcolm X Today

Jack Barnes

National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

Editor and author of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, interviewed Malcolm X in Jan. 1965.

In Pittsburgh:

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530 William Penn Pl.,
Mellon Square
Sat., Feb. 21, 8 p.m.

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Rural women share ideas on farm crisis

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

DES MOINES, Iowa — Standing beneath a banner that read, "Harvesting our potential: Midwestern Rural Women's Conference," 18-year-old Amy Arensberg explained, "When my family lost the farm, I was embarrassed, especially at school with my friends. I tried to deny it." Fighting back tears, she continued, "But it took this conference . . . you guys are great."

The second women's farm conference, held here January 16-18, brought together leaders of farm protest groups; organizers of food shelves, hotlines, and support groups; and women farmers to discuss how to solve the farm crisis and to share experiences. Over 500 women participated in the conference, which was sponsored by Prairiefire and the Iowa Inter-Church Agency.

In the opening session, Anne Kanten, assistant commissioner of agriculture in Minnesota, underlined the dimensions of the deepening U.S. farm crisis using two statistics: the value of farmland has declined by \$146 billion over the last three years, and 2,000 farms a week are currently being lost, according to government figures.

In a keynote presentation, Shirley Sherrod, a Black farmer from Albany, Georgia, described her family's 20-year struggle to hold on to its land. Recalling her youth she explained, "Life was hard on the farm and in the South. Picking cotton and cucumbers, I dreamed of planning a life that didn't have anything to do with either." She said what turned her thinking around was first the civil rights movement and then the farm movement.

Sherrod is currently an organizer for the Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund.

She outlined the urgent need to help Black farmers stay on the land. "Since 1920, 94 percent of Black farmers have been driven off the land, and there will be fewer than 10,000 Black farmers in the next decade if we don't stop it."

For several years many farmers active in Midwest farm protests have pointed to the civil rights movement that defeated Jim Crow segregation in the South as a model for their struggle. It has only been in the last year or so, however, that Black and white farmers have begun to join forces.

Farmers' solidarity during drought

Helen Waller, chairperson of the National Save the Family Farm Committee, referred to this in the conference's closing address. She said the importance of the wide support for Southern farmers last summer during the drought was not the amount of hay contributed. "The USDA [U.S. Department of Agriculture] carefully monitored the haylift," Waller said, "because they were concerned." For "the first time [Black] farmers in the Southeast were actually talking to [white] farmers in the Northwest."

Over 30 workshops were offered to participants. The one with the largest attendance was "Debate: Free Market Policy vs. Supply Management."

Kathie Merwin of the Farm Bureau represented the "free market" position.

Helen Waller supported the Save the Family Farm Act being introduced into Congress February 5 by Sen. Thomas Harkin of Iowa and Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri.

The Save the Family Farm Act proposes raising price supports to farmers alongside a national referendum of producers of each commodity, which if approved, would limit production. This is called "supply management."

While conference participants overwhelmingly supported the Save the Family Farm Act and plan to work for its adoption in coming months, the discussion was far more wide-ranging.

Among the most well-attended workshops were those which discussed the effects of U.S. agricultural policy on millions of farmers around the world. The conference was a sea of "Farms not arms" buttons and T-shirts.

Urged to visit Nicaragua

Carole Hodne, director of the North American Farm Alliance urged farm women to visit Nicaragua to see for themselves what is happening in that country. She announced that Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers was hosting a farmer-to-farmer tour March 14-21.

A big discussion at the conference was the U.S. government's foreign policy crisis. "I don't say this with any glee, but the government is lying to us," and "Why can't we go back to the Constitution," represented the opinions of many.

A majority of women agreed that figuring out why the U.S. government wages war is the next step. A Missouri farmer stated, "I firmly believe there will be a civil war in this country before there's another war."

The United Auto Workers CAP Council gave its financial support to the conference, and Lea Casstevens, a representative of the national UAW, convened a workshop called "Farm and Labor: Our Common Interest."

Casstevens pointed to a pledge of locked-out UAW members at John Deere agricultural machinery manufacturers in Ottumwa, Iowa. They promise to retool parts needed to keep farm machinery running and to help with the harvest during their lock-out and beyond, as an example of labor's active solidarity with working farmers.

Picket line on wheels

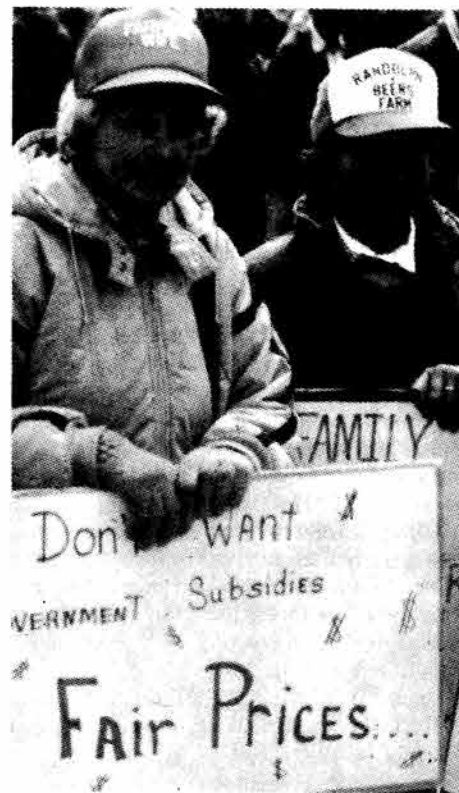
Barbara Collette, a leader of the United Support Group in Austin, Minnesota, described the important contribution farmers made to the meat-packers' strike of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 last winter. The farmers brought a tractor-led picket line on wheels to the gates of the struck Geo. A. Hormel & Co. plant.

As the farm crisis has worsened, more farm women have gotten jobs off the farm. A Wisconsin farmer wanted to know how these women can be part of the fight for benefits, such as health insurance, and for higher wages.

Auto workers, meat-packers, garment workers, and other unionists attended the conference. Several spoke of their plans to report to their union meetings about the conference.

Among them was Cathy Zwarich, a member of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants. Zwarich explained at the conference open mike, "The fight of farmers, like that of TWA flight attendants, is the fight of women."

Through participating in the weekend's



Militant/Jeff Powers
Farm protest in Plattsburg, Missouri, in 1985. Over 500 women active in farm movement met in Des Moines to share experiences in fighting attacks on farmers.

discussions and meeting others like themselves, the women farmers gained self-confidence to step forward, seeing themselves as part of the leadership needed to fight for the future. Helen Waller summed it up best: "We know what our potential is; now it's time for the harvest."

Foreclosure attempt draws protest

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MONTEVIDEO, Minn. — Some 100 farmers and supporters gathered at the steps of the Chippewa County Courthouse here recently to protest the scheduled foreclosure sale of Martin and Marlene Berends' barn.

While many protests against farm foreclosures have occurred over the last three years, the unusual thing about this one was that the Berends were being foreclosed on by a farmers' organization, the National Farmers Organization (NFO).

The NFO, founded in the 1950s, has focused on attempting to get higher prices for farm products through "collective bargaining" agreements with food processors. Particularly in the 1960s, it tried to pressure the processors by withholding produce from the market.

More recently, the NFO has been acquiring big "blocks" of a certain farm produce, such as corn, for example, and then attempting to sell them at a higher price than what the big grain monopolies such as Cargill and Continental would offer. To acquire a big stock of a certain produce, NFO buys the produce from farmers willing to participate in the program by contract.

Martin Berend has been a member of the NFO for 25 years and was the Chippewa County director of the NFO several times. In 1976 he was a national director of the organization.

But the NFO announced that it was foreclosing on his barn, valued at \$20,000, because he owes the organization "a total of \$3,600."

In 1983 Berend agreed to sell the NFO corn for \$2.52 a bushel. When he soon found out that he was only going to get \$2.20 a bushel instead, he called the NFO to cancel the agreement. The NFO, claiming he broke the contract, started billing him for an alleged loss of \$2,600 and finally took him to court and got a lien on his building. The national leadership of the NFO refused to negotiate with Berend before taking him to court, saying he was "blacklisted."

A statement issued by Groundswell, a Minnesota farm protest organization, stated, "NFO has turned into a creditor today. Rather than sit down and negotiate with Martin, they are taking his building . . . Groundswell is here because Martin is our director, and a farmer who is losing his property. . . . Many of our directors and

members and supporters are life-long NFO members and yet we are here today to stand with our fellow farmer as he loses his property."

Paul Sobozinski, state chairperson of Groundswell; Carmen Fernholtz, a local NFO leader, and Jim Langman of the American Agriculture Movement also spoke at the protest rally in support of the Berends.

Sobozinski pointed out that a "mediation bill" adopted by the state legislature in 1986 provides for a temporary moratorium on farm foreclosures so that the farmer and the lender may attempt to negotiate a settlement.

While the rally was going on, word came that the county judge had ordered the sale stayed and that the NFO would have to go through the mediation process provided by the new law.

The announcement was cheered as a victory by the farmers.

Farm workers' union ordered to pay damages to grower

A California judge has ordered the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) to pay a large Imperial Valley grower \$1.7 million in damages for financial losses during a 1979 strike.

In a ruling issued January 12, Imperial County Superior Court Judge William Lenhardt upheld Maggio Inc.'s assertion that UFW-led strike violence caused the company to suffer big losses in its harvest of broccoli, lettuce, and carrots. Judge Lenhardt's wife worked as a scab for Maggio during the strike.

The company's evidence consisted of videotapes of what they claimed were assaults by UFW members on the scabs Maggio hired to harvest the crops.

The union says Maggio was responsible for any violence that occurred. UFW striker Rufino Contreras was killed and several pickets were wounded by gunfire. Another striker was injured by a pickup.

The union is appealing the damage award. UFW spokespeople say that if the ruling is allowed to stand the union will face a severe financial strain.

N.Y. rally defends legal abortion

BY SONJA FRANETA

NEW YORK — A rally to defend the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion was held on the steps of the New York Public Library on a cold and snowy January 22.

The New York Pro-Choice Coalition, whose goal is to ensure that a safe, legal abortion is available to all women who want one, called the protest.

Coalition participants include the New York chapters of the National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood, Catholics for a Free Choice, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, National Abortion Rights Action League, and others.

Gloria Steinem, an editor of *Ms.* magazine, condemned the wave of right-wing attacks on abortion clinics. She pointed out to the 100 protesters that a majority of people favor abortion rights.

Merle Hoffman, founder of Choices, a N.Y.-area abortion clinic, demanded that the federal government reinstate Medicaid funding for abortions.

Meat-packers strike Detroit plant

BY JOE EDWARDS

DETROIT — Cook's Family Foods has hired over 100 scabs to try to break a strike at its meat-packing plant here.

Over 200 workers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 26, have maintained around-the-clock picket lines since the beginning of the strike on January 2.

The strike was provoked by poor wages and working conditions. The pay scale is considerably lower at Cook's than at other packinghouses in the area. Top pay for unskilled workers is \$6.10 an hour. Even boners and other skilled meatcutters are never paid more than \$6.55 an hour.

The company has imposed virtually unlimited forced overtime. A standard workday is 10 hours, but it is often extended to 12 or even 14 hours. A Sunday off is a special occasion.

The length of the workday combined with continual harassment by management has led to a high employee turnover rate. In

the words of one picket, "Working at Cook's isn't a job, it's a jail sentence."

When Cook's acquired the plant in 1984, the union agreed to a lower than average pay scale to help the company "get its foot in the door" in the Detroit-area market. Cook's management promised to raise wages in the next contract to the level prevailing at other local packing plants.

In the current negotiations, however, the company offered only a 90 cent an hour raise over the next three and a half years.

As soon as the strike began, the company put ads in the newspapers inviting unemployed workers to "build a future at Cook's Family Foods."

Meanwhile, the turnover rate among the scabs is continuing in the Cook's tradition. Many are quitting or being injured after only a few days on the job. Some former scabs have stopped by the picket lines on their way out to say, "Everything you said about this place is true."

Garment worker: 'More people need to read this'

BY RICHARD GAETA

PHILADELPHIA — For four months we have been selling the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*,

the winter than in the fall; but many greet us as they rush into the building.

The flow of workers mainly

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

and other socialist literature at Stanley Blacker, Philadelphia's largest suit manufacturer. The shop includes close to 1,000 workers of many nationalities, who belong to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

We set up our table and begin selling every Tuesday or Wednesday between 6:40 and 7:20 a.m. Fewer people stop by our table in

comes from the bus stop across the street from the plant. Speaking in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, or Greek, the workers file into the side entrance. Occasionally, two or three take a detour to the vendor on the opposite side of the gate to buy a greasy bagel and coffee. Some stop before the socialist literature table and look at the display of books and pamphlets.

"Protest the war on Nicaragua!" one of us shouts. The other follows with "Stop the war on Nicaragua!" in Spanish. One woman turned and said, "Sorry, I only understand Italian or Greek."

Turning toward workers coming from the tiny parking lot adjacent to the gate, I said in Spanish, "Do you want a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*?" The two elderly women responded in unison, "Portuguese."

Recently, workers here have resisted wage decreases and layoffs by work stoppages and walkouts. Following one such work stoppage, there was a discussion in the plant about how to resist the bosses. One older Italian presser was attempting to have a discussion

about how to fight back with a Portuguese operator, with great difficulty because of a language barrier.

Finally, he exclaimed, "¡Revolución! ¡Viva Cuba!"

The operator nodded her head in agreement.

Then he said, "You know, like the people outside."

The spirit of combativity may have been what stopped a Black worker who widened her eyes when she heard, "Break all U.S. ties to apartheid!"

The woman introduced herself as Olivia. After buying a *Militant*, she said, "More people need to read this."

Every other week Olivia stops at the literature table. One week she held up the book *Nothing Can*

Stop the Course of History by Fidel Castro, smiled and asked if we had more literature on Cuba.

Olivia started discussing the *Militant's* coverage with other workers. One of these workers included another *Militant* reader. When she learned that her coworker was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, she said, "That's great. This way the outside communists can help with the work of the inside communists."

The following week Olivia braved the cold weather with us outside Blacker and encouraged workers passing by to read the *Militant*. Although Olivia recently retired, her contribution to the sales team has inspired us to continue selling for the duration of the winter.

Subscription renewal drive nears the 700 mark

BY MALIK MIAH

The *Militant-Perspectiva Mundial* business office recently sent out for the first time "Look what you're missing" letters to former subscribers. Within 10 days of that mailing, we received seven new renewals. These were from readers whose subscriptions expired four or more weeks ago.

In the last week another 55 readers extended their subscriptions, bringing our total to 675 since the conclusion of the subscription campaign last November. Of these renewals, 385 bought their first subscription to the *Militant* last fall.

The *Militant* currently has 1,485 long-term subscribers in the United States, excluding subscriptions to libraries and complimentary or reduced-cost subscriptions to prisoners. There are 362 subscriptions from abroad.

This compares quite favorably to the 928 domestic and 77 foreign long-term subscribers we had in August. (Many of the new foreign subscribers are former readers of *Intercontinental Press*.)

One reader who renewed wrote: "I really enjoy reading your newspaper, especially about international affairs. Keep up the good work. *A luta continua!* (The struggle continues.)"

Another reader said he particularly wants to see articles on the international debt.

Supporters of the *Militant* around the country are finding a similar response as they call up subscribers about extending their subscriptions.

Dick Geyer, organizer of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* circulation in New York reports real excitement on the part of supporters doing the phone calling. "So far," he said, "29 of the 41 people we've called have expressed positive interest in renewing their subscriptions or finding out more about the socialist movement."

Last fall New York supporters sold 478 *Militant* subscriptions. To begin to put a bigger dent in the number of these that become renewals, Geyer said a special target week is being organized.

"During that week we plan to organize all supporters to call subscribers — at the distribution office or from their home. We'll keep a close tab on the response. We've already learned that if someone likes the paper they will more than likely be interested in the April 25 antiwar action or some other political meeting," Geyer said.

He added that supporters who are in industrial jobs are also talking to coworkers about renewing. So far four have done so.

Five people who bought their first subscription at Pathfinder Books in New York have also renewed their subscriptions at the bookstore.

"The reason why there is so much excitement about phone calling," Geyer told me in an interview during his lunch break, "is because of the types of political discussions you get into. Subscribers include people who have marched against racism in Howard Beach and opponents of South Africa's apartheid."

Socialist mayoral candidate urges total sanctions on South Africa

BY OMARI MUSA

CHICAGO — "I am in complete solidarity with the African National Congress President Oliver Tambo's call to keep the pressure on the U.S. government to impose total sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa," said Pedro Vázquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago.

Vázquez, who recently announced his campaign, participated in the welcome 1,200 Chicagoans gave Tambo at a meeting sponsored by Operation PUSH January 24.

"The courage of the South African people in their freedom struggle inspires us all to build a united movement to demand an end to all U.S. ties with apartheid,"

In addition, he said, supporters of *Perspectiva Mundial* will begin calling subscribers this week. Many *PM* readers' subscriptions expire in February or March.

New York supporters sold 303 *PM* introductory subscriptions during the fall circulation campaign, Geyer added, the most of any city in the country.

Vázquez said.

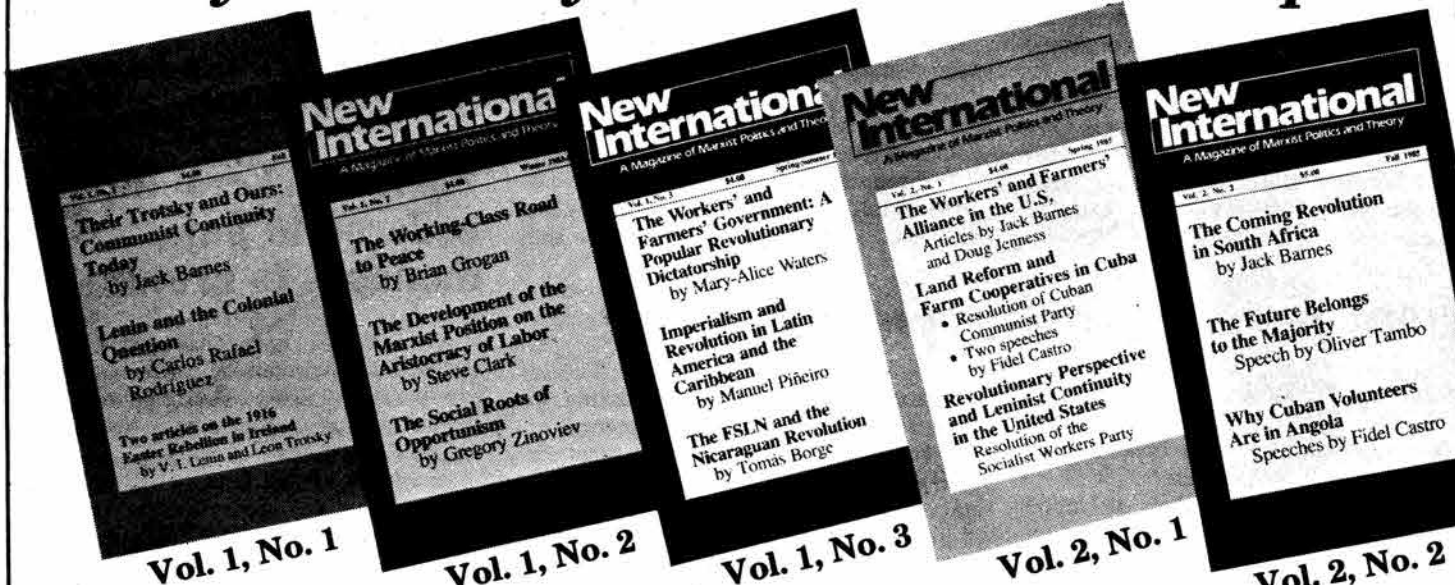
Later that same day Vázquez participated in the founding meeting of the Chicago April Mobilization Coalition. That coalition voted to get as many people as possible from this area to Washington, D.C., on April 25.

Vázquez declared after the conference, "Today we have been called on to mobilize in support of the South African freedom struggle and against U.S. government attempts to overthrow the popular Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. I pledge to use my campaign for mayor of Chicago to convince working people and students to march on Washington April 25."

Vázquez's opponents in the mayoral race included incumbent Mayor Harold Washington, former mayor Jane Byrne, Cook County Democratic Party Chairman Edward Vrdolyak, and the county tax assessor, Thomas Hynes.

The Democratic and Republican Party primary elections will be held February 24. The general election is in April.

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Militant/Tom O'Brien
Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for Chicago mayor, urges broadest possible participation in April 25 antiwar march.

Life of Black rights, union fighter honored

Minneapolis meeting reflects struggles Janice Dorliae was involved in

BY BILL ARTH

MINNEAPOLIS — Zion Baptist Church was filled with almost 200 fighters for Black rights, antiwar activists, trade unionists, and opponents of apartheid for a January 17 meeting to celebrate the life of Janice Dorliae. Dorliae died New Year's Day from injuries suffered when she was struck by a van in an accident.

The meeting reflected the many struggles to which Dorliae had dedicated her life. Mel Reeves, an antiwar and anti-apartheid activist and a former member of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), chaired the meeting and summed up the impact of Dorliae's life on those attending.

"No one who has spoken here referred to Janice in the past tense," he said. "What she stood for and tried to accomplish are things we stand for and will try to accomplish for a long time to come."

Dorliae was born in 1944 in Glen Allan, Mississippi, at a time when racist lynchings were common in that area. She later moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where in fifth grade she became active in the civil rights movement by sitting in the all-white sections of public buses.

Dorliae also participated in boycotts of segregated lunch counters and attended the 1963 March on Washington led by Martin Luther King, Jr. She was involved in the struggle of Black garbage collectors against racist discrimination in Memphis at the time of King's assassination there.

Out of this experience, Dorliae worked with others to form a series of organizations to fight for Black rights. The first of these was called The Invaders, which later became the People's Revolutionary Party and finally the Memphis chapter of the Black Panther Party. "We were young then, we had young ideas," said Maurice Lewis, Dorliae's brother, who spoke at the celebration of her life.

In the early 1970s Dorliae ran for and was elected to the Tennessee State Legislature on the Democratic Party ticket. This was part of a national move by the Black Panthers to work within the Democratic Party at that time. She later ran for reelection as an independent and was defeated.

Founder of NBIPP

Dorliae moved to Minneapolis in 1976. She was a founder of NBIPP in 1980, and sided with the wing of the party that advocated using the NBIPP Charter to educate and win new supporters in the Black community around the country.

In 1983 Dorliae ran for City Council in Minneapolis on the Black Independent Political Party ticket and got almost 10 percent of the vote in her ward. She remained active in NBIPP until it ceased to meet in 1986.

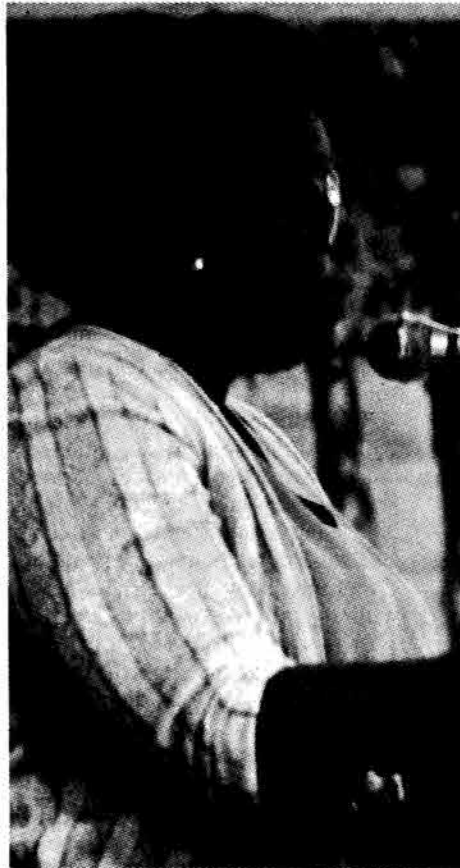
In the last year she was active in many struggles. She helped to lead an organizing drive at Canterbury Downs racetrack, where she worked. Following the victory of the representation election she was elected vice-chairman of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 292, which now organizes the race-track workers.

Dorliae went to Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast in the summer of 1986 as part of a Witness for Peace delegation. Following her return, she spoke out in support of the autonomy process on the Atlantic Coast. She was active in the local coalition building support for the April 25 march on Washington to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa.

She was a supporter of the struggle by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, against union-busting by Hormel, and suffered a broken leg while marching on the strikers' picket line there last March.

In the fall, she endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and funds for the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and disruption.

Dick Larson, representing IBEW Local 292, described Dorliae's role in the union organizing drive. "Janice stepped out front and played a big part. I don't know where



Janice Dorliae

Militant

she got the time to be in all these struggles for socially and economically deprived peoples. She took the risk that she may lose her job over the organizing campaign. She wasn't afraid of that. She was struggling for other people at the track, fighting for their rights. It will be tough going forward without her," he said.

Tom Laney, president of United Auto Workers Local 879, which organizes workers at the Ford plant in St. Paul, also

addressed the meeting. On behalf of UAW Local 879, he gave a financial contribution to Dorliae's family, and presented a plaque signifying the presentation of the UAW's Douglas Fraser Common Swift Award to Dorliae in honor of her work.

Local 879 voted unanimously to give the award to Dorliae. Laney was accompanied by a delegation of four workers from the local.

Jim Guyette, former president of UFCW Local P-9, read messages to the meeting from Ray Rogers and Ed Allen of Corporate Campaign and from the Austin United Support Group, two organizations that help Hormel workers.

Guyette said, "There is a tremendous amount of oppression and resistance today. Janice was a victim of having her leg broken by the police in Austin. She knew that solidarity knows no borders, no barriers, no color. What she stood for still lives."

Guyette presented to Dorliae's family a plate inscribed with the words "No Retreat, No Surrender," the slogan of P-9's fight against Hormel.

Mac Warren, who worked with Dorliae in NBIPP and who is the Iowa district organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, described her role in NBIPP. "We helped put together the Charter, the program of NBIPP. We became Chartists in NBIPP. We wanted to defend the document. We thought it was one of the most important documents to come out of the struggle for Black liberation in the United States. We preserved this document, prevented them from gutting the program of NBIPP. This was a very important accomplishment."

"The organization got smaller and smaller as we went through the fight," Warren said. "Many others walked away, but Janice just kept coming back."

Warren summed up the significance of

the example of Dorliae's life for those at the meeting. "Janice was a professional revolutionist. She committed her life to changing the world, and subordinated other things. She was bold enough to decide that she could have an impact on changing the world. Her training in struggle was what was decisive."

'A working-class fighter'

"Janice was a working-class fighter, an ordinary woman," Warren said. "We can all be like her. The best tribute we can pay to her is to close ranks, to stand on her shoulders, to fight to be like her, to embrace politics, to make the sacrifices necessary to build a movement of Black people and all the oppressed. We should all attempt to be like her."

Others on the program included Brenda Henry, Dorliae's sister; August Nimtz, who worked with Dorliae in NBIPP in the Twin Cities and is a member of the SWP; Tiffany Patterson, a former member of NBIPP; the Perspectives on Southern Africa choir and Kodjo Sampong of POSA; James Sangular of the Liberian People's Organization; Farouk Olajuwon, director of the Black Student Cultural Center at the University of Minnesota; Chris Spotted Eagle of the American Indian Movement; Jean Kirgiss of the Hunger Action Coalition; and Mahmoud El-Kati, professor at Macalester College.

Messages were sent to the meeting by Ken Morgan and Mary Bennis, who had been NBIPP members in Baltimore; a group of former NBIPP members in New York, including Muntu Matsimela; Marsha Brown from Newark; James McFadden, national chairperson of the National Organization for an American Revolution; and Enoch and Kitty Duma, South African freedom fighters now living in San Francisco.

Montreal garment strikers win victory

BY RICH STUART

MONTREAL — "Before we were nothing. Now we are something. Before our mouths were shut, now we have a voice."

These words expressed the spirit of 5,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) at the conclusion of a month-long strike at 150 garment shops in the Montreal area.

The strike ended in a victory January 27 when the workers voted by a 76 to 24 percent majority to accept the bosses' third contract offer.

The battle began in December when the garment bosses proposed that the union members accept \$500 lump-sum payments instead of pay raises in the first two years of the new contract, and a 25 cents an hour raise the third year.

The bosses also tried to force the unionists to accept 24 hours a year of overtime work at regular pay instead of at overtime rates.

The workers saw the strike as a battle for dignity and respect. Most of the strikers were women. A substantial number are French-speaking Québécois. But many others are recent immigrants to Canada from Haiti, Latin America, Greece, and Italy.

The union leadership told the workers, who are among the lowest paid in Canada, to accept the initial contract. But workers who heard of the offer walked off the job and then went from shop to shop spreading the walkout.

A huge crowd converged on union headquarters demanding a discussion of the bosses' offer. The leadership called a "study session" the next day, on December 16, and over 3,000 workers stayed off the job to attend the meeting, which overflowed the union headquarters.

The following day 4,500 workers gathered at another mass meeting to discuss the issues. The biggest objection was to lump-sum payments instead of wage raises, which in effect would have resulted in wages being frozen for two years. Union members mandated their officials to go



Militant/Rich Stuart

Mass meetings during garment strike helped Montreal workers feel their own power

back to the bargaining table. When the bosses refused to budge, the strike was called.

Picket lines went up at the 150 shops a few days before Christmas. The bosses were taken aback by the solid strike.

For many workers this was their first strike. But after a few weeks on the picket lines their confidence grew. Women pickets who had suffered years of sexual harassment and abuse from the bosses and the foremen especially gained self-confidence.

Long-standing divisions among the workers who speak many different languages melted away.

"With the strike, we understand each other," one worker said. "I felt satisfaction that the people I work with would fight together," another said.

The bosses' second contract proposal was submitted to a meeting of 4,000 workers on January 19. The employers dropped the demand for the changes in overtime pay and offered 20 cents an hour pay raises for each of the three years instead of the lump-sum bonuses. But the unionists felt they could win more and voted down the offer.

The employers then came back with another proposal that included pay raises totaling 85 cents an hour over the three-year life of the contract. The workers voted to accept the offer, ending the strike.

Most workers viewed the outcome of the strike with pride. "We're not going to become millionaires with this raise, but it's important," one said.

Workers I spoke with said the union was strengthened by the strike. Many pointed to the mass meetings where there was discussion and debate. In those meetings the workers began to see that they were the union.

The bosses hated the mass meetings, saying they were characterized by "intimidation, violence, and demagoguery." They would have instead preferred that the workers be forced to vote in their separate work places.

Getting ready to return to the job, one worker said, "We saw it was important to fight, it brought us together, and we taught the boss a lesson."

Rich Stuart is a member of ACTWU Local 319T in High Point, North Carolina.

In Nicaragua, human rights for prison

Visit to prisons reveals penal system based on idea that 'All human beings are born free and equal'

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Imagine a prison where there are no walls, bars, or armed guards.

A prison where inmates are encouraged to build schools and houses, to produce furniture and clothing, and receive union wages for their work.

A prison with family visits once a week, where husbands and wives have conjugal visits, and where each inmate spends a weekend at home once a month.

A prison with job placement for inmates when they are released and where fewer than one prisoner in 200 commits a new crime and returns to jail.

This must seem like a fairy tale for inmates at U.S. prisons such as Attica, Marion, or San Quentin.

But in Nicaragua, it is reality in 15 open prisons begun in 1983 where 10 percent of all inmates are now serving their sentences. This is one of the dramatic advances for human rights made here since the 1979 Sandinista revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship.

The revolution brought to power a government that made democratic rights — including the human rights of prisoners — a cardinal principle. The new government immediately abolished the death penalty and limited all sentences to a maximum of 30 years. The Ministry of the Interior began revolutionizing the prison system from top to bottom.

Reeducation and rehabilitation

Today, the goal of Nicaragua's prison system is to reeducate each and every inmate — regardless of the crime they committed — so they can reintegrate themselves into society as productive working people. Steps are being taken to carry out this program in the middle of the U.S.-backed mercenary war. Many of the prisoners once committed such crimes as mass murder, rape, and torture against the workers and peasants of this country.

How does the system work?

Prison officials work with new inmates to convince them that they have committed a crime against society and that they should change their behavior.

Then, prisoners are encouraged to participate in construction, industrial, or agricultural production. The key is involving them in socially useful labor that is not punitive but productive and helps them to increase their social awareness. This work is voluntary, and helps develop the prisoner's self-discipline and sense of contributing to society.

The prison system also encourages inmates to participate in literacy and adult education classes, as well as in political courses. They can complete a sixth-grade program in the prisons, and some are allowed to attend high school in nearby communities.

The *Militant* saw a striking example of the fruits of this political education while visiting the Camilo Ortega sugar mill on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

At a rally to kick off the harvest, Carlos Perkins spoke on behalf of 140 prisoners from the Pacific Coast who had volunteered to cut cane. He explained that, while they had committed crimes in the past, the inmates now wanted to help with social and economic development projects, applying the self-discipline they had learned in prison.

Their efforts would also advance the autonomy process on the Atlantic Coast, he said, helping bring the different races of Nicaragua together in one united nation.

Early release program

Nicaragua often paroles prisoners long before they finish their sentences. As of last September, 2,059 inmates had been paroled or pardoned. There were then a total of 8,160 inmates in Nicaragua, including 3,910 ex-members of Anastasio Somoza's National Guard or U.S.-backed *contra* mercenaries. In January 1987 the government began reviewing the cases of another 700 candidates for early release.

Of those released, fewer than four-tenths of 1 percent have committed new crimes

“We can do more damage to enemy by reintegrating into society those tricked into fighting their own people than we can by giving them long prison sentences . . .”

and returned to prison, testimony to the success of the rehabilitation programs.

“The revolution gave us an opportunity”

El Guayabal, one of the 15 open prisons, is an “open farm” prison.

About 25 miles south of the city of León, El Guayabal has 23,000 acres of land. A cluster of wooden buildings stand under shady trees a quarter mile from the highway. There are no fences or walls around the buildings, no watchtowers or gatehouse, nothing to suggest this is a prison except a small sign at the entrance.

The 88 inmates there had each been convicted of crimes such as theft, assault, and embezzlement. Each had begun serving his sentence in a regular prison and, through demonstrating good conduct and self-discipline, had won the right to transfer to the open farm.

The inmates proudly showed us the facilities they had built: just simple wood frame buildings with concrete floors, but impressive enough in Nicaragua, where the legacy of poverty and the cost of the U.S.-backed war mean serious shortages of building supplies.

They had also built a volleyball court and a small outdoor stage, where a group of inmates played music and sang peasant songs.

The inmates raise 1,000 head of cattle, 250 pigs, and some goats and chickens.

The farm is run by the prisoners themselves. They have seven committees that take charge of production, maintenance, cooking, education, sports, culture, and discipline. They elect a prisoners' council with overall responsibility for the farm. There are only four prison officials at the farm, all of them unarmed.

Inmates told us that their council meets with prison authorities to set production plans and discuss construction projects, cultural activities, and any problems that arise. Prison officials have the final say in approving any plan.

Inmates we spoke with were very proud of their literacy campaign, which was just declared the best in the region by the Ministry of Education. They organize the classes themselves, and inmates with some education serve as teachers.

Family visits and home leave

At El Guayabal, as in other open farms, prisoners are encouraged to maintain extensive contact with family and friends as an important part of preparing for their return to society.

Every Sunday is visitors' day, all day long. The inmates can see as many relatives as they like. They can walk freely around the farm, and participate in special cultural and sports activities.

Each weekend, some 20 or 25 inmates walk out of the farm, hitch a ride or catch a bus, and go home to spend three days with their family. The only requirement is that they return by 8:00 Monday morning. Each prisoner gets a weekend leave once a month, and a week-long leave every six months.

Nicaragua rejects enforced sexual abstinence as part of a prisoner's punishment. In prisons where inmates do not receive home leave, there are special quarters set aside for conjugal visits. This both helps maintain the inmates' family ties, and reduces tensions within the prison.

We asked if any inmates did not return from their leaves. “Everyone always comes back,” one answered. “The revolution has given us an opportunity,” he said, pointing to the surrounding fields and the buildings. “The leave policy is magnificent. No one wants to break the rules, since that might jeopardize the leaves for everyone else.”

Prison officials report that there are very few escapes from these facilities. Of the 456 inmates in open farms in the Managua area last year, only nine escaped.

Work toward early release

All prisoners start serving their sentences in a closed prison, surrounded by walls and barbed wire fences and under the discipline of armed guards.

Those who choose to work can advance to what is called the work regime. They still live in the high security prison, but spend a full day working inside the prison or outside in factories, farms, or construction sites. They are paid for their work, and receive more time for visits from their family and for recreation than those who don't work.

Currently, about 60 percent of all prisoners in Nicaragua are working. Many who are not working are newly arrived prisoners. Only a very small number, mostly ex-National Guard officers and *contras*, decide not to work at all.

After showing continued good conduct and work records, prisoners are eligible to move to semiopen prisons. These are minimum security facilities, often a farm or

ranch, where the inmates are free to move around the entire facility. They still work under the direct supervision of the prison officials.

Next are the open farms.

Finally, after proving themselves in an open farm, inmates are eligible to live at home for the rest of their sentence, having only to report regularly to the police and maintain good behavior during this time.

Those who violate parole, or who try to escape, or who commit crimes and return to prison again, are not allowed a second time to advance beyond the stage of working in a closed prison.

Prison guards

We asked the prisoners at El Guayabal how they were treated by prison officials. “Very well,” was the answer. “Even the police officers who arrested us treated us very well. If any officer did abuse someone, he would certainly be punished right away.”

It is a principle of the prison system here that the inmates must not be abused physically or psychologically. Violations of this rule are severely punished.

One of the few cases where abuses did occur was widely publicized here last October. Relatives of inmates in a prison in northern Nicaragua complained to the Ministry of the Interior (MINT) that four officials were mistreating prisoners. The MINT investigated and when the charges

Tomás Borge

The following are excerpts from a speech made Sept. 17, 1986, by Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge, at an international seminar on Latin American penitentiary systems held in Managua, Nicaragua.

No system of penal reeducation or punishment can be understood except in the context of a concrete society. A social system where exploitation, cruelty, arrogance, scorn, and egoism prevail will surely have a corresponding prison system, and not necessarily a correctional one.

Humanity has known the bitter process by which punitive systems have evolved. The mutilated hands, the garrote, solitary

“A social system where exploitation, cruelty prevail will surely have a corresponding prison system . . .”

confinement, the cross, the noose, the firing squad, the guillotine, and the electric chair have all been radical ways of applying the law to defend a specific social order.

It is said, and surely it is true, that there is a close relationship between systems of punishment and the development of the social relations of production.

The concepts that have regulated justice and law have changed in the course of centuries.

Slavery, feudalism, apartheid

In our present stage of human development we would regard with surprise and horror the ownership of one man by another. However, in slave society, that property right existed. It was legal. The slaves fought against laws that turned them into objects, just as the serfs fought to free themselves from a judicial and taxation system imposed on them by the lords of the gallows and the sword.

We have all heard of the peasant wars in England in 1381; of the wars of 1830 and



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Inmates at El Guyabal told *Militant* correspondent Harvey McArthur, right, of their successful literacy program, which they organize themselves.

ers is a principle

1 beings are redeemable'

were substantiated, ordered the four officers arrested and court-martialed.

Prisoners help in production

The Jorge Navarro Penitentiary in Tipitapa, near Managua, holds 2,500 inmates, 30 percent of all the prisoners in Nicaragua. It is a regular prison, with high walls and barbed wire fences. This is the only functioning prison left from before the revolution. Minister of the Interior Tomás Orge and Daniel Ortega, now Nicaragua's resident, were among those held and tortured here by the Somoza dictatorship.

Today, most of the facilities at Tipitapa, including all the work and recreation areas, are new. Some 60 percent of the inmates participate in productive labor. Inmates work in a large woodworking shop, a boot factory, a machine repair shop, and a concrete prefabrication section.

The biggest workshop is a garment plant with some 150 inmates, men and women. It is cleaner, less cluttered, and more spacious than any of the numerous garment plants this reporter has worked in in the United States.

Prisoners told us that most had learned their skills in prison. They work 10 hours a day and are paid the official minimum wage. If they exceed their production quota, they receive additional incentive.

Those who work outside the prison, in construction or in factories, receive the

prevailing wage for their trade, though the prison system deducts part to help cover its operating expenses. With this income, the inmates can buy cigarettes and other personal items, and help support their families.

Women in prison

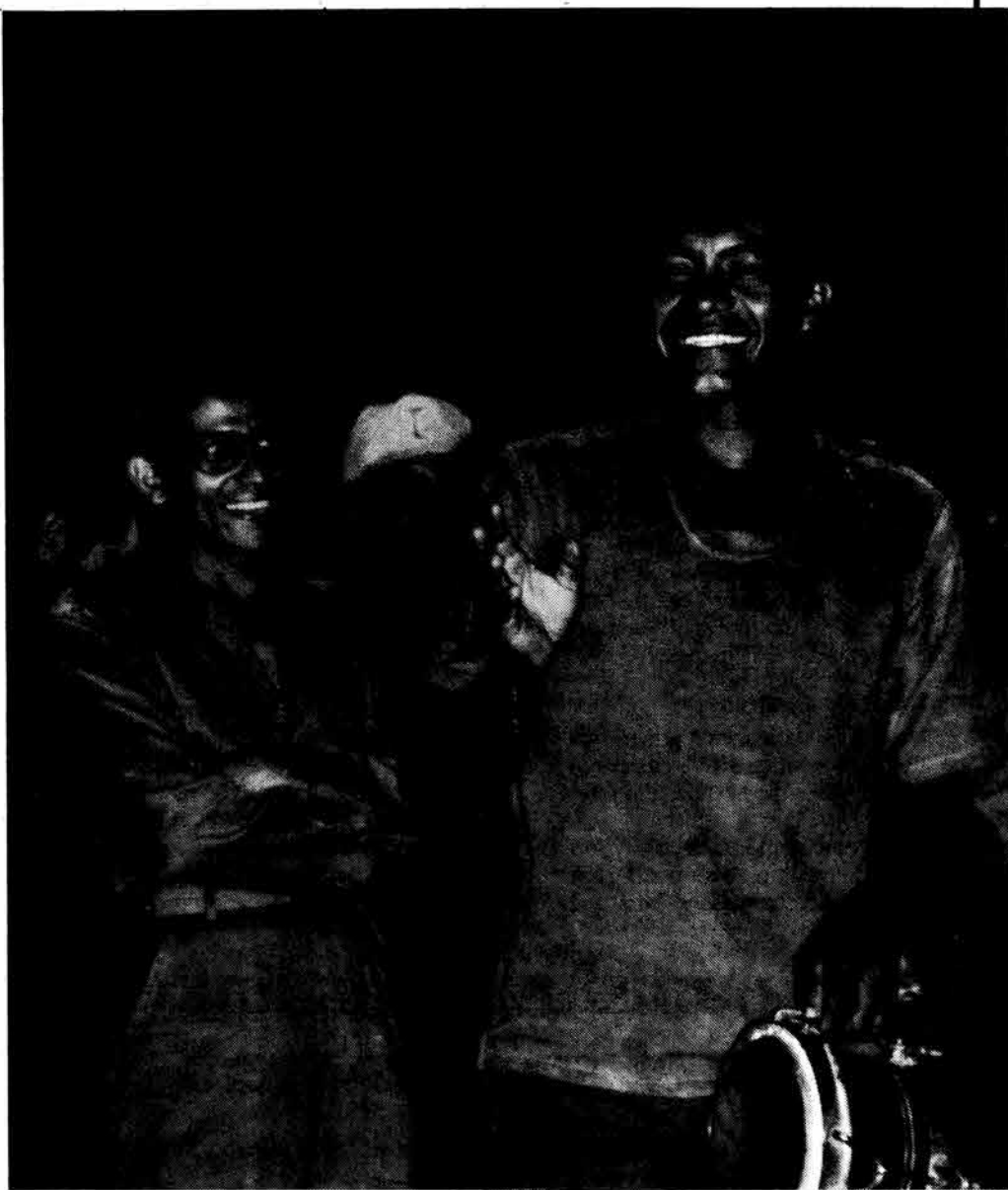
Thirty-two of the prisoners in Tipitapa are women. They have their own wing of the prison, but have contact with the male prisoners through work and joint cultural programs.

Claudia Hernández, 23 years old, is serving a four-year sentence for having helped the contra mercenaries in northern Nicaragua. She now makes clothes in the prison garment shop, a skill she learned in prison that she hopes will get her a job when she is released.

In an interview in the Sept. 25, 1986 *Barricada Internacional*, Hernández described how she met and married Roberto Ramírez, an ex-national guardsman and fellow prisoner in Tipitapa. "Right from the beginning we were allowed to have conjugal visits," Hernández said. "Now we have permission to go away together every other weekend. When I had to go to the hospital for an ovary operation, Roberto was allowed to come and look after me."

She added that with the wages they earn for their work in the prison workshops, they are building a house in Managua to live in when they are released.

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Member of prisoners' band at one of Nicaragua's open-farm prisons, where there are no armed guards.

Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Prison: punishment linked to nature of social system

348 to free Europe from feudalism; of the desperate struggles by the peasants in Latin America and Asia for land they do not own and that is legally in the hands of a particular social sector.

We frequently read in the newspaper about apartheid — a situation the whole world deems unjust. The whites in South Africa have created a body of laws, a concept of legality, a vision of justice, a punitive system that is definitely legal, however pulsive and brutal it may appear to us.

In the final analysis I would say that every social class in power imposes its own norms. We cannot, lest we offend historical truth, talk about justice, laws, or penal systems in general.

Slaveholders, feudal lords, and exploiters all have their particular body of rights, justice, laws, and penal institutions that they have used against the slaves, the serfs, and the exploited. At the same time, revolutionaries have their own system of rights, laws, and ideas of justice.

Why crime exists

Despite all the different types of modern prisons, and the diverse methods practiced in them, we have seen crime grow within many of today's societies.

There are cities in this continent, and practically everywhere, where muggings, theft, and physical violence run unchecked through the streets. Jails multiply, methods of investigation are perfected, yet this state of affairs continues.

The fact is that any attempt at rehabilitation and punishment will obviously go nowhere so long as the criminal or the prisoner realizes that the society to which he would reintegrate himself, actually rejects him, manipulates him, or denies him the satisfaction of his frequently just demands.

In Nicaragua we've had a qualitative decrease in criminal activity. In 1980, 38,781 crimes were reported; by 1985 this figure had been reduced to 15,081. We can say that there is a tendency toward an even greater reduction of these rates, a greater capacity to detect crime, and better efforts by the police. Today we solve 75 percent of all crimes. In 1982 only 53 percent were solved. Some crimes, like homicides and murders, are now solved 100 percent.

Support by the people makes these

achievements possible. This support is expressed through our voluntary police, whose members are honest and diligent workers and citizens.

The radical elimination of torture and mistreatment of prisoners as a method of investigation has also contributed to this success.

We do firmly believe that a police force that practices physical violence during interrogations becomes stagnant, dehumanized, and will not achieve technical progress.

On the other hand, social rebellion — which also feeds the prison systems — will continue to exist so long as injustice re-

“Any attempt at rehabilitation will go nowhere so long as the criminal realizes society rejects him . . .”

mainly enthroned — comfortable, totalitarian, and contemptuously deciding the destiny of the people; so long as the subtle or hidden forms of slavery continue to exist.

The exploited social sectors rebel against legal and illegal forms of exploitation. The exploiting classes, [once] evicted from a position of power as determined by the unrelenting laws of history, fight to the death to regain their lost paradise, the precious control they had exercised over their selfish wealth, squeezed out of the sweat of another's brow.

Nicaragua today and yesterday

The basic difference — we're talking about Nicaragua now — between the Somozaist system and the revolutionary system resides not only in the nature of the laws, but in their individual enforcement on a day-to-day basis.

The Somozaists were torturers, assassins, mad animals. We, Nicaraguan revolutionaries, make a real and sustained effort to be deeply human, respectful of life, and of the natural pride that a human being

feels in being human. This is expressed through every aspect of the revolution, and in particular in the philosophy and practice of the Nicaraguan penal system.

If we didn't have this firm conviction I would ask: Why did we make a revolution? To spill even a single drop of blood would have been useless if it were not to make a real revolution; and a real revolution must aim for a social outlook, the satisfaction of the collective whole, and a calm, pure, fulfilled look on every human face.

It is not right to sacrifice society for the selfish interests of one man. Neither is it right to sacrifice the dignity of one man to achieve a social end.

A society that shows contempt for and harms a human being is only showing contempt for and harming itself.

Revolutions are made for one and all. That is the *raison d'être* of revolutionary humanism. When the Bible tells us to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, it is telling those in power that it is our obligation to develop the productive forces for the whole of society, and not to satisfy the appetites of a selfish sector. Agrarian reform, just like the struggle against sin and the salvation of the sinner, is also carrying out a precept of the Bible.

We find it repulsive to give charity at 10 a.m. on Sundays or to visit prisoners with candy and sandwiches on our birthday, only so we can buy our "entry into the Kingdom of Heaven."

Our aim is to convey what real charity is, what human solidarity is — among other things — through a penitentiary system that does not frown, that has no anger in its eyes, that is simply human.

We have made the effort — and will keep on doing it — to create structures where isolation will be replaced by collective participation, where discrimination, boredom, and contempt will give way to work and education, where anarchic habits and indiscipline will step aside and leave room for positive habits and a new morality.

There are social systems that try to apply different models — including the so-called panoptic model — that pretend to eliminate prisons by simply transforming society into one giant prison.

We are also in favor of eliminating pris-

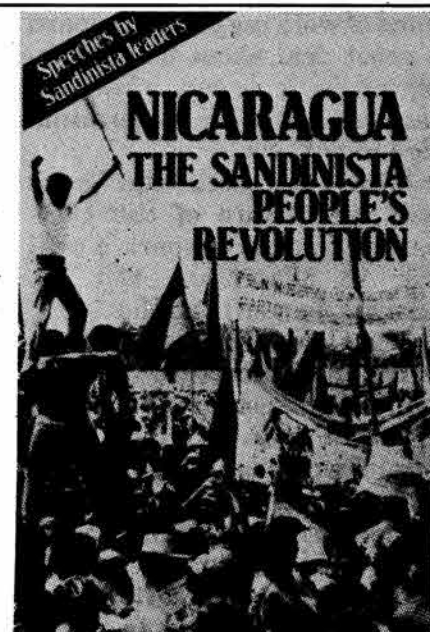
ons — and the open farms are a clear example of this — but within a society brimming with liberty and justice. As long as this dream is not attainable, our jails will be centers for reeducating those who break the law, including those active in counterrevolutionary crimes.

Practices we reject

We reject the old practice of treating work as punishment, just as we reject using forced sexual abstinence as an additional punishment. What's more, even if we aspire to see that all inmates in our prison system participate in socially useful labor, this work is voluntary, although of course subject to incentives.

In the days of Somoza the prisoners toiled to benefit the dictator and his family, high officials of the National Guard, or

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Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. This collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. \$7.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include 75 cents for postage and handling.)

In Nicaragua, human rights for prisoners

Continued from previous page

Last fall, Nicaragua began building its first semiopen farm for women prisoners. Until now, women prisoners — less than 4 percent of all inmates — have been kept in regular prisons. The new facility is a spacious estate that used to belong to a supporter of the dictatorship. It has lots of trees, a large modern house, a swimming pool, and gardens.

Prison officials say they are designing the facility to make it easier for women to maintain relations with their children. They will also learn to make handicrafts and work in a sewing shop.

Marta Lorena Rivera, an inmate at Tipitapa, told *Barricada Internacional* that the new facility will be better, but that she will miss not seeing so much of her boyfriend, also an inmate at Tipitapa.

Visit to Somoza's dungeons

The advances in Nicaragua's prison system are all the more impressive compared to what existed under the Somoza dictatorship.

Coyotepe is a small, circular fort perched on a mountaintop overlooking the city of Masaya. Somoza added bars and

locks and turned it into a prison run by his National Guard. No one knows how many people were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered in Coyotepe. A monument at the entrance honors the unknown heroes and martyrs who perished there.

Coyotepe held some 900 prisoners, with 40 or more jammed into each cell. The cells have dirt floors and narrow slits that let in a tiny amount of air and light. Small concrete trap doors set in the floor of the main gallery lead to dark, airless chambers carved in the rock below. Blood is still visible on the walls of some of the rooms used for torture.

Ex-guardsmen rehabilitated

With the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, Coyotepe and other Somozaist dungeons were shut down for good. However, the new government had captured nearly 7,000 members of the National Guard, many of them guilty of murder, rape, torture, and other crimes.

One of the first tasks of the new prison system was to reeducate and rehabilitate these ex-guardsmen. A hard core of Somozaist officers among the prisoners tried to block these reeducation programs,



Tomás Borge. Ministry of the Interior that he heads is in charge of prison system.

intimidating other inmates and threatening those who cooperated with prison officials.

However, once the work programs were begun in 1980, the big majority of ex-guardsmen began to participate. Many have been released, and today only 2,000 remain in prison.

Hernán Lozano Robles was a sergeant major in the Guard's hated Office of National Security, and so trusted that he served as bodyguard for Somoza, U.S. millionaire Howard Hughes, and the U.S. ambassador. After the revolution, he was captured and sentenced to 23 years imprisonment.

Robles addressed an international seminar on penitentiary systems held here in September 1986. "As a result of this prison experience," he said, "I am a new man, different, with new perspectives in life. Today, I am a shoemaker, a hydraulic press operator, a farmer, and a primitivist painter." That week, Robles and 51 other inmates, many of them ex-guardsmen, were released from prison to finish their sentences at home.

'All human beings are redeemable'

One of the challenges facing the prison system is convincing the Nicaraguan people that the prisoners really are ready to rejoin society. In some cases, prisoners on

home leave are reported to the police by their neighbors, who think they have escaped.

Some neighbors remain hostile and suspicious, not believing that the person has really changed. This is especially true for ex-guardsmen and contras. Prison officials try to meet with local neighborhood committees to explain the role of the prison system, the good conduct and discipline of the inmate, and the importance of helping reintegrate him or her into society.

"All human beings are redeemable," says Alvaro Guzmán, head of the Nicaraguan prison system. "Society has no interest in punishing, but rather in reforming people so they can take part in the great tasks we have before us."

The changes made in the prison system are also playing an important part in Nicaragua's fight against the U.S.-organized mercenary war. "We can do more damage to the enemy by reintegrating into society all the individuals who were tricked and forced into fighting against their own people than we can by keeping them in prison for long sentences," Guzmán said. "The losses inflicted on the contras in this area are more damaging than physical casualties, because the effect is multiplied in the lowering of the morale of the counter-revolutionaries."

Borge: punishment is linked to nature of social system

Continued from previous page

government functionaries. Today they work to increase our country's resources, in the coffee farms, cotton fields, dairy farms, building new housing, working in furniture factories, shoe factories, and in mechanical and crafts workshops.

Because of this type of organization, the material and moral incentives, and the continuous education, the workers in the prison system are highly productive.

Once they finish their sentence, or more likely, when they are pardoned by the revolution, we try to persuade state and private enterprises to reintegrate them in the work force without any kind of discrimination, which usually comes from subjective ideas that are always stupid, and that we always repudiate.

The criminal — culturally deformed by Somozaist society, victim of its remnants and relapses — is a person similar in his needs and habits to those individuals that come from the marginal sectors that still

exist among us, if he doesn't already belong to these sectors.

Our radical answer to this is to take preventive measures against this source of contamination, to advance in the revolutionary transformations, to exorcise this dirty and forever gone past, to effect social change, economic development, the multiplication of virtues, the exile of egoism and stupidity, the forging of new consciences, love of work, and the cultivation of beauty and generosity.

We have an infinite confidence in human beings. Some day in the history of humanity the probability of nuclear holocaust will be reduced to nothing, armies will cease to be necessary, as will policemen and jails.

On that day there will be no more forbidden fruits, no more vanity, selfishness, or substantial differences. It will be the reign of life, of moral beauty, of love.

Let us contribute, if we can, a grain of sand toward the building of this paradise on earth.

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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Cuban anti-apartheid group formed

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Some 100 prominent figures from many different spheres of Cuban life met in Havana January 7 to found the Cuban Committee Against Apartheid.

Heading the committee is Adolfo Ham, president of the Cuban Ecumenical Council. He pointed out that in establishing the anti-apartheid organization, Cuba is only repaying a debt for the solidarity it has received in its long struggle for freedom.

The committee's 10 vice-presidents include other church figures as well as representatives of Cuba's arts, sciences, sports, universities, and military.

The committee, to be based at the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples, will join in protest and action with other organizations around the world that are fighting apartheid. It will also fight for the independence of Namibia, which continues to be occupied by South African troops.

The committee's first meeting, held on the eve of the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress, declared its solidarity with the ANC, and with the freedom fighters in Namibia — the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

In its statement of purpose, the committee recalled the African roots of a large share of Cuba's population, whose "ancestors came to this country as slaves."

A central demand of the founding statement is for the liberation of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In that regard it was announced to the gathering that to help publicize Mandela's case, a shipment of the book *Habla Nelson Mandela* (Nelson Mandela Speaks) had been obtained. This book, along with a volume by Winnie Mandela, is to be made available for distribution through the committee.

It was also announced that a Cuban edi-

tion of *Habla Nelson Mandela* was planned within a matter of months.

Participants at the founding meeting of the Cuban Committee Against Apartheid included Thabo Happy, ANC representative in Cuba; Jorge Risquet, member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party; and a number of members of the diplomatic corps.

Mandela's daughter speaks in Baltimore

BY MARLA PUZISS

BALTIMORE — "My people are prepared to lay down our lives for the future of our country and the dignity of our children," Zenani Mandela Dlamini, the eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, declared here January 15. She was speaking to more than 800 people gathered at Johns Hopkins University to commemorate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Dlamini brought greetings from Winnie Mandela, who was prevented by the South African government from fulfilling an invitation to be the keynote speaker at the university's sixth annual tribute to King. Her daughter, who resides in neighboring Swaziland, was able to travel to the United States in her stead.

Dlamini stressed the historical links between the U.S. civil rights movement and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, pointing out that in 1965 Martin Luther King issued an international appeal for economic sanctions against South Africa.

She also defended the African National Congress against the U.S. government's charges that the ANC is "terrorist."

SWAPO leader explains Namibian people's struggle

The following is an interview with Hidipo Hamutenya, secretary for information and publicity for the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). It was obtained by *Militant* correspondent Sam Manuel in Luanda, Angola, in late 1986.

Manuel. What is the current political and military situation in Namibia?

Hamutenya. The South Africans have for many years now imposed a blanket news and information blackout regarding the situation in Namibia. That has come to mean that the situation there has not been reported in the world media.

But the struggle is going on there. The Namibian people continue to resist South African attempts to impose a neocolonial puppet regime on them. The armed liberation struggle has continued to intensify, particularly over the last seven years. In Namibia major battles are being fought with the South African army weekly and monthly.

Manuel. How many South African troops are in Namibia?

Hamutenya. There are more than 100,000 armed South African forces in Namibia, including regular army troops, police, and paramilitary groups. There are 76 South African military bases, mostly in the northern part of the country, which is the main theater of armed confrontation between the South African occupation army and the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO.

The continued military opposition to the occupation army has led to massive repression against the rural peasantry in Namibia. South African armored columns burn down peasant villages, destroy crops, shoot livestock, and arrest, detain, and torture many people to force them to give information about the movements of PLAN combatants.

Manuel. Could you describe the kind of support that SWAPO receives from Angola?

Hamutenya. The people and the government of Angola have given us moral, political, and material support since the birth of the People's Republic of Angola.

Angola has borne the brunt of the destabilization campaign of South Africa for the last 11 years. Much of its communication and economic structures have been destroyed. Thousands of its people have died. The growth of its economy is retarded simply because it has refused to do the bidding of imperialism, to accommodate the puppets of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], or to betray the struggle of the Namibian people.

Angola has given us asylum, in fact, accommodating some 70,000 Namibian people and members of SWAPO. We share with the Angolan people whatever little resources Angola has, from utilizing their means of communications and transport to giving us solidarity support in the international arena and financial resources.

Manuel. How successful has Pretoria's ploy of the interim government been?

Hamutenya. The puppet show, as we call it, is made up of a few handpicked elements. [South African President Pieter] Botha came to Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, on June 17, 1985, and proclaimed these puppets a so-called government of national unity.

What Botha has done is to keep a few Black faces, mainly renegades from the ranks of the liberation movement. One of them, Andreas Shipanga, used to occupy the position in SWAPO that I now hold, secretary for information. He deserted us during the early '70s, and landed in the lap of his apartheid masters.

One of the whites is Dirk Mudge. He has been deputy colonial governor of Namibia since the early '50s. He is a millionaire,

with a chain of cattle farms throughout Namibia. He is one of the diehard colonialists.

The whites in that alliance of reaction are not prepared to make any concession whatsoever, not even a token land reform. They have an exclusive hold on the arable land of Namibia. Two-thirds of the land is their exclusive monopoly.

They control all the best schools in the country. Most schools are segregated in any case. Hospitals, clinics, technical, and professional jobs are all segregated and are the exclusive monopolies of the white colonial settlers. All residential areas, recreational facilities, everything is segregated.

Manuel. How do you respond to the charge that SWAPO is a pawn of the Soviet Union in southern Africa?

Hamutenya. The only acceptability that SWAPO strives for is that of the Namibian people. That is the one that matters to us.

We are certain that the Namibian people, including the leadership of the churches, are convinced that SWAPO is a liberation movement made up of Namibian patriots and revolutionary democrats, men and women who want fundamental change in Namibian society, who want to put a final and definite end to the colonial plunder and class exploitation in our society.

If that makes us communists, then we are. We owe nobody an apology for that.

The common denominator for all those who are in SWAPO is commitment to Namibia's national liberation. What underlines national liberation is the affirmation of democratic rights for the people of Namibia to organize themselves into political parties, trade unions, and women's and youth organizations in defense of their own particular interests.

The leadership of SWAPO is not unmindful of the next stage of the struggle. We know that after the conquest of state power and the democratization of Namibian society we will still have to define the direction of the development of Namibian society.

The position of the present leadership of SWAPO is one of commitment to the socialist transformation of Namibian society.

That is the long-term objective of our revolution. We will have to define then the new agenda for the transformation of society, the socialization of the means of production, and the pace at which that process can proceed.

But we do not pretend that it is possible for us to collapse the various stages of this struggle into one. We believe that each stage has its own dominant content. But the doors are open for debate with those who want independence in order to pursue other lines of development. They are not expelled from SWAPO as long as they are committed to the destruction of colonialism in Namibia.

Manuel. What do you see as the central task at this time for the international solidarity movement?

Hamutenya. I have no doubt that many solidarity organizations in the media, the labor movement, the universities, the Black communities, and other minority communities in the United States are supporting our struggle and SWAPO.

The problem is one of sufficient dissemination of information about the struggle of the Namibian people. And this is where those friends and comrades in the belly of imperialism should assist us to achieve more publicity. They should adopt a perspective that sees Namibia as an important element in the struggle against the apartheid system in South Africa.

The achievement of Namibia's independence will be a crippling blow to the apartheid system.

We have profound confidence and faith in the American people, that they will work hard to shorten the course of the struggle and thus reduce the agony that the struggle takes for Namibia and South Africa.



SWAPO supporters at August 1986 mass rally in Katutura, Namibia, to mark 20th anniversary of launching of armed struggle.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

British police attack striking press workers

Marking the first anniversary of the beginning of their strike against press magnate Rupert Murdoch, some 12,000 workers and their supporters rallied the night of January 24 outside Murdoch's main plant in London.

Mounted police charged into the large crowd, wielding truncheons. Dozens of protesters were injured and 67 arrested. The strikers and their supporters defended themselves, leading to a number of police injuries as well.

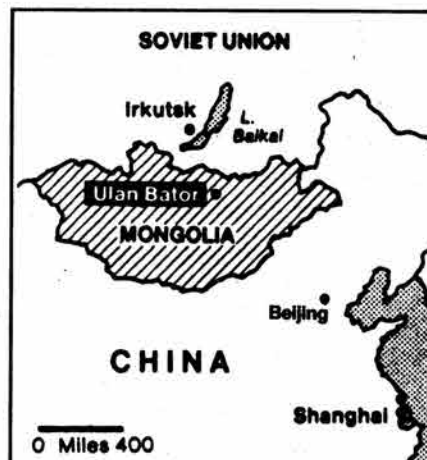
"The police viciously attacked our people for no reason at all," explained Brenda Dean, leader of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades, the main union involved in the strike.

The January 24 rally was the largest so far in the year-long dispute, which began when Murdoch dismissed 5,500 workers. Since then, there have been almost daily protests outside Murdoch's new high-technology, barbed-wire-rimmed plant in the East London district of Wapping.

U.S., Mongolia set diplomatic ties

More than half a century after Mongolia became an independent state, the U.S. government has finally decided to set up diplomatic relations with that Central Asian country.

On January 27 Mongolian representative to the United Nations Gendegin Nyamdoo and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz signed the necessary documents in the State Department's Treaty Room. This capped more than 15



years of discussions between the two governments on the question of diplomatic ties.

Nevertheless, U.S. officials said that it would be some time before a U.S. embassy is actually opened in Mongolia.

A landlocked country of nearly 2 million inhabitants located between the Soviet Union and China, Mongolia had

until 1921 been under either Chinese or Russian rule. In that year a revolutionary government came to power and proclaimed Mongolia's independence. The Soviet government, at that time headed by V.I. Lenin, quickly recognized the new state, and provided it with considerable aid.

The Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek finally recognized Mongolia's independence in 1946. Mongolia was admitted to the United Nations in 1961.

300,000 students strike at Mexican university

The National Autonomous University of Mexico — the largest university in Latin America — was shut down January 29 as its more than 300,000 students began a protest strike.

Red-and-black banners were hoisted from the administration tower, barricades were erected, and a sign at the entrance of the Engineering School proclaimed the university "the first free territory in Mexico."

The strike, following earlier student demonstrations of as many as 100,000, was called to protest the government's efforts to impose a new university plan that would raise tuition fees and restrict admissions. The students are demanding a doubling of government subsidies for the university.

French rail workers suspend strike

After a month on strike, most French rail unions suspended their job action during the second week of January, after accepting the government's offer of pay increases of less than 2 percent over the next year. Some of the unions, however, pledged to continue pressing the workers' demands through other actions.

The rail strike had been one of a wave of strikes by public sector workers in France in recent months, fueled by outrage over the government's wage- and job-cutting austerity policies.

One-day protest strike in Argentina

Virtually no economic activity occurred in the industrial belt around Buenos Aires, Argentina's capital, January 26, as workers observed a 24-hour protest strike. Led by the General Confederation of Labor, it was called to protest the economic policies of President Raúl Alfonsín following the government's refusal to discuss wage demands.

It was the eighth such strike in Argentina since Alfonsín came to power in late 1983.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Get the Facts About Central America. Second annual state conference on Central America. Speakers: America Sosa, representative of Co-madres, the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared, and Assassinated of El Salvador; George Paris, cooperative and land development specialist for Federation of Southern Cooperatives, just returned from Nicaragua; Dr. Steven Shaffer, recently attended the In Search of Peace conference in El Salvador. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 1180 11th Ave. S. Sponsor: Birmingham Committee for Peace and Justice in Central America.

Malcolm X: His Lessons for Today. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 28, 7 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Reagan's War on Democratic Rights. Featuring the Woody Allen movie *The Front*, dealing with the witch-hunt in the 1950s, followed by a discussion on the attacks on our constitutional rights in the 1980s. Fri., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 2919 Date St. Donation: \$1. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

Crisis in the Philippines: Workers and Farmers Press Their Demands. Speakers: Emmanuel Fuentebella, photojournalist of the alternative press during the Marcos years; Mari Hawkes, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1125 and chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Francisco

Malcolm X for Today. Speakers: Oba T'Shaka, author of *The Political Legacy of Malcolm X*; Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 2244. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Scopes II: Creationism vs. Evolution. Speaker: Steven Fuchs, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

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

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Dateline: San Salvador. Video on May 1, 1986, demonstration in San Salvador. Speakers: Fernando Rodríguez, director of Salvadoran Trade Unionists Information Center; Robelo, Casa El Salvador; Cathy Gutekanst, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

The Struggle Against Apartheid Today. Speaker: Sahotra Sakar, former teacher at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College of the African National Congress in Tanzania. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Crisis in Meat-Packing: Which Way Forward for Workers? Speakers: Larry McClurg, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 431 at Hormel plant in Ottumwa; Rita Lewis, recording secretary, National Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers Local 50 at Swift plant in Marshalltown; Bob Langemeier, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska; Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party Iowa district organizer; speaker from Original Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 6 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Eyewitness Report from Cumming, Georgia. A panel discussion with participants in the January 24 antiracist march. Speakers: representatives of Socialist Workers Party, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 15, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

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. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

Who Will Change the World? Three classes on Malcolm X. Sat., Feb. 14, 21, 28, 4 p.m. 3640 Magazine St. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (504) 895-1961.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

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. Sponsor: 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. Sponsor: 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. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

South Africa In Revolt. Speaker: Aggrey Mbere, member of the African National Congress. Film showing of *Witness to Apartheid*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 107 Brighton Ave. Allston. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 787-0275.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop Racist Attacks: Report from Cumming, Georgia. Speaker: Claudia Echols, director, Detroit Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

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. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Generations of Resistance. Film on history of South African freedom struggle. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Blacks in America's Wars. Film showing of *No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger*, 1967 documentary about Black opposition to U.S. war in Vietnam. Fri., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Abortion Rights Under Attack: How to Fight Back. Speakers: Gen McGarvey, National Abortion Rights Action League; Colia Clark, graduate student in African and Afro-American Studies, SUNYA, and longtime civil-rights activist; Tammy Soper, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 114E Quail St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

How Cuba Uprooted Racism. Panel discussion: Harry Ring, staff writer for the *Militant*; others to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 13, Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

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

OHIO

Toledo

Rosie the Riveter. Film on women who worked in industrial trades during World War II. Discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum series. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Stop Racist Attacks — From Howard Beach to Southwest Philadelphia. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant

Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

The Civil War: Real Story of the Second American Revolution. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

District Elections in the City of Pittsburgh: a Discussion. Speakers: representatives of the Coalition for District Elections and of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

The Prison System: the Real Crime. First-hand report from a prison-reform activist. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Martin Luther King and the Fight Against Racism Today. Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: 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. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

U.S. Government in Crisis: Constitution Under Attack. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Room 19. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Stop Union-busting: Solidarity with Locked-out Workers at Lockheed. Speaker: Nate Ford, president of Boilermakers Union Local 104. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Report Back from the Georgia March Against Racism. Speaker: Rev. Sandy Drayton, president Charleston chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; others. Sat., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Bitter Cane: A feature-length film on the popular struggles of the people of Haiti. Discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St., Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Is Racism on the Rise? Panel discussion with Omari Musa, national leader of Socialist Workers Party, steelworker; Melvin Kinlow, Urban League; Jerome Sahir, Positive Image Bookstore. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 4704 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

Sounds like a capsule review — Responding to Chrysler's decision to yank its commercials from *Amerika*, the series about a Soviet "takeover" of the United States, ABC prez John Sias vowed,



Harry Ring

"We're going to run that program come rain, blood, or horse manure."

Besides, boys will be boys —

"We really have no control over what they do with their free time." — *Contra* honcho Leonardo Somarriba responding to revelations that pilots of gunlift planes were reloading with drugs for the return flight.

Everyone knows that — "Drug smuggling is against U.S. law and the CIA does not break U.S. law." — A CIA spokesperson responding to the gun-drug operations revelations.

On the tax front — "They took it. The IRS took my money. I got it from collecting cans, from doing my homework. I got it for Christmas." — Shannon Burns, 10, of San Jose, whose \$694 account was impounded by the feds trying to

recover back taxes from her dad. They said if they're satisfied the money really belongs to her, they'll let loose.

Catching up with reality? — "Except for professional criminals," says researcher S. Robert Lichter, "no one commits more crimes on prime-time television than the businessman." Noting that this is a response to a popular perception, an NBC exec adds, "Yuppies love businessmen, but generally the rest of the public suspects them of exploitation."

A thought — The above reminded us of the character in Bertold Brecht's *Three Penny Opera* who inquired, Who's the bigger thief, the bank robber or the bank

president?

The better to cut throats with — Reagan's program to step up U.S. business "competitiveness" includes a proposal to water down the law barring business bribes to foreign governments, plus new standards to lower product liability risk.

They eat more? — "Edwin Meese III ... told Reagan that a substantial pay increase was needed so as to recruit and retain the kind of conservative lawyers the administration is seeking for the federal bench." — News item.

Stoic — "Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.) wondered whether world market forces might make a

decline in the American standard of living inevitable." — News item.

Two-shirt standard — Janet Ryan filed a class-action suit against two San Francisco cleaners, accusing them of charging more to launder women's shirts than men's. The cleaners said their laundry sets the prices. The laundry said women's shirts don't always fit on the pressing machine and have to be hand ironed. They didn't say why they couldn't get another machine.

Thought for the week — "EPA does not know if it is controlling 90 percent of existing hazardous waste — or 10 percent." — A General Accounting Office study.

Kanak freedom fighters meet in New Caledonia

Continued from front page

all that they can to chase us out of the Pacific," said Gaston Slosse, president of the Territorial Government of French Polynesia and the French government's under-secretary of state for Pacific affairs.

In January, the French government expelled the Australian consul for New Caledonia, charging him with providing financial aid to the FLNKS. The charge is based on a supposed \$200,000 Australian grant to the Kanak Schools for Popular Education.

In Nouméa, the capital of New Caledonia, millionaire settler Jacques Lafleur exclaimed, "France does not have to account for its actions to these wretched little countries or to Australia and New Zealand." Lafleur, a landowner in New Caledonia and a deputy in the French National Assembly is reported to be connected to armed right-wing terrorists here.

In a further effort to block the growing international support for Kanak independence, the French authorities canceled visas for a 45-person delegation from New Zealand. The delegation was comprised of trade unionists, Black and Maori rights fighters, and peace activists. The tour was organized by the Kanak Solidarity Committee in New Zealand.

In response to the 1984-1985 uprising,

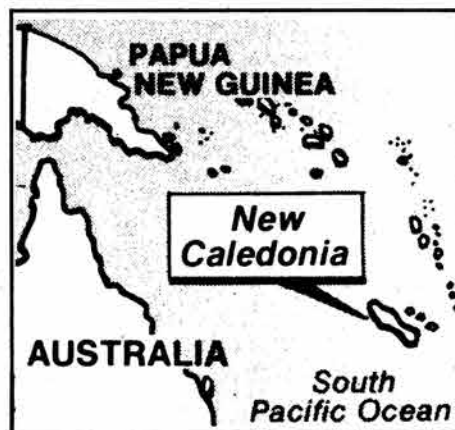
the French authorities have placed 7,000 troops on the island. There are extensive military and police checkpoints in the countryside, where the majority of the Kanaks live.

The busload of us who drove the length of the island to the congress was stopped on several occasions by the police and military. We had hardly left Nouméa, when the bus was first flagged down. Upon entering the bus, a French cop demanded the passports of all the whites.

We were again stopped on a deserted road at night. About 20 armed police and soldiers surrounded the bus and everyone was ordered off. The police copied down names and numbers from passports and identity papers.

The French government is expected to announce the conditions of the referendum soon. The main point of contention is over who is eligible to vote. French law requires only a six-month residency to vote in a national referendum. This would make tens of thousands of French civil servants and military personnel eligible to vote, including the 7,000 troops recently sent here.

The FLNKS has explained that it would participate in such a referendum on the condition that only those with at least one parent born in the country be eligible to vote.



Jean-Marie Tjibaou, leader of the FLNKS, explained, "We have adopted an extremely negotiable position. The problem is that now there are no more negotiations. After many requests we have been unable to get a timetable from the government for discussion of the issues."

"If the French continue to insist upon their scenario, it will only increase the tensions and accelerate the course of history," he said.

The congress adopted a resolution that said in part, "the FLNKS will mobilize all

of its militants, structures, and institutions to bring about the maximum pressure on the colonial government of France to accept the conditions for the referendum supported by the people, the international community, and the FLNKS. We make a special appeal to the international community for our cause of independence."

At a news conference after the congress, Tjibaou stressed that if France attempts to hold the referendum with voting eligibility based on French law, the people of Kanak and their organizations will actively boycott it.

Repeated physical attacks on the FLNKS and the garrisoning of French troops have raised the stakes in the struggle. But the resolve of the Kanaks is strong. As we left the congress, scores of people in the village raised their fists in the air and chanted.

The Kanaks in the bus on the way back sang spirited independence songs. One young woman asked why the Kanaks were chanting and singing, given the French military roadblocks.

"It is for our people in the villages along the way," a Kanak responded. "They know we have met in the congress and we want to show that we are determined."

Plebiscite in Philippines sparks intense debates

Continued from front page

ments in the military with kid gloves and compassion. Whatever happened to the soldiers who killed [previous KMP chairman] Rolando Olalia, to the marines and police butchers of Mendiola, and to the army mutineers? What will happen to the perpetrators of the massacre in the BEPZ?"

The mass-based organizations adopted a range of positions on the plebiscite. The KMP, KMP, the League of Philippine Students (LSP), and the KMK, a mass organization of the urban poor, campaigned for a no vote on the constitution.

The Communist Party of the Philippines condemned the constitution as "proimperialist and antipeople."

These organizations supported the provisions on human and civil rights, but criticized the provision allowing U.S. bases, the lack of measures for land reform, and the acceptance of the domination of U.S. and other foreign corporations over the economy and resources.

May 1 Movement national council member Elmer Labog told the *Militant* that defeating the constitution would have given

the working masses "more room to move to push through our demands. This is because the constitution would legitimize and strongly enforce the existing situation, for example, in regard to labor rights."

"For example, the constitution recognizes the right to strike, but adds, 'in accordance with the law and provisions that may be provided by law.' So while no new labor code has been established," Labog said, "this gives legitimacy to the old Marcos antilabor laws that are still in force."

"Above all, rejection of the constitution would give more legitimacy to the People's Power, which installed the Aquino government, as against constitutional or parliamentary power."

Bayan, an alliance of protest organizations, was unable to get agreement on its national council and opted for encouraging a "conscience vote" by its members. Gabriela, a large women's organization, did the same.

The Party of the Nation initially supported a "critical yes" but later called for postponing the plebiscite.

Aquino's electoral commission has barred the Party of the Nation from registering as a legal party with rights to participate in the 1987 legislative and local elections.

Some organizations that called for a no vote, such as the KMP and LSP, encouraged members to participate in poll watching to guard against intimidation or fraud by rightists.

At the February 3 news conference, Beltran said that the events of the previous week had prompted an even larger yes vote, as an expression of popular repudiation of the rightists.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 20¢
February 11, 1977

In the early morning hours of January 16 the government in Beijing moved to end 10 days of mass demonstrations in the capital's Tien An Men Square that had increasingly challenged the authority of the regime.

At the height of the demonstrations, on the weekend of January 8-9, hundreds of thousands of persons participated.

A significant minority of the crowd openly raised demands for free speech, the right to elect their own leaders, the reinstatement of [former deputy premier] Deng Xiaoping, the dropping of all charges against those arrested in the Tien An Men demonstration of April 1976, and the removal from party leadership of those responsible for suppressing that demonstration.

The current demonstrations provide the first indication of the profound and lasting impact of the April 1976 "Tien An Men incident" on Chinese politics, and can only be understood as a sequel to it.

Since the Tien An Men incident, Chairman Mao Zedong has died and those party leaders closest to him have been imprisoned — the so-called gang of four, headed by Mao's widow, Jiang Qing. The new leadership, headed by party Chairman Hua Guofeng, has moved sharply away from many of Mao's policies. It has promised a relaxation in the field of literature and art.



Unable to coerce or cajole the major Latin American nations at the recent Punta

del Este conference [of the Organization of American States] into endorsing its plan for diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba — which would pave the way for a new invasion — the Kennedy administration has been working feverishly since that setback to bring about the same result by different means.

On February 3 President John Kennedy proclaimed an embargo — to go into effect four days later — on what little trickle of trade still existed between the United States and Cuba. This long-expected measure had been delayed in the vain hope that it could be proclaimed in concert with the nations of Latin America at Punta del Este. Frustrated in this, Kennedy had to content himself with the claim, believed by no one, that the unilateral U.S. action was "in accordance with the decisions of the recent meeting of foreign ministers of the inter-American system at Punta del Este, Uruguay."

The embargo will halt exports to this country from Cuba of tobacco, some industrial molasses, and vegetables, all approximately worth \$35 million a year. Since export trade to Cuba from the United States was stopped a year ago by legal and extralegal measures, the recently imposed embargo will have no effect on Cuba other than depriving it of the \$35 million in U.S. dollars its exports brought in.

Those familiar with the facts found grim humor in that section of Kennedy's embargo order declaring that "on humanitarian grounds certain foodstuffs, medicines, and medical supplies" were excepted from the export ban. This same "exception" supposedly has been in effect for some time but the actual fact is that the sending of foodstuffs and medicine was made so difficult by the Washington "humanitarians" as to be virtually impossible.

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Racist enclaves under siege

The racist violence and antiracist protests in Georgia and New York City have attracted international attention and stirred considerable discussion about their significance.

Some commentators point to the Ku Klux Klan attack against peaceful demonstrators in Forsyth County and the lynching in Howard Beach as signs that there is a new upswing in racism and that the fight for Black rights is being pushed back.

Time magazine, for instance, headlined its article on the events, "Racism on the rise."

"Racist enclaves under siege" would have been more accurate, however. The recent protests mark advances, not setbacks, in the ongoing battle to put a spotlight on and uproot segregation and racist violence in every corner of the country.

In spite of a lot of talk and probes from the White House and many right-wingers, no reversal of the fundamental gains won by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s has occurred. Those battles destroyed the system of Jim Crow segregation in the Southern states and dealt big blows to racist segregation and discrimination throughout the country.

Efforts to chip away at these gains have not gotten very far.

The events in Forsyth County and Howard Beach have highlighted some of the most outrageous features of the racism that still remains deeply imbedded in our society today. But what is significant is that in both cases these enclaves are out of step with what a great many people have come to accept as morally and politically tolerable.

This is shown by the breadth of the protests that the racist attacks have provoked. Some 30,000 antiracist protesters from many parts of the country marched in Forsyth County January 24 on one week's notice. They included Blacks and whites, unionists and students, and people from many other walks of life.

The Howard Beach lynching has also stirred widespread anger and protests among both Blacks and whites in New York.

Violent attacks in Forsyth County don't signify a new upsurge of racism there. Racist terror has been an established feature of life in that county for many years. In 1912, white mobs lynched three Blacks for allegedly raping a white woman. The vigilantes then drove hundreds of Blacks from the county and stole their farms and land. Ever since then the county has been virtually off limits to Blacks.

Forsyth County is one of the pockets in the South where the mass movement that shattered Jim Crow segregation had little immediate impact. Now this one-time Klan bastion is being challenged not only by Blacks and their allies from around the country, but by a growing number of whites who live there.

This offensive takes place in the context of some other changes that have been occurring in the county. Industry is growing, the population is expanding, and an increasing number of Blacks work, do business, or just pass

through the county. Blacks and their allies are determined to end a racist setup that blocks them from exercising their basic legal rights.

The Howard Beach lynching did not signal a new rise of racism in New York City either. In recent years alone, many similar incidents have occurred, ranging from the murder of transit worker Willie Turks in Brooklyn by a racist gang to the shooting of four Black youths by subway vigilante Bernhard Goetz. In each case the victim's crime — as in Howard Beach — was being Black.

Anger against these outrages has been building up, especially in the Black community. With the transparently clear case of the lynching in Howard Beach, this anger exploded. Moreover, the cops and city officials proved unable to cover up what had happened or divert attention to other issues, as they have done in so many other cases.

City and state officials were forced to drop their initial attempts to soft-pedal prosecution of the lynchers and pin the blame on the victims and their lawyers for this.

The drive by Blacks and their allies to open up whites-only pockets of racist segregation such as Howard Beach and Forsyth County is vitally important. There is nothing benign about such enclaves. They are not merely unsavory remnants of a reactionary past.

Such enclaves are a malignant source of racist violence and bastions of institutionalized discrimination against Blacks today. They reproduce, reinforce, and spread race hatred and race prejudice. They are prime recruiting grounds for racist, anti-Semitic, and antilabor gangs like the Ku Klux Klan.

The mobilization of Ku Klux Klan scum from across the country to try to keep Forsyth County white showed the high stakes they placed on this battle.

Opening up such enclaves and putting an end to their whites-only character extends and consolidates the basic democratic rights of Blacks. And this deals a blow to reaction everywhere. These advances strengthen the fight of women against discrimination and prejudice. And they are a vital part of defending the democratic rights of the unions and strengthening working-class unity against the employers.

It takes more than goodwill or education to put a stop to racist practices in places like Forsyth County or Howard Beach where racists have grown accustomed to acting with impunity. The 30,000 protesters in Georgia demanded that the county, state, and federal authorities firmly enforce the law of the land — the right of Blacks to travel, use restaurants or other public facilities, work, or live freely and safely in Forsyth County. This fight continues.

In New York City, marches and other protests are needed to make sure that the state and local authorities prosecute and punish to the full extent of the law every member of the lynch gang that took the life of Michael Griffith.

Every union, Black rights, student, church, women's rights, and antiwar organization should be part of the fight to bring the assailants to justice.

Koch goes wrong on the facts

Since the attack on three Blacks by a white gang in Howard Beach that led to the death of Michael Griffith, New York Mayor Edward Koch has repeatedly struck a single theme. Whites, he claims, are as likely to be the victims of racist attacks by Blacks as Blacks by whites.

"We will not advance racial understanding," he declared in a January 19 column in the *New York Times*, "unless we also attempt to come to grips with the fear of crime in general and white fear of black crime in particular."

He goes on to denounce "racism in its many forms" and to deny that racial "fears — among either blacks or whites — justify stereotyping, discrimination and violence."

In a December 28 appearance at a church in the Black community, Koch made the same claim. If three white men were walking in Harlem after midnight, he asked the audience, "Do you believe they would be absolutely safe?"

This is an outrageous response to the lynching in Howard Beach. Instead of pressing for the punishment of the attackers, Koch *speculates* about *alleged* racist violence by Blacks against whites. By equating real, live white racist lynchers with imaginary Black racist lynchers, Koch

dodges his responsibility to enforce the law to the hilt in prosecuting those guilty of the attack in Howard Beach.

In refuting Koch's assertions, it isn't necessary to take apart his erroneous theories about racism in our society, although that job should be done. In this case, simply examining the facts is enough.

Koch cites no examples of whites being lynched by Blacks in New York. That's because there aren't any. There is no case of a white being mobbed and lynched in Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant because of their skin color.

In New York City alone, however, many Blacks in recent years have been beaten, shot, or killed by racist gangs, cops, or individual vigilantes such as Bernhard Goetz for no other reason than the color of their skin is black.

Whites in the United States have never been the victims of institutionalized racism backed up by the cops or courts. Blacks have been and continue to be the victims of such racist discrimination.

This fact underlies the racist attack in Howard Beach.

Koch's pious denunciations of "racism in its many forms" are an obstacle to the fight to bring the Howard Beach lynchers to justice.

What foreign policy is in best interest of Soviet workers?

BY DOUG JENNESS

The Soviet Union today remains a country where capitalists no longer rule. And the state property relations established there by working people nearly 70 years ago continue to arouse great hostility from the ruling families in Europe, North America, and Japan.

Since World War II more than a dozen other countries have abolished capitalism, and every sign indicates that we are living in a transitional epoch between capitalism and socialism.

Yet imperialism, despite its decline and the continuing challenges to it, remains at this point the dominant economic system on the planet.

Within this world context, what foreign policy best advances the interests of working people in the USSR? What course will most effectively defend, deepen, and extend the conquests workers and farmers have already made in that country?

The revolutionary leadership of the Soviet government, in its early years when V.I. Lenin was alive, made the class struggle on a world scale the starting point of its foreign affairs.

It counted on the advances of the exploited and oppressed internationally to push back the imperialists and

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

make more difficult their attempts to roll back the revolutionary gains in the Soviet Union.

Victories of workers and farmers in other countries, this leadership said, would be a positive impulse for helping working people in the USSR move toward socialism.

Conversely, it recognized that victories by the exploiting classes would weaken all working people and further isolate Soviet Russia.

The young workers' and peasants' republic fought for the right to an independent existence in a hostile capitalist world and at the same time attempted to do what it could to advance the socialist revolution and national liberation struggles in other countries.

For this reason, the early Soviet leaders placed a high priority on working closely with revolutionaries from other countries to help provide leadership internationally to the exploited and oppressed.

The logic of this approach will make sense to many militant and politically aware unionists in this country today. They know from their own experiences that when they are in a battle with the employers, their fight is stronger if the boss is under siege from other workers too. And that victories won by workers in other plants and industries are a boost to them. Advances by farmers, Blacks, antiwar fighters, and others struggling for social justice also aid their fight.

A union leadership that has no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole will immediately embrace all new fights by working people and will draw strength from them.

This simple axiom is still the right one for the Soviet Union today. However, it was dumped by the parasitic caste that usurped power in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and the 1930s.

This caste has its own interests — social and economic privileges and bureaucratic domination — that are different from and opposed to those of working people. And it tenaciously defends these interests. Its outlook is consequently narrow, self-seeking, and provincial.

This bureaucratic layer doesn't draw strength and inspiration from revolutionary struggles. To the contrary it is threatened by and fears them. It thrives on stability and attempts to establish a live-and-let-live relationship with the imperialist governments, even at the price of undercutting struggles of the exploited and oppressed. (Many examples can be cited from the last 60 years that illustrate this. And next week I'll take up one or two of them.)

At the same time, the caste derives its sustenance from the social foundations established by working people and maintains the pretense of supporting workers' interests. It is subject, therefore, to pressure from working-class and national liberation struggles and may be forced to support measures that aid them.

Union fighters will recognize a rough parallel here with the policies of the bureaucrats in their own unions.

Labor officials generally have their own privileged positions to maintain and prefer to find some accommodation with the employers rather than lead an effective fight against them.

Yet, when the struggle between the workers and employers heats up the same officials may be forced, in order to retain their positions, to support measures pushed by the workers.

Eventually, however, as workers take over their own unions and use them to fight for their own interests, the well-heeled officialdom that lives off the dues of paying members will be pushed aside.

And likewise, the parasitic caste will be forced to go when working people in the Soviet Union wage a fight to carry out class-struggle policies at home and abroad.

Violent attacks inside UAW weaken the union

BY JOE ALLOR
AND JEFF POWERS

In September the U.S. Department of Labor filed suit against the United Auto Workers union (UAW) charging irregularities in last June's election for Region 5 director. In that election Ken Worley defeated Jerry Tucker

UNION TALK

in voting by Region 5 delegates held at the UAW national convention in Anaheim, California.

Region 5 is the largest geographical district in the UAW, encompassing Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

The Labor Department's suit is the third filed over the election. The suits, which are based on complaints from Tucker, charge that delegates who voted in the Region 5 election were improperly selected; that union funds were misused; that Tucker was fired from his post as sub-district director after deciding to challenge Worley; and that Worley's backers used systematic violence and racist and sexist intimidation against supporters of Tucker.

Most of what has been written about the Region 5 election has centered on Jerry Tucker, and the New Directions Caucus he set up as a way of organizing his campaign for the directorship.

Tucker began his career in the UAW when he went to work at the Carter Carburetor plant in St. Louis in 1962. Rising rapidly through the union bureaucracy, he was appointed to the Community Action Program (CAP) staff in Washington, D.C., in 1972.

In 1980, he headed "Labor for Kennedy" in Edward

Kennedy's unsuccessful bid for the Democratic Party presidential nomination.

He returned to St. Louis in the early 1980s as assistant to Region 5 director Worley. Tucker says the plan was for him to replace Worley, currently the oldest member of the UAW Executive Board, when he retired.

The New Directions Caucus was founded in Oklahoma City last March. Tucker says his caucus members have been consistent supporters of the union's top leadership until "the recent past."

Although the caucus' literature is generally vague, it does address some of the problems facing auto workers. This includes expressing concern about company plans to reduce job classifications and limit seniority rights and "company schemes which send thousands of jobs out of our plants to nonunion employers."

On balance, however, Tucker and New Directions have not put forward a program fundamentally different from that of UAW President Owen Bieber.

"I'm not a radical," Tucker explains. "I am not strike happy. In fact, I tell people not to go on strike."

Tucker is often described as an innovative labor leader. He claims he developed the theory of running a plant backwards. This entails staying in the plant past the contract expiration date, but working slowly, misdirecting parts, and organizing sick-outs, particularly by workers in the skilled trades.

At the Anaheim convention, national UAW staffers were organized to meet with all Region 5 delegates to pressure them into voting for Worley.

Tucker was supported by virtually all the Black and female delegates at the convention. He has since supplied the Labor Department with copies of the leaflet Worley supporters distributed there. It contained racist slurs

about Tucker, who is white and married to a Black woman.

A woman from Texas who supported Tucker also told the Labor Department that two men wearing Worley jackets pulled her into a corner at the convention and that one of them "punched me in the stomach with his fist."

When time came to vote, two sergeants-at-arms, claiming to represent a local which had not had a delegate election, cast votes for Worley helping to throw the election his way.

Physical attacks have continued since the convention, including an attack on Tucker backers at a St. Louis CAP Council meeting.

The UAW membership has a big stake in fighting to make the union as democratic as possible. Only in an atmosphere free from threats and intimidation can adequate discussion of how to fight back against the employers' assaults take place. Racist and sexist attacks must be condemned by all union members. And the violence must also be halted. Only the employers are served by such attacks that weaken and divide the union.

In light of the situation, there needs to be a speedy resolution of the Labor Department suits. The quickest remedy would be for Bieber to call a new election that would give all union members in the region a chance to vote. But the top officials at Solidarity House are determined to prevent that from happening.

Getting the facts out about what is happening in Region 5 to as many union members as possible can have a substantial impact on turning the situation around.

Joe Allor is a member of UAW Local 110 in Fenton, Missouri. Jeff Powers is a member of UAW Local 93 in Kansas City, Missouri.

LETTERS

Threat to our rights

I enjoy reading the *Militant* very much. I especially enjoy the column "Learning About Socialism" by Doug Jenness.

In the January 16 issue his article referred to the leadership in this country. I believe we are being led into bondage.

Our constitutional rights are being eroded at a rapid pace. Police may now force entry into one's home without a warrant. Police may arrest and detain a person without bail. Police may refuse to tell the arrested person why he or she is being arrested. Police may confiscate all properties of the person in custody.

Edwin Meese, the U.S. attorney general, is now challenging the right of having an attorney present while a detained person is being questioned.

I believe we the people must unite. We must gain back the leadership of this nation from the capitalists. Should we not, we may indeed find ourselves in capitalist bondage.

J.B.
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Hats and jackets

I am a member of United Mine Workers Local 2147. It came up at our last meeting that we couldn't find a union company to buy hats and jackets from for our local. If anyone out there can help, please send the information to me.

Leslie Heulett
Rt. 1, Box 27
Rock Cove, W.Va. 26234

Trip to Soviet Union

I really appreciated the in-depth coverage the *Militant* has been giving the Soviet Union lately. When I visited that country two years ago, I found diverse political views among the handful of people that spoke to me in the street.

After avoiding a few black marketers, I met some young Ukrainian nationalists, and finally, a genuine internationalist and Leninist.

People refrained from raising Soviet political, cultural, social, or economic problems until they decided I was political. Then they were quite open.

Discussion centered around four issues. 1. Being watched by

the KGB or being denied job advancement for talking to foreigners. 2. Inadequate housing space, such as a family living in a single large room, sharing a kitchen, bath, and phone with neighbors. 3. Bureaucratic privileges. 4. The war in Afghanistan.

The Ukrainians I talked to agreed that the planned economy was a conquest of the revolution and had an almost religious respect for Lenin.

However, they were quite skeptical about whether nonbureaucratized revolutionary leaderships held governmental power anywhere in the world. They also had some illusions about U.S. capitalism. One asked me, "But hasn't Reagan done some good things for America economically?"

Later, it was a pleasant surprise to meet someone who thought Fidel Castro to be "the leading revolutionary in the world today."

He was also of the opinion that most workers in the Soviet Union would like to return to a form of socialism like that under Lenin.

Jim Miles
Chicago, Illinois

Union solidarity

Textile workers in Oregon continue to support meat-packers not yet recalled by Hormel after the year-long strike in Austin, Minnesota.

When two locals of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) here in Portland received a letter requesting funds for Christmas toys for children of Hormel workers, both locals responded.

At Local 402T, which represents 250 workers in an industrial-bag plant, the December union meeting voted unanimously to circulate a petition supporting the right of Hormel workers to get their jobs back.

A couple of workers were skeptical about collecting money and felt we had done enough already, but they found out people are still willing to give money and support the struggle. The union obtained permission to ask workers to sign while working.

About 160 workers on three shifts signed the petition. One Vietnamese worker explained to



"You may remain silent. If you do, we will beat a confession out of you with rubber hoses. You may scream for an attorney, but this will go against you in court..."

some of her friends what the struggle was about, after which they signed and gave money.

At Local 127, which represents 24 workers in another bag plant, nine members signed. One woman signed immediately because she has relatives in Ottumwa, Iowa, where workers were fired for honoring a roving picket line in solidarity with the Austin strike. She said she understood what they went through.

Around \$80 was collected at both plants.
Robbie Fisher, ACTWU Local 402T
Markie Wilson, ACTWU Local 127
Portland, Oregon

Farm crisis

I would like to renew my subscription if you would do some articles on farmers and the farm crisis in the United States and Canada weekly. You may think this is not important. In that case my subscription is not important.

J.B.
Green Springs, Ohio

Haiti

I am writing because the links between people fighting for the cause of the proletariat should be maintained.

The first few books you helped us get have accomplished their educational task, for they are circulating among a number of friends. It would be good if you could help us obtain more books

on communism as soon as possible, and in as great a quantity as possible. Books are necessary and we need more.

R.N.
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Subscription request

I have been advised that the *Militant* is very informative in regards to the political arena the world over. I am an indigent prisoner. I therefore respectfully request you to furnish me with some issues of the *Militant* without financial obligation. I hope this request is not an inconvenience, but rather a sign that there are individuals as well as organizations who both recognize the need and are searching for the truth.

A prisoner
Attica, New York

Soviet series

Just a brief message to inform you that I think the series you're doing on the Soviet Union is an excellent idea. I read the first part on whether the Soviet Union was a capitalist country and I thought the author, Doug Jenness, was correct in his denunciation of such an absurd proposition [January 23 *Militant*].

I am looking forward to next week's issue on whether the Soviet Union is an imperialist country.
A prisoner
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

World affairs

I am writing in regard to your paper the *Militant*. I began reading your well-informed, worldwide paper after getting another inmate's copy in the prison where I'm now incarcerated. I was given the address and decided to write.

I was wondering if it would be possible for you to send me some copies of the *Militant*.

Since I've been reading the paper, I have become more aware of the problems they face in other countries, as well as the ones in this country. Reading about socialism, antiwar protests, etc., makes me more concerned and more interested in world and national affairs.

A prisoner
Lucasville, Ohio

Correction

In editing, an error was introduced in the article, "Militant," "PM" popular with brigade," in our February 6 issue. The brigade member identified as "a commercial fisherman working in Alaska" would have been more accurately described as "a woman who fishes commercially in Alaska."

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.

ANC's Tambo meets with Shultz

White House acknowledges ANC is 'important player'

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, met in Washington January 28 with Secretary of State George Shultz. It was the highest level meeting ever held between a leader of the insurgent ANC and an official of the U.S. government.

The very fact that it took place at all was significant. As Tambo stressed, the meeting "represents recognition that the ANC is there to be reckoned with."

Shultz himself has admitted that the ANC is "an important player" in South African politics. This is a relatively recent acknowledgement on Washington's part.

Shultz' accusations

At the same time, however, Shultz made clear during the nearly hour-long meeting that the U.S. authorities remain opposed to the struggle led by the ANC.

Shultz continued to press the U.S. propaganda line that the ANC is a "terrorist," "communist dominated" organization that takes its orders from Moscow. According to State Department spokesperson Charles Redman, Shultz "laid out our concerns about the degree of Soviet influence in the ANC" and the group's use of arms. He suggested that the ANC aimed to replace the apartheid regime with "another form of unrepresentative government."

Similar charges were leveled by some conservative groups and congresspeople, who formed a "Coalition Against ANC Terrorism" and organized a small demonstration against Tambo's visit. They were echoed as well by editorials and articles in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and other big-business newspapers.

'We choose not to submit'

Tambo had already answered such accusations before the meeting with Shultz, in his several public addresses around the country.

The ANC president reaffirmed the group's right to receive aid from any country that offered it, including the Soviet Union. He insisted that every true opponent of apartheid, including those with communist views, had a right to belong to the ANC and to take part in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Explaining why the ANC resorted to armed action, Tambo declared in a speech in Washington, "Apartheid is inherently a practice of violence. We choose not to submit but fight back, arms in hand. We have no alternative but to intensify our armed resistance because, as your Declaration of Independence says, in the face of systematic tyranny, it becomes a duty and a right to take up arms."

Tambo made the same points during his meeting with Shultz, he and other ANC leaders explained afterward. He likewise called on Washington to impose more economic sanctions against Pretoria and to press its allies in Western Europe to do the same. He criticized the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime.

U.S. reluctance

Although the White House's fundamental stance toward the ANC has not altered, its decision to have someone of Shultz' standing meet with Tambo does mark a certain shift.

For years, the U.S. authorities have sought to ignore and dismiss the ANC, claiming that it did not represent the aspirations of South Africa's Black majority. They chose instead to praise the apartheid regime's fraudulent reforms.

When U.S. officials met with any Black figures in South Africa, it was with the likes of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a key collaborator of the apartheid regime, whose armed thugs have terrorized and murdered

anti-apartheid activists in the Durban area. The White House portrayed him as a "moderate" and feted him during his frequent visits to the United States.

But as the struggle in South Africa has escalated, the ANC's deep roots among the vast majority of South Africans have become ever more obvious. ANC flags, symbols, and slogans have been displayed at innumerable meetings, funerals, and protest demonstrations — despite the fact that the organization is outlawed.

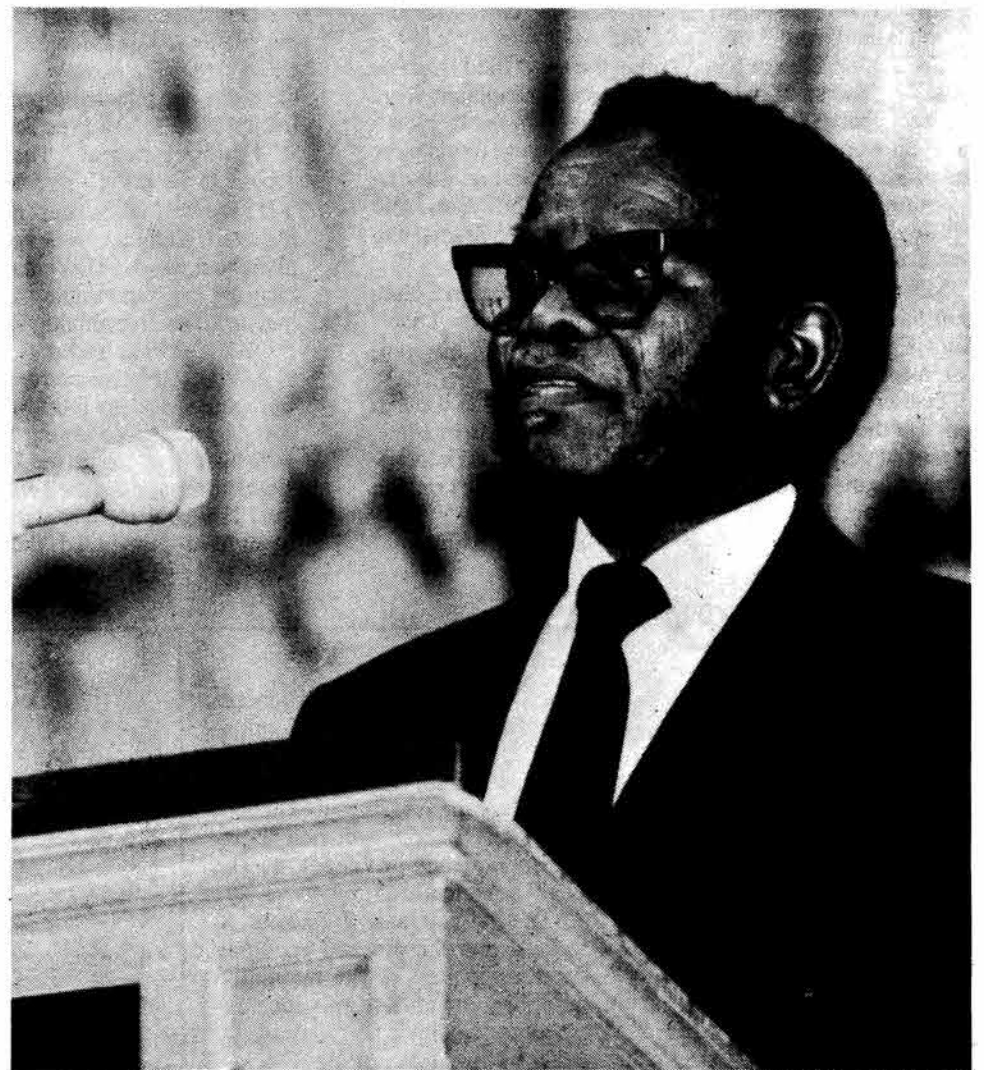
Over the past year, scores of South Africans, including prominent white professors, businessmen, church officials, and political figures, have held discussions with ANC leaders, to hear their views directly.

Recognition of the ANC's leadership role has also grown internationally. So has outright support for the organization and its aims.

Washington's refusal even to meet with the ANC thus became more difficult to sustain. It raised the political costs of the continued U.S. ties with Pretoria and undercut Washington's pretense of playing a "mediating" role in the region.

While U.S. officials have now reluctantly agreed to talk with the ANC, they have not pulled back from their basic alliance with Pretoria. During his recent six-country tour of Africa, Shultz reiterated Washington's opposition to sweeping economic sanctions against South Africa and said that he still endorsed "constructive engagement."

That U.S. policy, Tambo said a few days before meeting Shultz, "has served the purposes of apartheid."



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Oliver Tambo speaking at New York's Riverside Church

Tambo gets 'rapturous welcome' on tour

As a crowd of 1,200 people in Chicago's Operation PUSH auditorium linked arms and sang "We Shall Overcome," African National Congress (ANC) President Oliver Tambo walked into a "rapturous welcome," as he described it.

Tambo was escorted in by Jesse Jackson, the former head of PUSH. A representative from Mayor Harold Washington's office read a proclamation declaring the day, January 24, "South African Freedom Day" and presented Tambo with a key to the city.

"We know we shall be free," Tambo told the audience, "because [South African President Pieter] Botha and his crowd have begun to quarrel among themselves like thieves. . . . The gun will not save him."

Tambo talked at some length about the unity of Black peoples on both sides of the ocean and the need for unity in the struggle against apartheid.

"The establishment of the ANC in 1912 was the beginning of the fight for decolonization," he said. Through that fight, "our brothers in America were our inspiration and today you continue to be. With the American people on our side, with the workers and youth, the intelligentsia and churches organized against the apartheid system, it is just a matter of time."

The audience raised more than \$10,000 as a donation for the ANC.

The next day, January 25, nearly 400 residents of the Washington, D.C., area braved near-zero temperatures and more than one foot of snow to greet Tambo in that city.

Tambo pointed to the changes since his last visit to Washington in 1985, including the protests and arrests at the South African embassy and the nationwide upsurge of anti-apartheid activity. It was this, he stressed, that pushed the Congress and U.S. government to impose some economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Tambo called for an end to the growing

U.S. and South African alliance in support of the counterrevolutionary UNITA forces in Angola.

Referring to his scheduled meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, Tambo said, "We know the American people have understood our struggle. We have come to explain our positions to those who do not yet understand."

The day before Tambo's arrival in the capital, some 300 people celebrated the ANC's 75th anniversary at a reception and rally sponsored by dozens of national and local organizations.

Contributing to this report were Tom O'Brien in Chicago and Ike Nahem in Washington.

L.A. protest hits arrests of nine supporters of Palestinian struggle

BY LYNN LESNICK

LOS ANGELES — A meeting of 100 voiced outrage at the arrests here of eight people of Arab descent and the Kenya-born wife of one of them. The nine face deportation.

They are charged with being supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. According to government officials, they are subject to deportation because the PFLP is "an avowed revolutionary group."

The February 1 meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Justice formed to fight the deportations.

The arrests have been portrayed as a crackdown on terrorism. But one official conceded to the *Washington Post* that FBI agents "found no information that they were about to commit a violent act. . . . They were not able to prove a conspiracy."

"It's a violation of human rights," declared the Southern California director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "They were picked up from their beds. This is America. We feel outrage."

James Zogby, executive director of the Arab-American Institute, said the arrests

amounted to "FBI harassment of Arab-Americans." He said the political grounds for the deportation move were a threat to every immigrant or visitor who opposes U.S. policies.

One of those arrested is Khader Musa Hamide, a graduate student who recently applied for U.S. citizenship. Khader has publicly opposed U.S. intervention in Central America and was a delegate to the national convention of the Rainbow Coalition headed by Jesse Jackson.

The other victims include Julie Nyan-gugi Mungab, Amjad Mustafa Obeid, Ayman Mustafa Obeid, Aiad Khaled Barakat, Michael Ibrahim Nasif Shehadeh, and Nain Nadim Sharif.

Sponsors of the Committee for Justice include Los Angeles City Council members Robert Farrell and Jackie Goldberg; the American Civil Liberties Union; National Lawyers Guild; National Association of Arab-Americans; National Rainbow Coalition; attorneys William Kunstler and Ramsey Clark; Rabbi Elmer Berger; Center for Constitutional Rights; and others.

The committee has called for a national vigil for justice on February 17, the date set for deportation hearings.