

Rallies celebrate ANC's unbanning in S. Africa



Residents of Alexandria township, outside of Johannesburg, celebrate the February 2 unbanning of the African National Congress at a rally prior to a march of more than 50,000 to the Alexandria Civic Centre where they demanded the resignation of the town councillors.

BY GREG McCARTAN

"I have a very important message: the ANC has been unbanned!"

The crowd of several thousand anti-apartheid protesters outside the parliament build-

See editorial on page 14

ing in Cape Town responded with cheers of "Viva ANC!" They had just learned of South African President F.W. de Klerk's February 2 announcement unbanning the African National Congress and ending a battery of apartheid's repressive laws.

The protest then became a victory march through the city, with demonstrators carrying posters calling for the immediate release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and an end to apartheid.

The February 2 decision also lifted the banning orders on the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Restrictions on the United

Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and 60 other organizations were ended.

De Klerk promised "to release Mr. Mandela unconditionally." A date for his release would be set soon, he said. The ANC leader has been imprisoned since 1962.

The steps represent the most sweeping reversal of the policies of the apartheid regime since the early 1960s.

The ANC and PAC were outlawed in 1960, the SACP in 1950. The ruling allows the organizations to function openly inside the

Continued on Page 11

Cubans welcome crew fired on by U.S. ship

BY CINDY JAQUITH

HAVANA, Cuba — On less than 24 hours notice, more than 100,000 people gathered here outside the U.S. Interests Section February 1 to give a heroes' welcome to the 11 crew members of the Cuban merchant ship *Hermann*.

The day before, in an unprovoked attack, the U.S. Coast Guard had fired nearly 500 rounds at the ship in the Gulf of Mexico in an attempt to sink it. The deadly assault failed and the *Hermann* made it to Mexican waters safely.

"Many people ask what a hero is," Cuban President Fidel Castro told the crowd. "Here you have such heroes... simple men of the people."

"These 11 men show us that here in Cuba there are millions of men and women made of the stuff of heroes," he said.

Castro addressed the crowd along with several of the crew members and leaders of Cuba's youth, student, and trade union movements. Cubans from all walks of life came to honor the crew, including many members of the merchant marine union and students from Cuba's naval academy.

The *Hermann*, leased by the Cuban government from Panama, was on route from Cuba to Tampico, Mexico, with a load of chrome. On January 29 a U.S. plane began

Continued on Page 5

Eastern strikers build March 4 events

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Machinists union members on strike against Eastern Airlines and their supporters are stepping up their activities as the one-year anniversary of their struggle approaches. On March 4, 1989, some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines and launched a battle against the company's drive to break the union and impose concessions.

The strikers have targeted this coming March 4 as a day when thousands around the country can show their support and join in

the fight. Strikers and their supporters, buoyed by the almost daily news of the carrier's financial troubles, are taking the offensive in an effort to rout Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo. Texas Air is the parent company of Eastern and Continental airlines.

With about three weeks to go, strike centers in several cities report that anniversary actions and celebrations have been called. In some areas expanded picket lines and stepped-up outreach are being organized to build for the March 4 weekend.

Closer to a breakthrough

In New York, a letter urging support for a "Solidarity Celebration" was sent out by Ted Jacobsen, secretary of the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council; Leroy Washington, general chairman of IAM District 100; and Lenny Lewis, of AFL-CIO Region 7 to all union affiliates. Strikers "are now entering a critical period," the letter said, "The length and unity of the machinists' strike is finally bringing Eastern's operation to the breaking point. Contrary to media reports, they are closer today to a breakthrough than at any point in the strike."

The letter invited unionists to attend a planning meeting February 8 to organize support for the IAM and AFL-CIO's March 4 solidarity action.

The noontime event will take place in the parking lot in front of the Continental Airlines hangar at La Guardia Airport. Speakers already confirmed include Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), and Jan Pierce, vice-president of District 1 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA).

The first biweekly expanded picket line on

February 3 brought out more than 125 unionists from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ACTWU, the IAM locals at United and Trans World Airlines, Local 1-2 of the Utility Workers Union at Con Edison, and others.

Strikers have crisscrossed the city, speaking at union meetings and political events and winning renewed support for their fight. Some of their stops have included the transit workers union, United Transportation Union Local 77, the printing trades union, the executive board of CWA Local 1182, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 6, the Hispanic Coalition of Labor Union Women, an English-language class organized by the ILGWU, the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee, and others.

Striking IAM Local 1018 members from La Guardia have also extended solidarity by joining the picket line of garment workers on strike against the Domsey Co. in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, where a predominantly Haitian and Latino work force are fighting unfair labor practices.

A March 3 picket and rally has been called in Philadelphia at Terminal C Departures of the Philadelphia International Airport. IAM Local 1776 is producing anniversary T-shirts and buttons, reaching out to the labor movement with a regional mailing, and speaking at other union meetings to build the 1:30 p.m. event.

Detroit IAM Local 141 members are planning a celebration of workers' solidarity and the anniversary of the strike to be held March 2 at United Auto Workers Local 174's hall. UAW Region 1A and the Metro Labor Council of the AFL-CIO are joining the Machinists local in sponsoring the event. Members of the United Mine Workers of America on

Continued on Page 7

Curtis supporters in Geneva for UN human rights meet

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

GENEVA, Switzerland — An international delegation of Mark Curtis Defense Committee supporters arrived here February 6 for the 46th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife from Des Moines, Iowa, heads the delegation and is accompanied by defense committee leaders John Studer and John Gaige, as well as supporters from Britain, Canada, and France. The delegation's arrival marks the launching of a long-term campaign to bring Mark Curtis' case before the United Nations.

Curtis, a unionist and political activist, was convicted in 1988 on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. He is currently serving a 25-year jail term at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa.

The UN Commission on Human Rights, which has been in session since January 29 and ends March 9, is composed of represen-

tatives from the governments of 43 countries and observers from another 80. Liberation movements, including the African National Congress of South Africa and the Palestine Liberation Organization, also have observer status. The commission is the main body of the UN concerned with the protection and promotion of human rights.

In addition to government delegations, many independent organizations, known as Non-Governmental Organizations, participate in the activities of the commission. They include groups such as Amnesty International, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and the International Association Against Torture. NGOs aid the commission by investigating and reporting on cases of human rights violations. They also lobby member delegations to place cases on the commission's agenda and to help shape policy statements.

Continued on Page 4

No paper has more coverage of fight at Eastern

BY RONI McCANN

On March 4, 1989, members of the International Association of Machinists, backed by sympathy strikes of pilots and flight attendants, struck

— a statement no other daily or weekly paper can make.

Since March 4 the battle at Eastern has been front-page news in 75 percent of *Militant's* issues. In



GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

Frank Lorenzo's Eastern Airlines. One year later, as striking IAM members organize and plan for big, visible anniversary actions at airports around the United States, they are stronger than ever.

During the last year Eastern strikers have won new allies in the labor movement, hooked up with fighting coal miners and telephone workers, renewed their confidence in themselves and other workers, and, through their actions, weakened Lorenzo.

At every turn, the *Militant* has reported on this important labor battle from the picket lines, information tables, strike headquarters, and solidarity rallies near and far.

Beginning the week before the strike began, every issue of the *Militant*, except for a special, unscheduled printing in December after the United States invaded Panama, has carried news on the Eastern strike

mid-May a regular column on Eastern strike support activities was launched to supplement the other strike coverage.

Moreover, in the period leading up to the last year's battle, the *Militant* carried reports on Lorenzo's "reign of terror."

"The *Militant* is a wonderful tool to convey the message of solidarity. I wish more people would buy it to get the information from it," said Frank Planinac, president of IAM Local Lodge 1044 and member of the Eastern Airlines strike committee at the Greater Pittsburgh International Airport.

"I haven't found any untrue statements in it. It's the truth. There's no distortion, no false hope either. It's what's happening," he added. "It's the best tool week by week, trying to convey to the people how important it is to fight."

The *Militant* is oriented to the



Miami 1989. Selling the *Militant* to Eastern strike supporters.

most important working-class battles unfolding here and internationally. It's not only the place to get news on the Eastern strike, but also where to get news on the widening resistance to union-busting by coal miners, ambulance workers fighting back in Britain, the crisis facing family farmers in New Zealand, and the rail workers' victory in South Africa.

The facts about fights workers and farmers are engaged in world-

wide are hard to come by — and having these facts is necessary and valuable to working people as we go into the 1990s. This is why every *Militant* reader will want to renew their subscription right now.

Renewing now will ensure that readers don't miss one week of news on the battle at Eastern — a battle we can all help win. By keeping up with the weekly news on the Machinists' fight, readers can better in-

form other workers on the strike and help build support.

"We're on the subscription list here because we've found the *Militant* very informative in covering strike activities on a weekly basis, both with graphic coverage as far as reporting content and also photographs," said Bill Schenck, a retired Grand Lodge representative of the IAM in North Carolina and an Eastern strike activist.

"Many of our members on the picket line in Greensboro have subscribed for that reason, and we encourage others to subscribe on that basis."

Among *Militant* subscribers are hundreds of trade unionists and other workers who follow the battle being waged by IAM members at Eastern and will be interested in hearing from *Militant* supporters in their area as they make calls and visits during our four-week renewal campaign.

Richard Lefteris, strike coordinator and IAM Local 641 president in Greensboro, North Carolina, reported on preparations for March 4 activities. The *Militant* plays an important role in getting out the facts, he said. "We get more information from the *Militant* than anywhere."

"It's tremendous. If strikers don't get it, we get them to sign up. Many strikers comment on how good the *Militant* reports are, and I see things in there that are always news to me," said Lefteris.

New York mayor calls for social services cuts

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — Asking New Yorkers to make "sacrifices," Mayor David Dinkins unveiled his 1991 proposed budget on February 1. The \$27.8 billion plan calls for cuts in social services that will lead to layoffs and slashing wages. The mayor also called for increasing personal income tax and other taxes.

Praising Dinkins' plan, City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman said, "It is essential that the budget burden be shared equitably." Yet the recently elected mayor's budget includes no mention of sacrifices or cuts from the rich bondholders and bankers who absorb millions of dollars of the city's income.

The budget calls for a \$226 million reduction in spending by cutting library branch hours and cultural programs; reducing neighborhood housing services and eliminating nonemergency demolitions; cutting the City Clean Team by 49 percent and eliminating special neighborhood cleaning programs; re-

ducing teacher training and cutting administrative staff in the city schools; reducing purchases of supplies for the city hospitals; and other cuts.

The Dinkins budget provides for wage increases of no more than 1.5 percent for the 330,000 city workers whose contracts will be expiring this year. With a yearly rate of inflation of about 5 percent, this translates into proposed wage cuts of at least 3.5 percent per year.

During the course of the 12-year administration of Edward Koch, Dinkins' predecessor, wage increases of municipal workers remained below the rate of inflation.

Last November workers in the city won a big victory when hospital employees obtained a sizable wage increase through their determination and united mobilizations. The 50,000 workers at private hospitals covered in the Local 1199 of the Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees contract won yearly

wage hikes of 7.5, 7.5, and 5.5 percent over the life of the three-year contract.

During his election campaign that coincided with the hospital workers' fight, Dinkins voiced his support for their struggle. Local 1199 was among the many city unions that backed the Dinkins mayoral campaign.

Yet, before taking office, Dinkins made it clear to a group of potential Wall Street contributors that sacrifices would be expected of workers. "So it may well be that I'll have to tell some of my friends they cannot have the things they want."

"But they'll take it from me," he assured.

One of Dinkins' financial advisors is Felix Rohatyn, a general partner at the investment banking corporation Lazard Frères & Co. Rohatyn is also the chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corp.

MAC was set up in 1975 as a way to "bail out" the city during its "financial crisis" in the mid-1970s by keeping millions of dollars

flowing into the pockets of wealthy bondholders. The plan, set up during the administration of Abraham Beame, also a "friend of labor," imposed belt-tightening measures that led to the layoff of thousands of city workers and severe cuts in city services.

In a letter sent to Dinkins a month before his inauguration, Rohatyn advised the mayor-elect to consider deferring wage raises for city workers in his 1990 budget, or to negotiate only modest increases below the inflation rate and to reduce the work force.

Dinkins' proposed budget follows the guidelines outlined by Rohatyn.

The projected cuts come in the wake of a series of other cuts implemented last October that included reduction of library hours, eliminating 525 group day-care slots, an increase in the City University system student-faculty ratio, and reduction in clinic and laboratory staff and mental health services in the city hospitals.

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S. Korea gov't jails activists for traveling to North Korea

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea is demanding that South Korean authorities release Rim Su Gyong and Moon Gyo Hyon. Rim and Moon were sentenced February 5 by a South Korean court under the National Security Law, which prohibits any ties to, contact with, or travel to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The law also declares illegal advocating ideas or activities construed by the government to benefit the "enemy."

Presiding Judge Hwang Sang-hyun found the two guilty of militarily aiding North Korea by providing information about dissidents and the opposition movement in South Korea, and for fomenting protests against the U.S. and the South Korean governments. "These days, war is a total war which involves politics, economics, and other help," he declared.

Rim received a 10-year prison term and Moon, a Catholic priest, was sentenced to eight years.

Rim, 21, a student at Han-Kuk Foreign Languages University in South Korea, attended the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang, North Korea, last July. She was the sole representative there of Chundaehyup, the National Council of College Student Representatives, which has more than a million members and is seen as the central student organization in South Korea. It took her 10 days to travel to the north via Japan and West Germany.

While in the north, Rim signed a joint statement with student leaders there calling on students from both parts of the country to work together for peaceful reunification. She then helped lead an International March for Peace and Reunification from Pyongyang to Panmunjom, a village located at the border. Rim had publicly stated June 30 that she planned to cross the border July 27, the 36th anniversary of the end of Washington's war in Korea, which resulted in the continued division of the peninsula.

Recognizing that Rim's life could be in danger, the Korean Association of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Social Justice sent Moon north to join Rim and accompany her across the border. Because the association was behind Moon's trip, six of the organization's members were arrested by the South Korean government for violating the National Security Law.

The United Nations Command, represented at the border by the U.S. Army, refused

Rim and Moon's request to return home across the Demilitarized Zone at the border between north and south.

U.S. troops arrest Rim, Moon

On August 15, after six days on hunger strike, the two decided to cross the border despite the risks and were promptly arrested by the U.S. troops and handed over to South Korean authorities.

A bitter symbol of the country's partition into north and south is a heavily fortified concrete wall that runs the length of the DMZ, built by South Korea in 1977. The North Korean government has called for the wall to come down and for free travel and political, economic, and cultural exchanges between the two Koreas.

Some 45,000 U.S. troops remain permanently stationed in South Korea, along with a vast arsenal of conventional and nuclear weapons. To this day, a U.S. general has operational control over most of South Korea's 600,000-man army under cover of the UN flag.

Rim and Moon falsely charged

After their arrest, Rim and Moon were held in isolation, interrogated for a month, and not allowed to see their families or attorneys. More than 100 others were also interrogated by South Korean authorities. Catholic priests who had instructed Moon to accompany Rim were indicted and later released on suspended sentences. The prosecutor claimed that Rim and Moon were part of a "premeditated operation against the south" and that Rim was an agent of the North Korean government.

At the trial Rim defended her actions,

saying that reunification could not be expected "from a government that declares anti-communism as the highest state policy. . . . We did it because we cannot just relegate the divided homeland to our younger generation."

"I have committed no crime", Rim said. "All I did was to participate in an international event in order to discuss Korea's peace and reunification issues." She challenged the government's laws forbidding travel to the north, while allowing travel to Eastern European countries.

Rim and Moon, who have become symbols of the reunification struggle for people in both Koreas, are two of more than 1,300 political prisoners in South Korea who have been charged and convicted under the anti-communist National Security Law.

On January 16 Amnesty International reported that a two-year trend of human rights improvements in South Korea stemming from presidential amnesties in 1987 and 1988 had been reversed. The organization said 800 political and trade union activists had been arrested in major cities in a crackdown on political opposition by South Korean President Roh Tae Woo's government. Thousands more were briefly detained for participating in protests or strikes. Many have been arrested since April, when the government banned political activities by those with "unacceptable views."

For more information on the campaign by the International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea to free Rim and Moon write to IC International Office, P.O. Box 73958, Washington, D.C. 20009-3958.

Korea Report, a magazine of news and analysis published by the Korea Information



Rim Su Gyong addresses assembly at 13th World Festival of Youth in North Korea last July.

and Resource Center in Washington, D.C., has also called for protest messages to be sent to President Roh Tae Woo, The Blue House, 1 Sejong-no, Chongro-gu, Seoul, South Korea; Minister of Justice Huh Hyong Koo, Ministry of Justice, 1 Chungang-dong, Kwachon-myon, Shihung-gun, Kyunggi Province, South Korea; and Chief Justice Lee Il Kyu, Supreme Court, Seosomoon-dong, Joong-gu, Seoul, South Korea.

Ortega pardons last of Somoza guardsmen

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The government has declared that it will release from prison 39 former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard, as well as 1,051 contras and contra collaborators. The prisoners will be freed prior to the elections scheduled here for February 25.

In announcing the general pardon January 29, President Daniel Ortega called again for the immediate dismantling of the contra bases in Honduras. He appealed to the governments of the United States and Honduras to take action "for life, peace, and democracy" by moving to disband the contra camps.

Violeta Chamorro, presidential candidate of the U.S.-backed National Opposition Union (UNO), said she was "extremely satisfied" with the prisoner release. Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, who has criticized previous pardons as insufficient, also applauded the move. The pardon means "we are advancing in creating a climate of peace and harmony," he said.

In 1987, following the signing of the first agreement between the presidents of five Central American countries, the Nicaraguan government released 985 prisoners, including some former members of the National Guard.

In March 1989 an additional 1,894 ex-Guardsmen were freed. However, 39 men convicted of "crimes against humanity" were excluded from the pardon.

These included some of Somoza's most notorious henchmen, who had carried out torture, assassinations, and massacres. To cite one example, Erick Aguilar was sentenced to 23 years in prison for throwing peasants out of helicopters because they were suspected of collaborating with the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The new pardon, which will free these prisoners, is "a gesture of internal reconciliation," the FSLN daily *Barricada* said in a January 31 editorial. The prisoner release "leaves the United States and Honduras no excuse for not fulfilling their obligation to demobilize the contras," the paper declared.

Vilma Nuñez, president of the National Commission for Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, termed the pardons "a sacrifice for peace. We hope that the contras will stop their aggression so there will be no need to arrest any of them in the future." She noted

that 38 people were killed by the mercenaries in January, including an 11-year-old child who was tortured.

Nuñez said that with the releases "there will no longer be any contra or National Guard prisoners in Nicaragua."

Meanwhile, in Washington, Secretary of State James Baker said February 1 that the United States "would be prepared to normalize relations" with Nicaragua, provided this month's elections are "free and fair" and Nicaragua "has really ended its backing for subversion in neighboring countries."

Nicaragua foreign minister criticizes anti-Semitic passage in 'Barricada'

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto has sharply criticized an anti-Semitic passage published in *Barricada*, the newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The commentary in question appeared in a signed column on the editorial page of the January 18 issue. Its author, Roberto Larios, is a well-known reporter and columnist for the paper.

The article dealt with complaints voiced by UNO, the pro-Washington electoral alliance, that money allocated to it by the U.S. Congress has been slow in arriving. Larios said the delay is due to the "traditional 'Jew style' with which Congress is accustomed to handling U.S. taxpayers' funds."

Larios then went on to cite three individuals in the United States who are involved in channeling the congressional funds to UNO, two of whom have names that are recognizably Jewish.

On January 19, the day after the Larios article appeared, *Barricada* published a brief note on the editorial page stating, "In response to some people who called us yesterday to ask if there was any pejorative intent behind the use of the term 'Jew style' in the article 'The UNO Swindle,' . . . written by journalist Roberto Larios, the management of *Barricada* explains the following:

"Our editorial policy is free from any kind of racial discrimination, and we maintain as a principle complete respect for the religious

Baker told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that there would have to be "a period of time during which we could satisfy ourselves" that the Nicaraguan government "has stopped sending SAM-7 missiles and other military supplies to the FMLN." The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is waging a guerrilla struggle in El Salvador against the U.S.-backed regime there.

"We would have to know that this is a fact before we could begin to normalize" relations between the two countries, Baker emphasized.

beliefs of all the world's citizens. At the same time, we remind readers that signed articles are the responsibility of the author."

The editors have made no further comment.

However, on January 24 *Barricada* published a letter from D'Escoto under the headline: "D'Escoto: unacceptable prejudice — notes on an article."

The letter, addressed to Carlos Fernando Chamorro, the newspaper's editor, said:

"I was astonished to see, in the article 'The UNO Swindle,' by Roberto Larios, . . . a reference to the 'Jew style' of the U.S. Congress. Whatever one may think of the U.S. Congress, it is unacceptable from any point of view to resort to an ethnic stereotype that might be interpreted as racist and pejorative. This kind of prejudice is, in addition, contrary to the principles of our government and of the Sandinista Front, and to the feelings of our people."

"Although *Barricada* published an explanatory note on the 19th pointing out that its editorial policy is free from any kind of racial discrimination, and that it maintains as a principle complete respect for religious beliefs, *Barricada* must also be free of articles with characterizations contrary to the most basic principles of human coexistence."

"Freedom of the press does not include the right to insult any of the peoples of the world."

"Fraternally,
"Miguel D'Escoto."

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Iowa prison officials aim new frame-up at Mark Curtis

BY SANDRA NELSON
AND PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has launched an emergency international protest campaign in defense of Mark Curtis, who has been framed by the authorities in an Iowa prison on charges of "gambling" and "disruptive conduct." On February 1 Curtis was convicted of these charges and is now awaiting the outcome of an appeal.

Curtis is a political and union activist serving a 25-year sentence at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa on a phony rape and burglary conviction.

According to Curtis and officers of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, a prisoners' group, he was selected for victimization for his political ideas and activities. Many prisoners see the frame-up as an attack not only on Curtis, but against all prisoners. There has been increased political activity at the prison over the last months.

Battles for prisoners' rights

The day before Curtis' victimization, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization won a year-long effort to get books by Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Fidel Castro, and other working-class fighters and revolutionaries made available to inmates. After challenging prison authorities, who tried to restrict access to the books to officers of the MLK Organization, the books have now been placed in the prison library.

Curtis also recently won permission to see the video about his case *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* after pressuring prison authorities. The film was produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle.

In January Curtis, who has just been re-elected secretary of the MLK Organization, addressed a Martin Luther King Day celebration attended by more than 100 inmates. In his presentation he condemned the U.S. invasion of Panama. The MLK Organization has been gaining members and has attracted more attention from prisoners and authorities.

Curtis has been involved in growing political discussions because of his activities. He has also been able to tell fellow inmates about the *Militant* newspaper and other socialist publications, and about books published by Pathfinder Press.

Through Curtis several prisoners learned about the Pathfinder Mural in New York. Inmate Howard Rouse, an artist and Lakota Sioux from South Dakota, sent a protest message to New York's mayor when the mural was defaced by rightist vandals.

"These latest activities defend the democratic rights of prisoners and give them elbow room for further political activity," explained John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Arbitrary prison rules

"Prison rules are often arbitrarily used to punish those who stand up for their rights," Studer said. Last summer Curtis received a "major report" from a guard as punishment for spitting on the ground while playing a basketball game. Curtis appealed the decision. Following a barrage of international protests against this victimization, prison officials reduced the major report to a minor report. Curtis was, however, still forced to spend two weekends in lockup.

On July 13 last year Curtis won the right after four months to receive an issue of the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and the French-language *Lutte ouvrière*. The fight for prisoners' right to receive literature and correspondence in languages other than English, and to share written materials, continues. Authorities denied these rights on grounds that they constitute a "security risk."

Also in July Curtis joined Native American prisoners in a campaign to defend their religious and cultural rights. Prison authorities had denied the Native American inmates a sweatlodge for their ceremonies.

Three regular mailings from Curtis' defense committee were withheld from Curtis by officials in August on grounds that pho-

topocopied materials were included. Curtis had received similar packets each week after being incarcerated. After a round of international protests, the packets of articles, letters, and reports on his supporters' activities were released to him.

New restrictions and overcrowding

Today, with the Anamosa prison being filled 15 percent beyond capacity, prison authorities are stepping up restrictions on inmates. Phone calls by prisoners have been restricted by having only one phone available for more than 300 inmates on Level V where Curtis resides.

As of February 1 prison authorities have banned inmates from receiving photocopied materials. This measure prevents Curtis from receiving copies of letters and other materials sent to his defense committee and therefore limits his capacity to participate in leading his own defense effort. Also banned under the new rules are perfumed letters, certain types of photographs, and other items.

"Phony excuses are given for these restrictions," Studer said, "such as calling these materials a 'security risk,' 'pornography,' and 'contraband.' These restrictions are an attempt to dehumanize prisoners and cut them off from the outside world."

Latest victimization

Curtis described his latest victimization in a letter to his defense committee. On the evening of January 28 "a guard asked me for a shakedown. . . I didn't think anything of it and I placed my I.D. and my comb, the only things I had with me, on the trash can lid. I spread my legs and held up my hands and the officer patted me down. He wrote down my name and number, thanked me, and I went on my way.

"When I later went back to my cell, there was an officer searching it," Curtis thought this was unusual since his cell had already been searched a few days before. About 10 minutes later he was stopped by another guard. "He held up a little piece of paper," Curtis explained, "and asked if I had seen it before or knew what it was. When he flipped it over, the word 'superbowl' was written on the back. I told him I had never seen it before."

Curtis supporters in Geneva for UN meet

Continued from front page

Reflecting broader developments in world politics, human rights violations in apartheid South Africa are at the center of this year's discussions. "The Commission will also consider a number of questions concerning violations of human rights in Chile, southern Lebanon, Iran, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Colombia, Albania, Romania, China, and the territories occupied by Israel," a UN Information Service release said.

Many delegates hailed the recent decisions of the South African government to unban the ANC and other progressive organizations and to prepare for the release of Nelson Mandela. But the speaker from Zimbabwe stressed that it was political pressure from inside and outside South Africa that forced the government to act. Others pointed to the apartheid measures that remain in place. A number of delegates, including from Libya, explained the continuing links that exist between the apartheid regime and the Israeli government.

U.S. campaign against Cuba

This year the U.S. government is again seeking to use this forum to advance its campaign against Cuba. In the past two years sharp debates have occurred over Washington's allegations of human rights abuses in Cuba.

A number of groups campaigning against human rights violations in the United States have come here to raise these issues before the commission. The International Indian Treaty Council will address the case of Leonard Peltier, the framed and imprisoned Native American activist. Other U.S. human rights



Militant/Linda Marcus
Eddie Carthan, first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, and Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, spoke at a Des Moines, Iowa, rally for Mark Curtis January 27. Rallies have been held in several cities and will be covered in the next issue of the *Militant*.

Later, at about 11:00 p.m. after Curtis had gone to sleep, he was awakened and given a "major report" for "gambling" and "disruptive conduct." Curtis said the report stated that "while I was being searched a guard nearby saw something fall out of my hand, which was picked up by another inmate." The inmate said he did not know what the paper was, but picked it up and claimed it belonged to Curtis. The guard said he was watching from across the room while Curtis was being searched and saw him drop the piece of paper.

The next morning Curtis "told everybody I could about what happened." A former truck driver and officer of the MLK Organization was outraged. "I'll stand with you all the way," he told Curtis. An inmate who was a coworker of Curtis' at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines volunteered to be called as a character witness on Curtis' behalf. Later Curtis went to the prison barber shop where some friends were gathered. "They all demanded I call them as witnesses at the hearing. Three are on the MLK Organization's board," Curtis wrote.

At the hearing Curtis testified to what he explained in his letter, "I didn't make one bet, even for a pop, on any game the entire football season. That may be abnormal behavior, but it's not a punishable violation."

Curtis was only allowed to read the testimony of the guard who searched him. "The guard said he did not see a paper fall on the floor during my shakedown," Curtis said, "he

just took the word of the second guard who said he saw the paper."

Curtis has filed an appeal with the warden, who has seven days to decide on the appeal. "If the conviction is upheld," Studer said, "Curtis would face two weekend lockups in his cell; two lost good conduct days, which would affect his eligibility for parole; and would be moved to a lower prison level, which would cause the loss of certain privileges, such as having a typewriter and making phone calls. If he is dropped two levels, he would be stripped of his office as secretary of the MLK Organization. Curtis can also appeal to the Iowa Board of Corrections," Studer said.

"Meanwhile protest letters and telegrams are beginning to pour into Warden John Thalacker's office," Studer said. "The Mark Curtis Defense Committee calls on unionists, students, political activists, defenders of civil liberties, and others around the world to join in an emergency campaign to reverse the new frame-up of Mark Curtis and reverse all penalties against him."

Protests should be sent to John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

Copies should be sent to Paul Grossheim, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E 12th, Des Moines, Iowa 50319. Copies of protests and responses from Iowa prison officials should also be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

abuses to be raised include the cases of Eddie Hatcher, Geronimo Pratt, Alejandrina Torres, and Raymond Levasseur.

Kaku and Curtis' supporters delivered a letter written by Curtis to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and to Jan Martenson, director of the Center for Human Rights at the Geneva Palais des Nations.

In the letter Curtis appeals for help in overturning his frame-up and outlines the violations of his rights by the Des Moines police, the courts, and Iowa prison authorities. "A stand by your Commission against the frame-up of Mark Curtis would strengthen my own fight for justice, as well as the broader cause of fundamental political and human rights," Curtis wrote.

Since writing the letter Curtis has again been victimized by prison authorities on fabricated charges of "gambling" and "disruptive conduct."

The issues raised in Curtis' fight for justice are directly relevant to several agenda points at this session of the commission. Following deliberations on South Africa, the commission will take up the "question of the human rights of all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment." This point will address "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment," the "use of force by law enforcement officers," and the "independence and impartiality of the judiciary."

Curtis supporters aim to raise Curtis' case with a broad range of participants in the commission. Members of some NGOs are already endorsers of Curtis' defense effort, including Robert Verdier, honorary president of the French League of the Rights of Man.

Following a discussion with delegation members, Roger Wareham of the Center for Law and Social Justice in the United States representing the International Association Against Torture, endorsed the Curtis defense campaign.

The delegation has attended a briefing on human rights abuses in Guatemala addressed by Torillo Parerra of the Guatemalan Committee for Human Rights, Raúl Molina of the World University Service-Guatemala, and Douglas Mezariegos, president of the Guatemalan University Students Association. Initial meetings with representatives of the International Indian Treaty Council, the International Federation of Human Rights, and the International Commission of Jurists were also held.

Curtis defense makes urgent appeal to raise \$20,000 for UN effort

Supporters of Mark Curtis around the world are approaching prominent endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, asking them to back the delegation's efforts in Geneva. A special \$20,000 fund appeal to help finance this project is being made by Curtis' defense committee in Des Moines. Some \$10,500 has been raised so far.

Tax deductible contributions can be made payable to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc., and sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

Cuba welcomes crew fired on by U.S. ship

Continued from front page

buzzing the ship in international waters. On January 30 the U.S. Coast Guard ship *Chincoteague* approached the *Hermann* and demanded it stop. The Coast Guard said it was under U.S. orders to board the ship, claiming it was searching for drugs.

The crew flatly refused to let any U.S. personnel on their ship and kept sailing.

"Searching the boat was not only illegal from every point of view," Castro explained, "it was arbitrary and unnecessary. It was a provocation. To tell the crew... it should stop the ship so it could be inspected for drugs was an offense, a vile trick that was insulting."

"The real objective was clear. They wanted to provoke us and to test the mood of the Cuban people."

The mettle of the Cuban workers on board the *Hermann* came through when they retold the story of the battle to the rally. Francisco Montalvo Peñalver, the secretary of the Cuban Communist Party on the ship, described the first approach of the *Chincoteague* to the *Hermann*.

"The officer ordered us to stop so they could search us."

"Is he crazy?" we asked ourselves."

"The officer told us, 'Stop the boat. Don't you hear us?'"

"And I said, 'No, I don't hear you — chico!' And we kept moving."

The *Chincoteague* pursued the Cuban ship all day, occasionally firing water cannons or guns in an attempt to intimidate the crew and force a boarding. The crew calmly collected all the tools available — machetes, screwdrivers, kitchen knives, and axes — and prepared to defend the ship should the Coast Guard carry out its threat. No guns were on board.

After midnight on January 31, Castro told the rally, the U.S. State Department contacted the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., to deliver an ultimatum: the Coast Guard would board the *Hermann* at 4 a.m. no matter what.

'Even if they kick you out'

Castro called the head of the Cuban Interests Section, José Antonio Arbesú, to communicate Cuba's response to the U.S. ultimatum. Castro said he used a few four-letter words in the course of his conversation with Arbesú, because "they're the best words in the dictionary" in times of war. Then he said perhaps he should refrain from repeating them at the rally "out of respect for the home and the families."

"No, tell us what you said!" the crowd roared.

Laughing, Castro continued describing his instructions to Arbesú:

"If they say the boat has a Panamanian flag, you tell them that the flag may be Panamanian but the b...s on that ship are Cuban. Tell them that the crew will not allow a search as a matter of honor, because they don't trust the filth of the Coast Guard or



Cuban President Fidel Castro, left, welcomes crew. Their freighter was attacked by the U.S. Coast Guard in the Gulf of Mexico. "My sling is that of David," read the crew's shirts, expressing the determination to stand up to the Goliath of Washington.

other U.S. authorities, who are capable of fabricating all kinds of lies and [planting] a package on the boat.

"Tell them they are responsible for the lives of every single one of the crew members on that boat."

"Tell them that the drug argument is a provocation... that it's a cynical argument and that it's an argument of SOBs. Tell them that, even if they kick you out of [the United States] tomorrow."

Meanwhile, Castro explained, the Cuban government had contacted the government of Mexico to request that it conduct a drug search of the *Hermann* once the boat entered Mexican waters. The Mexican government had agreed and this had also been communicated to Washington. So if the problem was really drugs, Castro explained, "there was a solution."

'We would rather drown'

Washington, however, was determined to provoke an incident and still hoped to force the crew into a humiliating surrender. Castro said meetings took place between the Department of State, Department of Defense, and National Security Council where it was decided to sink the *Hermann*. He said President George Bush must have been part of making this decision.

Shortly after 6:00 a.m. January 31, the

Coast Guard shelled the Cuban ship with machine-gun and cannon fire over a period of an hour and 45 minutes. They aimed at the crew members and at the ship's fuel tank, which would have exploded had there been more fuel on board. Simultaneously, the Coast Guard urged the crew to give up and let the U.S. forces board.

The *Hermann*'s captain Diego Sánchez Serrano, told the rally, "It could have been any one of you on that ship and you would have had the same attitude. The response of the *Hermann* and its crew could only be: We would rather drown than let the Yankees board!"

The *Hermann* kept heading for Mexican waters, reaching them a little after 7:30 a.m. The Coast Guard then halted the assault. When the ship was checked by Mexican authorities no drugs were found.

'If anyone still has doubts'

"They could have killed the whole crew," Castro pointed out. "It was a serious act of aggression, a serious provocation... It's good to think about this... especially if anyone still has doubts about the kind of world that's coming into being, the kind of peace that awaits the peoples of the Third World, and the kind of struggle we must wage."

Washington's attack failed, he continued, because those on board the *Hermann* were

"not 11 millionaires passing through the Caribbean but 11 honorable workers of the sea."

Throughout the assault, "they didn't flinch, they didn't get nervous, they stuck to their decision," Castro explained. "They withstood the Coast Guard fire for an hour and 45 minutes. They didn't vacillate. They kept going when the boat could have caught fire, when they had no life jackets, when they had no way to save themselves except to surrender."

"But they didn't stop; they kept going. And they were ready to be blown up, to be consumed in an inferno, rather than fall into the hands of the imperialists."

"The message these men have sent the imperialists is invaluable!" Castro said. "They've told them, 'Make no mistake. Imagine what's going to happen to you [if you invade Cuba], when you have to face the cannons of thousands and thousands of tanks... the barrels of millions of rifles, machine guns, arms of all kinds and calibers.'"

'The first skirmish'

Castro told the crowd this was "the first skirmish." The result, he said, was that "the crime multiplied the courage of our people... our determination."

Roberto Robaina, first secretary of the Union of Young Communists, also spoke on this theme, in a speech that received the loudest applause of any except Castro's.

"If they can't intimidate 11 unarmed workers, how will they frighten a people that is armed?" he asked.

"Our people have a weapon the Yankees aren't familiar with... Our people are armed with right, morale, dignity, patriotism, honor, and socialism."

Many of the handmade signs in the crowd declared, "Socialism or death," a slogan that appears now with great frequency on marches in Cuba and has become the chant at the end of most speeches. The other most popular signs were those denouncing "Yankee pirates" and "Yankee SOBs."

This rally stretched for blocks along Havana's oceanfront highway called the Malecón. But many Cubans pointed out it was only one of a wave of protests against U.S. military aggression held here over the last two months.

On December 7 an unexpectedly large turnout heard Castro speak at a ceremony honoring the Cuban combatants who were killed on internationalist missions in Angola and other countries. That was followed in late December by four days of mobilizations that drew more than 1 million Cubans to protest Washington's invasion of Panama. Just six days before the *Hermann* rally, several hundred thousand marched here to protest U.S. government plans to broadcast the anti-Cuban television station TV Martí.

Speak-out against art censorship draws 250

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

PITTSBURGH — Some 250 people attended a "Speak Out Against Censorship in the Arts" January 26 at the University of Pittsburgh Law School. After the program, a lively discussion continued at an "artists

showcase" and political literature display in an adjacent lounge area.

Among those who organized the speak-out were artists and activists who had worked on the Pathfinder Mural in New York. Shortly after the mural's dedication last November it became part of the debate around censorship of the arts when two of the city's major dailies focused their attacks on the six-story mural.

On December 20 the mural was defaced when bottles containing paint and marked with swastikas were thrown against the wall.

Anne Feeney, a songwriter and abortion-rights activist, led off the evening in song with a rousing "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing" and remarks about her own scrapes with censorship.

The speakers' platform featured Dennis Brutus, an exiled poet whose books were banned in his native South Africa; Barbara Wolfovitz, executive director of the local American Civil Liberties Union; and Elaine King, director of the Carnegie-Mellon Art Gallery.

Art student Jessica Caplan drew loud applause when she defended her performance "Humbling the Flag," which was disrupted last fall by Carnegie-Mellon University officials.

Rick Austill, a leader of the local gay rights group Cry Out!, showed slides to illustrate

the censors' antigay hypocrisy, and State Rep. Tom Murphy discussed impending censorship legislation. Craig Hosay and Stevens Carter welcomed the crowd on behalf of the law school and the Committee Against Censorship in the Arts, respectively.

Writer Moe Seager, who served as master of ceremonies, read greetings of solidarity to the newly formed Congress of South African Writers, which were forwarded to Johannesburg from the gathering.

Steve Marshall, using slides of the Pathfinder Mural as a backdrop, said the big political painting has been a part of the fight over censorship. He invited those present to defend it against right-wing attacks.

Marshall, Seager, and Carter, who teaches art at the Pennsylvania Institute of Technology, participated in the painting of the Pathfinder Mural.

In what one student called "a big political festival," activists and several artists displayed their materials and artwork. While musicians performed and videos of censored performances were shown, groups formed among literature tables to discuss art, censorship, women's rights, Cuba, South Africa, and the invasion of Panama.

The Pathfinder Mural display drew interest all evening, and dozens of people signed petitions defending the mural.

New York

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AFL-CIO president: 'Raise funds to aid strike'

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, February 7, the

Miami, Atlanta, and other key cities.

"Therefore, I ask that you take whatever steps possible to encourage union members to assist their striking brothers and sisters with cash donations. A supply of 'Food for Solidarity' stickers, which should be attached to cans for passing at union meetings or for 'bucket

birthday.

Strikers and supporters distributed 1,500 leaflets for the picket line at San Francisco's King Day march and rally January 15.

At the airport action passing drivers honked in support, and many passengers accepted flyers.

"We need to keep this up," said Eastern shop steward Mike Fitzpatrick. "Lorenzo is on the edge of a cliff and now is the time to push. With all the talk about a buyout at United, more people seem to be listening."

"This has been the greatest show of solidarity I've ever seen in the labor movement," Stephen Spain said in a phone interview.

Spain is the directing business representative of the IAM in Richmond, Virginia, where "we started out with 11 strikers and we still have 11 strikers," he reported.

"Every union in the area has supported and contributed to the strike," Spain explained. Members of the Teamsters took up a collection and contributed \$5,000 at Christmas time.

An "adopt-a-striker" program, started in June, has been very successful, Spain said. Several IAM bargaining units take up regular collections for a particular striker, and

involve the striker in its activities. The Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers union, which organizes the Phillip Morris tobacco plants, adopted two strikers.

The program "has really helped bring people out to the picket line," Spain added.

Speaking engagements have included local unions around the area, Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, and the Pittston miners' Camp Solidarity, he continued.

"I feel that Lorenzo is extreme evil, and we must make sacrifices with people like him. If Lorenzo beats us the world would be full of Lorenzos tomorrow," he said. "As long as the soldiers are out on the field you have to support them."

Miners on strike against Pittston Coal Group have been on the Richmond picket lines, and recently "we've seen an increase in interest, it is picking up on the picket line," at the airport, Spain noted.

Four flights are scheduled to depart Richmond each day, but Spain says the passenger load is "real low."

More than 100 pickets turned out for the biweekly strike solidarity action January 27 in Los Angeles.

The day began with a confrontation with a scab pilot who yelled,

"You're the lowest form of life," at a strike leader as he crossed the picket line. Pickets were surprised at the remark. "At least I have my dignity on this picket line," one said.

An important feature of the action was the participation of some 10 young people, mostly high school students, from the L.A. Student Coalition. On January 15 the coalition organized 3,000 demonstrators in an anti-apartheid march to the South African consulate. A contingent of Eastern strikers joined that protest and one spoke at the rally.

At the IAM union hall after the January 27 picket, strike leader Eddie Croft told participants in the local's regular open house, "These young people from the student coalition are very important. We need to start pulling these young people's coats about the labor movement."

Croft also expressed the inspiration the Eastern strikers felt in participating in the anti-apartheid march. "If we could get one-third of the turnout they got, we could shut it down," he said, referring to an action scheduled for the airport March 3, the anniversary of the strike.

Kathleen Denny from San Francisco and Geoff Mirelowitz from Los Angeles contributed to this column.



SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

strike was in its 341st day.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 prestrike daily flights. Since July Eastern has been trying to restart operations and is currently scheduling about 800 daily flights.

In November the Air Line Pilots Association and Transport Workers Union, which represented striking Eastern flight attendants, ended their support for the strike.

The Machinists' walkout remains solid. Under the blows of the strike and stepped-up competition in the airline industry, Eastern's plan to rebuild as a non-union carrier is faltering.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Sweden, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

"Despite the tremendous financial pressures placed upon them during the course of this lengthy ordeal, these workers and their families have held together with the kind of solidarity and mutual support that does credit to the historic aspirations of the labor movement," wrote AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland in a January 23 letter on the Eastern strikers addressed to trade unionists.

"As they stand on the front line of the battle against corporate greed, they deserve the continued support of trade unionists everywhere," the appeal, sent to union locals across the country, continued.

The union federation's president calls for the collection of funds so the striking union can "continue operating its major food pantries in

drops' at plant gates, union halls, and employee lounges are being sent out by the Department of Community Services," the letter continues.

Kirkland ends his letter explaining the striking Machinists' "courage and forbearance are an inspiration to trade unionists everywhere, and we must show them that the family of labor won't let them down."

Metal, the journal of the New Zealand Amalgamated Engineering and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers, carried an article in its December 1989 issue, "Enough is Enough: The Eastern Airlines Strike."

Engineers' Union member Ruth Gray writes, "The decision by Eastern workers to stand up and fight shows they are ready to draw the line."

The union journal explains the widespread support the strikers have won from other workers in the United States and Canada.

The Engineers' Union organizes machinists, production, and other workers in a number of industries, including the airlines, light aircraft manufacturing, auto assembly, and steel and aluminum smelters and mills.

"As members of a sister union we would like to extend our support for your struggle," says a message sent by Gray and other union members to the strikers. The journal encouraged messages of solidarity be sent to the striking union.

On January 19, some 50 Eastern strikers and supporters joined in a picket line at San Francisco International Airport. Machinists Local 1781 called the picket in commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s



Eastern Airlines strikers, joined by striking Pittston coal miner, beefed up picket lines for Martin Luther King, Jr., Day at La Guardia Airport in New York.

Machinists protest Air Canada's union-busting

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — Across Canada airline workers at Air Canada, Canada's largest airline, are fighting a move by the company to weaken their union by contracting out almost 500 jobs of commissary workers. These workers organize and load food and beverages on Air Canada's fleet of 116 planes.

Plans are under way for demonstrations February 14 at airports in cities across the country. Union officials are currently holding talks with company officials over the contracting-out decision. The workers belong to the International Association of Machinists (IAM). They number 9,000 of Air Canada's 23,000 workers.

In Montréal Local 1751 that is planning the demonstration at Dorval airport has invited the participation of the 28 Eastern Airlines strikers who have been picketing Eastern's Dorval installations for almost a year. The Eastern strikers are also members of IAM Local 1751.

In Toronto, which is the hub of Air Canada with 4,000 workers, IAM Local 2323 held emergency meetings and launched a protest card campaign against the contracting-out threat. The 24 Eastern strikers at Pearson International Airport in that city belong to IAM Lodge 2413.

Air Canada workers view the decision by Air Canada management to contract out the food services jobs to CARA as the opening shot by the company in its effort to weaken the IAM, divide the workers, and cut costs five months before their union contract expires at the end of June.

Over the past few years working conditions for airline workers have deteriorated through concessions forced on them by the bosses. However, in 1987 Air Canada's Machinists kept the airline grounded in a 19-day strike that won partial indexation of their pensions to keep up with inflation.

Last year the federal government privatized Air Canada, which was previously government owned. Air Canada bosses insist that stiffening competition in the airline industry as a result of international competition and deregulation of the industry in Canada means that they need to reduce unit labor costs to survive.

Workers at Canadian Airlines, the second-largest airline in Canada with its hub in Vancouver, are following the struggle closely. Many are members of the IAM too, and their contract expires at the end of May.

The Air Canada struggle is taking place at a time when solidarity is broadening among

airline and other workers for the strike of 8,000 IAM members against Eastern Airlines, a subsidiary of Texas Air Corp. headed by Frank Lorenzo. The North American-wide strike is headed toward its one-year anniversary March 4.

In Vancouver, where there are no Eastern strikers, the 2,800 Canadian Airlines workers who are members of amalgamated IAM Local 764 have donated thousands of dollars to the Eastern strikers. Their monthly meetings feature the showing of the "electronic newsletter" sent out in video form by the Eastern strikers' leadership in Miami. At the sign-in sheet at the door there is always a collection container for donations to the strikers. The December issue of Local 764's newsletter, the *Snagsheet*, published a Christmas appeal for funds. Members of the local who are not airline workers also responded generously to the appeal.

Local 764 Treasurer Dick Miller explained that the local recently received calls from locals of the United Steelworkers of America and the International Woodworkers for the videos and speakers on the Eastern strike. Early in the strike, 200 "No Lorenzo" buttons were sold out in a day. Later another 500 were sold out in a couple of weeks.

In Toronto activity has recently picked up

on the Eastern picket lines that take place on weekends. Pickets have included Air Canada and Canadian Airlines workers as well as workers from AMR, the service company of American Airlines.

Salvadoran unionists on line

On January 27 a delegation of three members of FENASTRAS, one of El Salvador's main trade union federations, which was recently the target of a murderous bomb attack by government-backed death squads, joined the picket line. The FENASTRAS members, who are in exile, gave the strikers a poster with representations of the FENASTRAS and IAM emblems they had made showing solidarity between the two unions. They invited the strikers to a meeting at the United Steelworkers hall to hear a talk being presented by the new FENASTRAS general secretary who is touring Canada.

In Montréal picketing takes place at Dorval five times a week near the Eastern Airlines counter. Collections have been organized by IAM Local 1751 at Mirabel and Dorval airports. At the Rolls Royce plant in Montréal, IAM-organized workers have refused to repair Eastern Airlines engines, which have been sitting for weeks covered up in the factory.

Eastern strikers call March 4 actions

Continued from front page
strike against Pittston Coal Group are planning to send representatives to Detroit for the celebration.

Lorenzo begins to crash

The Local 141 outreach committee, which includes workers at other airlines, has produced a new fact sheet headlined "Strike Update: Lorenzo Begins to Crash." Strikers and supporters plan to distribute the leaflet at plant gates and speaking engagements. Saturday pickets at the airport have been increasing.

St. Louis strikers are planning a rally March 3 or 4 and have addressed local meetings of the UAW, the United Steelworkers of America, and other IAM locals, where they have sometimes received standing ovations.

February 10 has been targeted by strikers for expanded picketing at Los Angeles International Airport. The picket line forms at 8:00 a.m. A "One Year Long and Still Going Strong" celebration is set for March 3.

In Washington, D.C., strikers of IAM Local 796 are planning an expanded picket line and rally March 3 at the main terminal of National Airport. The 4:00 p.m. airport action will be followed by a 6:30 p.m. benefit at the sheet metal workers union hall in Alexandria, Virginia.

During the first week of February strikers spoke at union meetings of motion picture projectionists, steam fitters, Greyhound transit workers, carpenters, and electrical workers. On February 4 strike activists raised \$400 through T-shirt and button sales at the national UAW Community Action Program conference with delegates from across the country.

Eastern hemorrhaging

While the strikers and their supporters muster their forces, Eastern and Texas Air are hemorrhaging. The February 7 *New York Times* reported that Texas Air's \$886 million loss in 1989 is an industrial record and surpasses the corporation's losses in 1988 by \$167 million. A \$363 million loss was reported in the fourth quarter alone.

These figures have shaken the confidence of investors in Eastern's ability to survive and have created doubts about Continental's ability to compete in the airline business, the *Times* said. As a result Texas Air stock, which traded at \$15 a share in August, had plummeted to \$6.50 on the American Stock Exchange by February 6.

"But even with attractive discount fares, the carrier has had problems attracting customers as the machinists' strike continues and many people worry about Eastern's future," the article said. "If Eastern fails to improve its traffic, Texas Air might have to liquidate it or try to sell it."

Truck drivers protest high costs, low rates

BY MARY SELVAS

HOUSTON — Five hundred independent truckers walked the picket lines for one day here January 29 as participants in a nationwide action protesting high diesel fuel prices and low hauling rates. Members of the International Longshoremen's Association refused to cross a picket line set up at the Port of Houston and it was shut down for 12 hours.

The truckers were protesting low hauling rates paid by trucking companies that they contract with, rates they say haven't risen in a decade. The Port of Houston, Southern Pacific Transportation Co., and the Santa Fe Railroad were the protesters' main targets.

Last October 250 truckers took their rigs on a massive convoy on Interstate 610, which circles the city, to protest the low rates. But truckers say their predicament became desperate this winter when diesel fuel costs began soaring, jumping as much as 10 cents a gallon per day.

"I'm so bad off it's pathetic," said Wade Richardson, 31. Richardson says he grossed more than \$70,000 in his trucking business last year. But when the trucking operators' fee, mechanical expenses, and health coverage are figured in, he brought home only \$6,579.

Travel agents, worried that Eastern may be toppled, have sharply cut back sales of Eastern tickets despite the airline's reduced fares. Reports that Eastern might be liquidated made the agents shy away from Eastern to avoid sticking customers with tickets that would be worthless if the company collapsed.

In an effort to stem the tide of passenger defections, Eastern set up an emergency fund February 5 of \$115 million to guarantee ticket holders refunds should the airline fail. But this measure may fall short of shoring up confidence given the reports on the airline's losses just two days later.

On February 5 Eastern also signed a back-to-work agreement with Transport Workers Union Local 553, which represents Eastern's flight attendants.

The accord specifies that 215 attendants will be recalled by April 1. Another 1,000 will be left out of work. The flight attendants had conducted a sympathy strike with the Machinists until November 24.

Eastern had about 5,000 flight attendants when the strike began. Of those, 1,800 crossed picket lines, and the airline hired an additional 1,900 replacement workers.

Israelis protest firings, battle police

BY HARRY RING

Protesting the firing of 150 workers in the shutdown of a pipe factory, hundreds of Israeli workers battled police units at the town of Hatzor Haglilit. Taking a cue from the Palestinian uprising, they blocked the road into town with burning tires.

Hatzor is a "development" town of 7,000 in northern Israel. It is one of a number of such towns created around small industries. Many of these industries are now going broke and unemployment is high. Most of the workers in these towns are Sephardic Jews, that is Jews from the Middle East and northern Africa rather than from Europe. The majority are dark-skinned.

In the January 16 confrontation at Hatzor, four workers were arrested and criminal charges were filed against a junior high school principal. Police said he permitted students to join the protest. The head of the town council told Israeli radio the demonstrations would continue until the jobs were restored.

The pipe factory is operated by Koor, a huge industrial conglomerate owned by Histadrut, Israel's trade union body. Koor is currently on the verge of collapse or of being sold to investors abroad. Histadrut also owns the country's biggest construction company and a major public transportation system. These too are balancing on the edge of bankruptcy.

Koor is the largest single employer in Israel. At its peak it operated 150 enterprises employing 31,000 workers. Currently, it has sliced its workforce to 22,000, is down to 100 companies, and is continuing to sell off assets.

Stops payments

The day before the pitched battle in Hatzor, Koor suspended payments on its debts of more than \$1 billion. Virtually all of this is owed to foreign lenders.

In December Manufacturers Hanover and other banks rejected a request by Koor to write off some of its debt. If these banks don't receive the next payments due, they may move to force Koor's liquidation.

Koor's critical condition reflects a deepening crisis of Israel's capitalist economy. The economic growth rate is nearly stagnant, and the country is wracked by unemployment and inflation. The foreign trade deficit is mounting.

By last summer, Israel's jobless rate had jumped to 9.7 percent — the highest in two decades. In some towns, the rate was as high as 25 percent. In July more than a million Israeli workers staged a two-hour stoppage to protest the rising unemployment. As of then, 140,000 people were out of work.

Meanwhile, the country is beset by double-digit inflation. Last year the government tried to stimulate the falling export market by making Israeli products cheaper abroad. This was done by twice cutting the value of



Militant/Susan Zárate

Eastern strikers in Miami airport during action to win right to wear strike T-shirts

the Israeli shekel for a total of 18 percent. The devaluations sparked a new round of inflation. To further the belt-tightening, the government slashed subsidies on such key items as milk, bread, poultry, and gasoline.

The economic difficulties have been intensified by the overhead cost of trying to crush the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza strip, now entering its third year.

Loss of cheap labor

Military expenditures have been substantial. In addition, construction and other Israeli industries have been hurting from the periodic absence of Palestinian workers, long a major source of low-paid labor.

In the West Bank and Gaza, a boycott of Israeli products has cut the \$1 billion a year in "exports" to these areas by 30 percent. And media photos of Israeli troops clubbing and shooting Palestinian protesters have brought a big drop in tourism, a key Israeli industry.

The economic crisis is not simply a downturn in an otherwise stable economy. Despite the infusion of \$3 billion a year in U.S. aid, the Israeli economy has been shrinking since the 1970s. With the outbreak of the uprising, and a 1988 drop in exports, the economy declined more sharply.

Among those hardest hit by the economic slump are the Jewish immigrants from North Africa and other countries in the Middle East.

Reports indicate that Black Jewish immi-

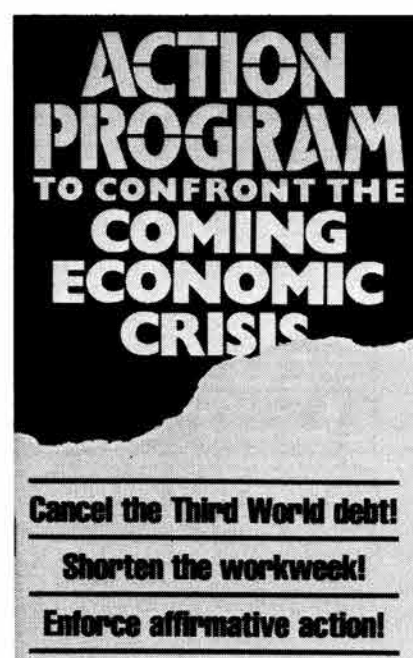
grants from Ethiopia are among the most victimized. In the early 1980s they were brought to Israel in large numbers from their impoverished, war-torn homeland in order to bolster the pool of low-paid labor. Targets of racism, they are denied decent jobs, homes, and education. The discrimination extends into the religious sphere, with rabbis asserting these immigrants are not "true" Jews and demanding they convert before becoming citizens or marrying in the faith.

Today there are an estimated 17,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel. Along with other nonwhite Jewish immigrants and Palestinians, they find themselves on the bottom rung of the economic ladder.

In an article last August, *Washington Post* correspondent Jackson Diehl described some of the plight of Ethiopians in Israel. With incomes as low as \$350 a month and living in increasingly ghettoized housing, he writes, "Israel hardly seems like the promised land they expected."

Diehl reports that some towns are now refusing to accept Ethiopians and social workers "say white residents have either fought to keep Ethiopians out or fled when they moved in."

"In several interior 'development' towns," he adds, "scores of Ethiopians have been concentrated together in buildings that have begun to take on the psychological and physical attributes of ethnic ghettos."



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'African National Congress and government must meet to negotiate a political settlement'

From apartheid's jails, Mandela's first major public statement

The following is the full text of a declaration by Nelson Mandela, longtime leader of the African National Congress, to then South African president Pieter Botha before a meeting between the two last July. The document was made public at the end of January and is the first major public statement by Mandela since his trial by the apartheid regime on "sabotage" charges in 1964. It was made available by the ANC.

The footnotes are by the *Militant*.

* * *

The deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time, and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the African National Congress and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

At the outset I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC. I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC. My political loyalty is owed, primarily, if not exclusively, to this organisation and particularly to our Lusaka headquarters where the official leadership is stationed and from where our affairs are directed.

The organisation first

In the normal course of events, I would put my views to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the best qualified members to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move. But in the current circumstances I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will, in due course endorse my action.

I must stress that no prisoner, irrespective of his status or influence, can conduct negotiations of this nature from prison. In our special situation negotiation on political matters is literally a matter of life and death which requires to be handled by the organisation itself through its appointed representatives.

The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a very limited one, and that is to

bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

My release not the issue

I must further point out that the question of my release from prison is not an issue, at least at this stage of the discussions, and I am certainly not asking to be freed. But I do hope that the government will, as soon as possible, give me the opportunity from my present quarters to sound the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move. Only if this initiative is formally endorsed by the ANC will it have any significance.

I will touch presently on some of the problems which seem to constitute an obstacle to a meeting between the ANC and the government. But I must emphasise right at this stage that this step is not a response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to declare whether or not they are nationalists and to renounce the South African Communist Party (SACP) before there can be negotiations. No self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to wage the freedom struggle against that same government and on who his allies in the freedom struggle should be.

To obey such instructions would be a violation of the long-standing and fruitful solidarity which distinguishes our liberation movement, and a betrayal of those who have worked so closely and suffered so much with us for almost 70 years. Far from responding to that call, my intervention is influenced by purely domestic issues, by the civil strife and ruin into which the country is now sliding. I am disturbed, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps — blacks (the term "blacks" is used in a broad sense to include all those who are not whites) on one side and whites on the other — slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives — a situation which, in turn, preshadows more violent clashes in the days ahead. This is the crisis that has freed me to act.

Current views among blacks

I must add that the purpose of this discussion is not only to urge the government to talk to the ANC, but it is also to acquaint you

with the views current among blacks, especially those in the Mass Democratic Movement.

If I am unable to express these views frankly and freely, you will never know how the majority of South Africans think on the policy and actions of the government; you will never know how to deal with their grievances and demands. It is perhaps proper to remind you that the media here and abroad has given certain public figures in this country a rather negative image, not only in regard to human rights questions, but also in respect to their prescriptive stance when dealing with black leaders generally.

The impression is shared not only by the vast majority of blacks but also by a substantial section of the whites. If I had allowed myself to be influenced by this impression, I would not even have thought of making this move. Nevertheless, I have come here with an open mind, and the impression I will carry away from this meeting will be determined almost exclusively by the manner in which you respond to my proposal.

It is in this spirit that I have undertaken this mission, and I sincerely hope that nothing will be done or said here that will force me to revise my views on this aspect.

Obstacles to negotiation

I have already indicated that I propose to deal with some of the obstacles to a meeting between the government and the ANC. The government gives several reasons why it will not negotiate with us. However, for purposes of this discussion, I will confine myself to only three main demands set by the government as a precondition for negotiations, namely that the ANC must first renounce violence, break with the SACP, and abandon its demand for majority rule.

Renunciation of violence

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property, and misery to the people. It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful nonracial state. But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government, which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

It is more than ironical that it should be the government which demands that we should renounce violence. The government knows only too well that there is not a single political organisation in this country, inside and outside parliament, which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peaceful change.

Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

Apartheid violence

Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a nonviolent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen. It stripped us of all basic human rights, outlawed our organisations, and barred all channels of peaceful resistance. It met our demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country, it continues to refuse to talk to us. There can only be one answer to this challenge — violent forms of struggle.

Down the years oppressed people have fought for their birthright by peaceful means, where that was possible, and through force, where peaceful channels were closed. The history of this country also confirms this vital lesson. Africans as well as Afrikaners were, at one time or other, compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom against

British imperialism. The fact that both were finally defeated by superior arms, and by the vast resources of that empire, does not negate this lesson.

But from what has happened in South Africa during the last 40 years, we must conclude that now that the roles are reversed — and the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom fighter, but is in power — the entire lesson of history must be brushed aside. Not even a disciplined nonviolent protest will now be tolerated. To the government a black man has neither a just cause to espouse nor freedom rights to defend. The whites must have the monopoly of political power, and of committing violence against innocent and defenceless people. That situation was totally unacceptable to us and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe¹ was intended to end that monopoly, and to forcibly bring home to the government that the oppressed people of the country were prepared to stand up and defend themselves.

It is significant to note that throughout the past four decades, and more especially over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue. On the contrary, the government continues to govern with a heavy hand and to incite whites against negotiation with the ANC. The publication of the booklet *Talking with the ANC* . . . , which completely distorts the history and policy of the ANC; the extremely offensive language used by government spokesmen against freedom fighters; and the intimidation of whites who want to hear the views of the ANC at first hand are all part of the government's strategy to wreck meaningful dialogue.

Pretoria not ready for talks

It is perfectly clear on the facts that the refusal of the ANC to renounce violence is not the real problem facing the government. The truth is that the government is not yet ready for negotiation and for the sharing of political power with blacks. It is still committed to white domination and, for that reason, it will only tolerate those blacks who are willing to serve on its apartheid structures. Its policy is to remove from the political scene blacks who refuse to conform, who reject white supremacy and its apartheid structure and who insist on equal rights with whites.

This is the real reason for the government's refusal to talk to us, and for its demand that we should disarm ourselves while it continues to use violence against our people. This is the reason for its massive propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC and present it to the public as a communist-dominated organisation bent on murder and destruction. In this situation the reaction of the oppressed people is clearly predictable.

Armed struggle

White South Africa must accept the plain fact that the ANC will not suspend, to say nothing of abandoning, the armed struggle until the government shows its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power and to negotiate directly and in good faith with the acknowledged black leaders. The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a precondition to, but the result of, negotiation.

Moreover, by ignoring credible black leaders and imposing a succession of stillborn negotiation structures, the government is not only squandering the country's precious resources, but it is in fact discrediting the negotiation process itself and prolonging civil

1. Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) is the military wing of the African National Congress and was formed in 1961. Its first manifesto explained, "The people's patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa." Nelson Mandela was a founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe.



Women demonstrate outside court in Pretoria in 1961 during one of the trials of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He received a five-year sentence for leaving South Africa without proper papers and was later convicted of "sabotage." He has been in jail ever since.

'nment ttlement' it in 25 years

strife. The position of the ANC on the question of violence is, therefore, very clear. A government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms.

The South African Communist Party

I have already pointed out that no self-respecting freedom fighter will allow the government to prescribe who his allies in the freedom struggle should be, and that to obey such instructions would be a betrayal of those who have suffered repression with us for so long.

We equally reject the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP, and we regard the accusation as part of the smear campaign the government is waging against us. The accusation has, in effect, also been refuted by two totally independent sources. In January 1987 the American State Department published a report on the activities of the SACP in this country, which contrasts very sharply with the subjective picture the government has tried to paint against us over the years.

The essence of that report is that, although the influence of the SACP on the ANC is strong, it is unlikely that the Party will ever dominate the ANC.

The same point is made somewhat differently by Mr. Ismail Omar, member of the President's Council, in his book *Reform in Crisis* published in 1988, in which he gives concrete examples of important issues of the day over which the ANC and the SACP have differed.

He also points out that the ANC enjoys greater popular support than the SACP. He adds that, despite the many years of combined struggle, the two remain distinct organisations with ideological and policy differences which preclude a merger of identity.

These observations go some way towards disproving the accusation. But since the allegation has become the focal point of government propaganda against the ANC, I propose to use this opportunity to give you the correct information, in the hope that this will help you to see the matter in its proper perspective and to evaluate your strategy afresh.

Cooperation between the ANC and the South African Communist Party goes back to the early '20s and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against



During last summer's defiance campaign, South Africans forced the desegregation of all-white beaches, held meetings and rallies despite government restrictions, and "unbanned" themselves and their organizations at actions like the one shown above. This campaign helped force recent lifting of restrictions.

Afrapix-Impact Visuals/Adil Bradlow

racial oppression and for a just society. At no time as the organisation ever adopted or cooperated with communism itself. Apart from the question of cooperation between the two organisations, members of the SACP have always been free to join the ANC. But once they do so, they become fully bound by the policy of the organisation set out in the Freedom Charter.²

As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly relevant. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC.

There is, of course, a firmly established

2. The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, in 1955. Some 3,000 delegates were present — 2,000 Blacks and several hundred each Indians, Coloureds, and whites. The congress was "like South Africa in miniature," according to one observer.

In the charter the movement laid out simple objectives for a future South Africa. Its preamble states, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt is resisted — from whatever quarter — which is intended to undermine cooperation between the two organisations.

Even within the ranks of the ANC there have been, at one time or another, people — and some of them were highly respected and influential individuals — who were against this cooperation and who wanted SACP members expelled from the organisation. Those who persisted in these activities were themselves ultimately expelled, or they broke away in despair.

In either case their departure ended their political careers, or they formed other political organisations, which, in due course, crumbled into splinter groups. No dedicated ANC member will ever heed a call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand as a purely divisive government strategy.

It is in fact a call on us to commit suicide. Which man of honour will ever desert a lifelong friend at the instance of a common opponent and still retain a measure of credibility among his people?

Which opponent will ever trust such a treacherous freedom fighter? Yet this is what the government is, in effect, asking us to do

— to desert our faithful allies. We will not fall into that trap.

ANC is nonaligned

The government also accuses us of being agents of the Soviet Union. The truth is that the ANC is nonaligned, and we welcome support from the East and the West, from the socialist and capitalist countries. The only difference, as we have explained on countless occasions before, is that the socialist countries supply us with weapons, which the West refuses to give us. We have no intention whatsoever of changing our stand on this question.

The government's exaggerated hostility to the SACP and its refusal to have any dealings with that party have a hollow ring. Such an attitude is not only out of step with the growing cooperation between the capitalist and socialist countries in different parts of the world, but it is also inconsistent with the policy of the government itself, when dealing with our neighbouring states.

Not only has South Africa concluded treaties with the Marxist states of Angola and Mozambique — quite rightly in our opinion — but she also wants to strengthen ties with Marxist Zimbabwe. The government will certainly find it difficult, if not altogether impossible, to reconcile its readiness to work with foreign Marxists for the peaceful resolution of mutual problems, with its uncompromising refusal to talk to South African Marxists.

The reason for this inconsistency is obvious. As I have already said, the government is still too deeply committed to the principle of white domination and, despite lip service to reform, it is deadly opposed to the sharing of political power with blacks. And the SACP is merely being used as a smokescreen to retain the monopoly of political power.

The smear campaign against the ANC also helps the government to evade the real issue at stake, namely the exclusion from political power of the black majority by a white minority, which is the source of all our troubles.

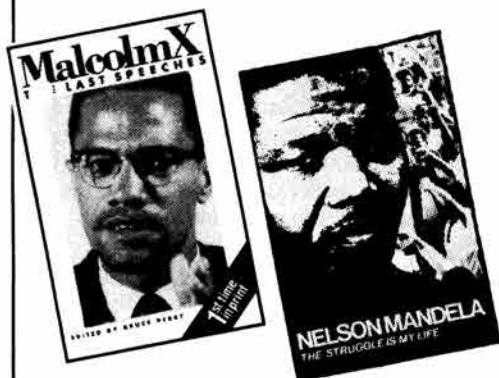
Personal position

Concerning my own personal position, I have already informed you that I will not respond to the government's demand that ANC members should state whether they are members of the SACP or not.

But because much has been said by the media, as well as by government leaders regarding my political beliefs, I propose to use this opportunity to put the record straight.

My political beliefs have been explained in the course of several political trials in which I was charged, in the policy documents of the ANC, and in my autobiography *The Struggle Is My Life*, which I wrote in prison

Continued on next page



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S. African rail workers make gains from strike

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON — Rail workers danced in the streets of Johannesburg, South Africa, to celebrate the signing of an agreement on January 27 that ended their 13-week strike. They had just attended a mass meeting to hear a report back from leaders of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU).

The strike achieved reinstatement of thousands of fired workers and moves toward union recognition. Signs are, however, that implementation of the agreement will not be smooth.

As the workers began to make their way home from the report back, security forces continued the violent attacks that had been a hallmark of the strike, clubbing and teargassing them indiscriminately.

During the strike 23,000 workers were fired, and as many as 30 deaths were reported in sharp clashes between strikers and vigilante-style gangs.

The strike began when workers walked off the job on November 1, angry with a wave of dismissals as the South African Transport Services (SATS) management imposed a new disciplinary code. The union saw these firings as part of management's plans for privatization of the railways. Yet because SATS had reneged on an interim union recognition agreement in September 1989, the union was denied any channels to voice its opposition to these plans and to the starvation wages that pervade the industry.

Following intense negotiations in the final days of the strike, SARHWU forced SATS to retreat from its position that all fired workers must resume work as new starters. At report backs on negotiations, meeting after meeting of rail workers insisted that all dismissed strikers have full reinstatement. In the end, SATS was forced to agree to the reinstatement of all strikers, guaranteeing their pension and seniority rights.

The agreement also moves toward union recognition, a fight first started by railway workers in the 1930s. SATS has agreed to recognize the union and bargain with it in those areas where it is registered with the Department of Employment and proves it has 40 percent membership in the region.

SARHWU has started this recognition process by applying in Southern Natal. SATS has agreed to negotiate with the union in the region in the April wage round even if the process has not been concluded by that time. This will involve derecognition of BLATU, the pro-apartheid organization called the Black Trade Union that currently negotiates for Black rail workers, although it has little support. Given the uniform wage policy of SATS, it is clear any advances in Natal will inspire workers in other regions.

Massacre at Germiston

A turning point in the dispute came with the Germiston station massacre in Johannesburg on January 9. This assault by an armed vigilante gang orchestrated by SATS resulted in six workers dead and scores seriously injured.

SATS claimed it suffered financially, losing over 40 million rand (US\$15.75 million) in rolling stock through the torching of trains and rising numbers of incidents of sabotage and derailments.

SATS was also hit by a widely supported commuter boycott. Broader mobilizations developed as the mass democratic movement became involved, demanding an end to the violent attacks on strikers and commuters throughout the country. Five thousand members of the telecommunication workers union, POTWA, staged a solidarity strike protesting the attacks on their own members traveling to work on the trains. The strike, which affected the whole of the north Rand area, ended when the post office agreed to provide alternative transport.

Throughout the strike, broad solidarity was mobilized. In Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement campaigned for justice for the rail workers and together with union members in London, mounted a picket at the South African Airways offices. The National Union of Railwaymen, (NUR) in Britain and its officially backed Rail Against Apartheid (RAA)

campaign got out the truth about the strike and raised solidarity, including workplace financial collections to aid the strike and messages of protest to the South African authorities from union branches throughout the country.

In response to the Germiston massacre, union-sponsored members of Parliament placed a motion of condemnation in the order book of the House of Commons. Jimmy Knapp, the NUR general secretary, raised support for South African rail workers in the International Transport Federation, of which he is an executive member.

Geoff Revell, chairperson of RAA and Alan Pottage, an NUR activist from Scotland, traveled to South Africa to extend solidarity from the British rail union and experience the strike firsthand. The apartheid immigration authorities denied Revell entry into the country and detained him at the airport for two days.

Despite a no-visa agreement with Britain, Revell was told he was on a South African security forces list and that he therefore required a visa. The existence of such a list had never before been acknowledged. Revell was released following international protests. Within 24 hours, a picket of 25 rail workers — including five members of the NUR na-

tional executive committee — and other anti-apartheid activists had organized a picket at the South African embassy in London, calling for Revell's entry into South Africa and in support of SARHWU.

Nel Coleman, press officer of the Congress of South African Trade Unions — the country's major union federation, stressed their concern over Revell's detention. "The perception of rail workers and COSATU is that all instruments at the state's disposal are being used to crush the strike, and today's action is another attempt to deprive the strikers of support."

NUR President John Cogger said, "We feel particularly bitter that a genuine trade union representative is refused admission but Mike Gating and other cricket mercenaries are given the red carpet treatment." Gating heads a cricket team that has been touring South Africa in defiance of an international ban on sporting events with teams representing the apartheid regime.



Afrapix-Impact Visuals/Paul Velasco
South African rail worker injured in clash with ticket collectors in December lies on platform of a Johannesburg railway station. Union, which recently conducted a hard-fought 13-week strike, charged that many collectors had been security personnel.

Mandela's declaration from prison

Continued from previous page

in 1975. I stated in these trials and publications that I did not belong to any organisation apart from the ANC. In my address to the court which sentenced me to life in prison in June 1964, I said, "Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading, and in part from my admiration of the structure and organisation of early African societies in this country."

"It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah, and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world and to overcome their legacy of poverty."³

My views still the same

My views are still the same. Equally important is the fact that many ANC leaders who are labelled communists by the government embrace nothing different from these beliefs. The term "communist" when used by the government has a totally different meaning from the conventional one. Practically every freedom fighter who receives his military training or education in the socialist countries is, to the government, a communist.

It would appear to be established government policy that, as long as the National Party is in power in this country, there can be no black freedom struggle and no black freedom fighter. Any black political organisation which, like us, fights for the liberation of its people through armed struggle must invariably be dominated by the SACP.

This attitude is not only the result of government propaganda. It is a logical consequence of white supremacy. After more than 300 years of racial indoctrination, the country's whites have developed such deep-seated contempt for blacks as to believe that we cannot think for ourselves, that we are incapable of fighting for political rights without incitement by some white agitator.

3. The full text of Mandela's statement given in 1964 at the opening of his defense during the Rivonia trial, named after the site of the arrests of those accused with him, is reprinted in *The Struggle Is My Life* (New York: Pathfinder, \$8.95).

In this passage Mandela refers to Mohandas Gandhi, a leader of the struggle against British colonial rule in India; Jawaharlal Nehru, also an Indian nationalist and the country's first prime minister after independence; Kwame Nkrumah, president of the West African country of Ghana from 1960 to 1966; and Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's president from 1956 to 1970.

In accusing the ANC of domination by the SACP and in calling on ANC members to renounce the Party, the government is deliberately exploiting that contempt.

The government is equally vehement in condemning the principle of majority rule. The principle is rejected despite the fact that it is a pillar of democratic rule in many countries of the world. It is a principle which is fully accepted in the white politics of this country.

Only now that the stark reality has dawned that apartheid has failed, and that blacks will one day have an effective voice in government, are we told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is acceptable to whites as long as it is considered within the context of white politics.

If black political aspirations are to be accommodated, then some other formula must be found, provided that formula does not raise blacks to a position of equality with whites.

Yet majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and white South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied.

It is precisely because of its denial that the government has become the enemy of practically every black man. It is that denial that has sparked off the current civil strife.

By insisting on compliance with the above-mentioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country, but turmoil; no strong and independent ANC, but a weak and servile organisation playing a supportive role to white minority rule; not a nonaligned ANC, but one which is a satellite of the West and which is ready to serve the interests of capitalism.

No worthy leaders of a freedom movement will ever submit to conditions which are essentially terms of surrender dictated by a victorious commander to a beaten enemy, and which are really intended to weaken the organisation and to humiliate its leadership.

The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement, and a meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country, better relations with our neighbour states, admission to the Organisation of African Unity, readmission to the United Nations and other world bodies, to international markets, and improved international relations generally.

An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a nonracial society, is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

Two central issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: firstly, the demand

for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions. Such reconciliation will be achieved only if both parties are willing to compromise. The organisation will determine precisely how negotiations should be conducted. It may well be that this should be done at least in two stages — the first where the organisation and the government will work out together the preconditions for a proper climate for negotiations. Up to now both parties have been broadcasting their conditions for negotiations without putting them directly to each other.

The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so. Any other approach would entail the danger of an irresolvable stalemate.⁴

Overcome the current deadlock

Lastly, I must point out that the move I have taken provides you with the opportunity to overcome the current deadlock and to normalise the country's political situation. I hope you will seize it without delay. I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten.

4. The following explanatory note was appended to the text of the document released by the African National Congress:

"The last part of the document containing the idea that there could be an exchange between the regime and the ANC on the question of what steps each side could take to create conditions for talks was considered by the National Executive Committee."

"The National Executive Committee was able to convey its thinking to Comrade Mandela on this question. He fully accepted the organisation's insistence that before talks could take place the preconditions contained in the Harare Declaration had to be met by the government."

The Harare Declaration was issued Aug. 21, 1989, by the Organization of African Unity at a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe. It denounces apartheid in South Africa and calls on the Pretoria regime to negotiate with the ANC and other liberation organizations. It sets as preconditions for negotiations the release of all political prisoners and detainees, lifting the state of emergency, removal of troops from the Black townships, lifting the bans and restrictions on individuals and organizations, and cessation of political trials and executions.

Rallies in S. Africa hail ANC unbanning

Continued from front page country.

Celebrations swept townships across South Africa. In Soweto, a huge Black township outside of Johannesburg, thousands poured into the streets to cheer their victory. A rally of tens of thousands in the township of Alexandria sang and chanted slogans of the now legal ANC.

Some 100 students from the predominantly white University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg began a march towards the city center after hearing the news. They were joined by office workers and bystanders waving ANC banners and holding newspapers with full-page headlines that declared: "ANC unbanned!" The celebration was stopped, then teargassed by police who cited regulations requiring permits for outdoor gatherings.

Newspapers published interviews and photographs of anti-apartheid leaders for the first time in years — an illegal act prior to the new rulings.

The banning had forced the ANC underground in the early 1960s and its leaders were either jailed or driven into exile. Founded in 1912, today it is at the head of the mass movement fighting to bring an end to the apartheid system.

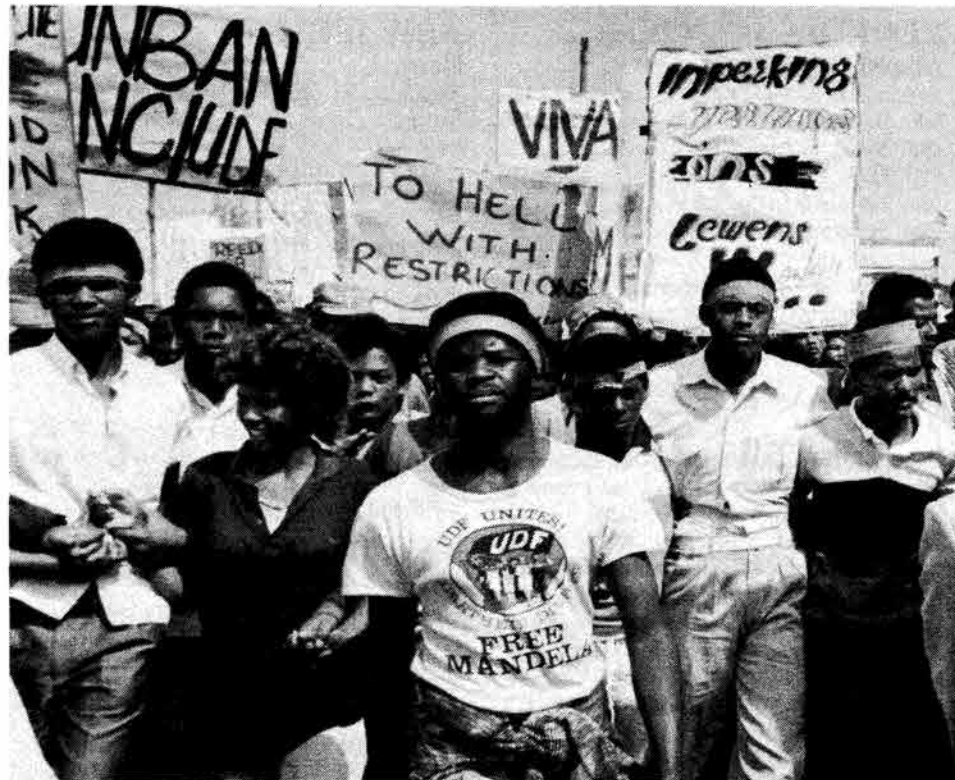
The SACP has long supported and been an ally of the ANC. (See statement by Nelson Mandela, page 8.) The Pan Africanist Congress split off from the ANC in 1959.

Additional steps by regime

Additional steps taken by the regime include the freeing of activists jailed because of membership in a banned organization; repealing most emergency regulations curtailing freedom of the press; suspension of the use of the death penalty, pending review of its use; ending restrictions on hundreds of activists; and limiting political detentions (jailing) to six months — now with the right to legal representation.

"The Government wishes to talk to all leaders who seek peace," de Klerk said. The armed struggle to end apartheid is no longer needed because everyone can "pursue politics freely," he concluded.

Government ministers indicated the lifting of the restrictions allows the return of ANC



Supporters of freedom struggle march in Oudtshoorn in September last year. Despite state of emergency, jailings, executions, and brutal repression, the regime has been unable to stem growing tide of fight against apartheid.

members who are "not guilty of criminal activity."

The steps taken by de Klerk are in response to the expanding organization and mobilization of the anti-apartheid struggle. Despite a state of emergency, jailings, executions, and brutal repression, the regime has been unable to stem the growing tide of the decades-long fight against the apartheid system.

Moreover, the regime has been dealt significant political, military, and economic setbacks internationally over the past several years.

ANC President Oliver Tambo and other leaders of the ANC said in a press release issued from Stockholm, Sweden, that "the announcements go a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations."

They urged the release of all political pris-

oners, an end to the state of emergency, the immediate release of Mandela, and ceasing of the practice of detention without trial.

A number of international bodies, including the United Nations, have demanded the regime adopt these measures, remove its troops from the townships, and end all repressive legislation — including the Internal Security Act, designed to outlaw political activity — prior to beginning negotiations with the liberation movement.

The ANC reiterated its desire to do "everything in its power to end the apartheid system as quickly as possible, and by all means possible, including negotiations."

The "normalisation of relations between South Africa and the rest of the world must continue to depend on ending the apartheid system," the statement emphasized.

Thabo Mbeki, secretary for international affairs of the ANC, in a written statement published in the *New York Times* on February 4, responded to de Klerk's call for an end to the armed struggle.

The "ANC will never lay down arms unilaterally," Mbeki wrote. The ANC would, as soon as a "climate for negotiations has been created," be willing to negotiate "a mutually binding suspension of armed hostilities."

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was established in 1961 by Mandela and other ANC leaders after South African cops attacked a peaceful march in Sharpeville, killing 67 Blacks.

A COSATU statement called the move "significant, and a victory for the people of South Africa," but said "it still falls short of the fundamental steps needed to end the political conflict in our country."

The UDF called "on our people to build afresh... the trade unions, the civic organizations, the street committees, the area committees, women's organizations, and so on to ensure total liberation is achieved."

COSATU said, "The cornerstones of apartheid still remain intact. The Group Areas Act, the Land Act, Population Registration Act, etc. still remain on the statute books."

Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, told a *New York Times* correspondent that the government's decisions have "triggered off a new situation."

Slovo, also a central leader of the ANC, described the conditions in the country as "volatile," and said there is "new space, which de Klerk has been forced to provide, increased organization and political activity."

The PAC released a statement declaring, "The reforms announced by de Klerk today are irrelevant and meaningless because apartheid cannot be reformed. We cannot talk about ending apartheid. We can only eliminate it."

Among the pro-apartheid forces, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht called de Klerk's speech "high treason" and called for new elections. The Conservatives, the main parliamentary opposition to de Klerk's National Party, vowed to hold marches and strikes by white workers to try and force de Klerk from office.

With the new moves South Africa's rulers

hope the economic, political, and cultural sanctions adopted by numerous countries around the world will be relaxed. It is seeking to bolster its trade relations with other countries in Africa, which are a vital market for its goods.

The British government immediately welcomed de Klerk's moves and lifted cultural, academic, and scientific restrictions. Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said, "The changes now taking place in South Africa vindicate a policy of contact rather than isolation."

The U.S. State Department applauded de Klerk's "courageous launching of his government's offer of negotiations" and called on all groups to start talks to "begin in earnest the process of a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic South Africa." U.S. President George Bush said he would open discussions with Congress on ending sanctions. A number of congressional leaders said they were opposed to lifting any sanctions at the time.

Many heads-of-state in Africa welcomed the moves but insisted on the further dismantling of apartheid before normalizing relations.

Blows dealt to apartheid rule

The latest moves follow the release of seven ANC leaders and one PAC leader from prison last fall. Rallies of up to 80,000 have been held throughout the country to greet ANC leader Walter Sisulu. He is a long-time collaborator of Mandela and was imprisoned with him for 26 years.

A secret tape recording of a speech to 500 police commanders prior to the announcement of the new moves in parliament revealed that de Klerk had appealed for the officers' support.

The changes are needed, he told them, to avoid "an Armageddon in which, even if blood flows ankle-deep in our streets and four or five million people have been shot dead, the problem will be just as great as before we began shooting."

ANC General Secretary Alfred Nzo told a correspondent from the British *Guardian* that the moves "are the officialization of a position which has already been taken by our people."

The unbanning of the ANC "makes it possible to consult with our people openly, to discuss the future with them, and prepare the ground for meaningful negotiations," he said.

1,500 in Sweden greet anti-apartheid leaders from South Africa

BY ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Under a banner that read, "Welcome to Sweden ANC leaders," 1,500 people turned out to hail representatives of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, including veteran leaders of the African National Congress, on February 4.

Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, Niilo Taapopi of the South West Africa People's Organisation, Vaz Conreiras on behalf of the African Ambassadors Group in Sweden, and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain were among those welcoming the liberation leaders.

The South African delegation had come to Sweden to meet with ANC President Oliver Tambo, who is hospitalized in Stockholm recovering from a serious illness. Their visit coincided with the February 2 announcement by South African President F.W. de Klerk lifting several restrictive apartheid laws, including the 30-year ban on the ANC and other organizations.

Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni, and Elias Motsoaledi, longtime ANC leaders released from prison in October, were introduced. Also present were ANC leader Govan Mbeki, ANC General Secretary Alfred Nzo, international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki, United Democratic Front leader Albertina Sisulu, and ANC Executive Committee member and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

Members of the delegation addressed the crowd on the current stage of the struggle to bring down apartheid and recent moves by the Pretoria regime.

Hundreds in New York cheer freedom struggle gains

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

NEW YORK — More than 500 opponents of apartheid packed the street in front of the South African consulate here February 2. The action celebrated the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa and the other changes announced by South African President F.W. de Klerk earlier the same day. The demonstration demanded the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the end to the apartheid system.

The rally — attended by representatives of 61 organizations, including a broad array of unions and churches — was opened by Jesse Jackson, who urged the crowd to step up anti-apartheid protests. Tebogo Mafole, the African National Congress' chief representative to the United Nations, hailed the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of most of South Africa's media restrictions. He said other immediate steps, including the release of all political prisoners and the ending of the state of emergency, must be taken.

"We must not allow international pressure to be reduced," Mafole said. "This is the time to impose stricter sanctions, to put more pressure on the South African regime until apartheid is brought down."

Charles Zilla Vecinco, a representative from the South African Council of Churches based in Cape Town, called February 2 "a day of victory that we must claim, a day in history that our grandchildren will celebrate." The South African government has been "driven to this point by the power of the people and international solidarity," he said.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 United Auto Workers, and Hinyangerya Asheeke, the South West Africa People's Organisation representative to the UN, were among the other speakers.

The demonstration was the first activity organized by the newly formed Nelson Mandela Reception Committee in New York.

Similar committees have been set up in other cities in anticipation of the release of Mandela, including London, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Denver, Atlanta, Boston, and Seattle.

Initiated at the request of the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa to coordinate actions with the National Reception Committee in that country, the International Reception Committee based in London has won a broad number of endorsers. Among them are recently released ANC leader Walter Sisulu; Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Cyril Ramaphosa, a leader of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and National Union of Mineworkers; and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, an international figure in the anti-apartheid movement who serves as the convenor of the IRC.

Other world figures who have added their names include, Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, former German chancellor Willie Brandt, former Australian prime minister Malcolm Fraser, and Shridath Ramphal, secretary of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Initial endorsers in the United States include Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers; Jay Mazur, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Morton Bahr, president of the Communications Workers; Jack Scheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Members of Congress Patricia Schroeder and Ronald Dellums, Coretta Scott King, and Hazel Dukes, president of the New York National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Leaders of the Episcopal Church, World Council of Churches, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations have also endorsed.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

U.S. Hands Off Cuba! Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 17. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50; \$5 with dinner. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The Protests in Eastern Europe and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 407½ N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

The Eastern Airlines Strike Can Still Be Won! Panel of airline workers. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Protest Attacks on Cuba! Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Palestine Annual Festival: Celebrating Two Years of the Intifada. Speaker: Clovis Maksoud, ambassador League of Arab States to UN; entertainment by Walid Abdel Salam and Al-Watan Dabkeh Ensemble. Sun., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Grand Prospect Hall, 263 Prospect Ave. Sponsor: Committee for Democratic Palestine. For more information call (718) 438-0538.

New York City

Beyond the News. Hosted by Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Every Wed., 7-7:30 p.m. WBAI 99.5 FM.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption: The Case of the Workers League. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

"One Day Longer Than Frank Lorenzo": The New Stage in the Eastern Strike. Speakers: Frank Planinac, president International Association of Machinists Local 1044 and Eastern strike coordinator; Ann Fuller, wife of Eastern striker; Richie Pfeuffer, Eastern striker, member IAM Local 1044. Sun., Feb. 11, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

International Drug Trade. Speaker: Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Mon., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. Kay Chapel, American University. Sponsor: Caribbean Student Association, Kennedy Political Union, Young Socialist Alliance.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

New Stage in the Eastern and Pittston Strikes: Solidarity Can Bring Victory. Panel of strike activists. Sat., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant

During Black History Month . . .

FLORIDA

Miami

Events held at Pathfinder Bookstore 137 NE 54th St. Donations: \$2. Translation to Spanish and Creole. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

New Advances in the South African Revolution. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m.

Malcolm X: An Outstanding American Revolutionary. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Black History Month Events of Baltimore Militant Labor Forum. Programs held at Pathfinder Bookstore, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations: \$2 each program, \$3 for dinner. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Malcolm X and His Influence on the Caribbean. Speaker: Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain prime minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, editor of *One People, One Destiny*. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m.; dinner at 6 p.m.

Malcolm X: The Last Speeches. Program to celebrate the publication of the Pathfinder book, with Don Rojas and others. Sun., Feb. 18, 4 p.m.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Celebrate the Publication of Malcolm X: The Last Speeches. Speakers: Gormez Parks, Black law student leader, University of Minnesota; Chris Nisan, Africana Student Cultural Association, U of M; Justin Atwood, high school student activist; August Nimitz, political science professor, U of M; Denise McInerney, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 24. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 310 E 38th St. Sponsors: Pathfinder Bookstore, Africana Student Cultural Association. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Cuba and Angola: Response to the South African Escalation. Documentary on the defeat of apartheid troops in Angola produced by Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. Sat., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 5534 Troost. Donation: \$2. For more information call (816) 444-7880.

All programs sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum except where indicated.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Malcolm X: His Relevance for Today's Struggles. Speakers: Valorie Caffé, president New Jersey Anti-Apartheid Mobilization Coalition; Rich Ariza, Socialist Workers Party; representative African National Congress of South Africa. Sat., Feb. 24. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Coming Revolution in South Africa. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Caribbean: Nobody's "Backyard." Sun., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Civil Rights Movement: What It Was and What It Accomplished. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers; Muhammad Ahmad, author *Malcolm X and the Black Liberation Movement*. Sat., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Malcolm X: Revolutionary and Internationalist. Film and speaker. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Events held at Pathfinder Bookstore, 9 E Chelton Ave. Donations: \$2. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary. Sat., Feb. 17, 7 p.m.

South Africa: The Defiance Campaign. Sat., Feb. 24, 7 p.m.

Pittsburgh

Malcolm X Today. A panel discussion. Sun., February 18, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. For more information call (412) 361-1506.

TEXAS

Houston

New Stage in the Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Malcolm X: The Relevance of His Ideas for Today. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Fighting Racism in World War II: An Untold Chapter in the History of the Civil Rights Movement. Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Cuba and Angola: Response to the South African Escalation. Documentary on the defeat of apartheid troops in Angola produced by Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Malcolm X: Revolutionary and Internationalist. Video showing and discussion. Sat., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

Manchester

The Coming Revolution in South Africa. Thurs., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookcentre, Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. For more information call 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

The Legacy of Malcolm X: Forging a World Revolutionary Leadership Today. Speaker: Steve Penner, executive secretary Communist League. Sun., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption: The Case of the Workers League. Speaker: representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

The Fight for Workers' Unity: A Living Wage, 35-Hour Week, End Discrimination. Speaker: Clive Turnbull, member Amalgamated Engineering Union at Powell Duffryn Wagons. Fri., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookcentre, 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1.

Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 0222-484677.

CANADA

Toronto

The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis. Video by Nick Castle. Sat., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, 4th fl. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (416) 861-1399 or 654-3431.

Joining Hands for International Women's Day in Cuba. Study tours Feb. 25-March 4 and Feb. 25-March 11. Cost: \$749 (1 week), \$949 (2 weeks). Departure from Toronto. Travel provided by Magna Holidays, Inc. For more information call (416) 782-6569 or 767-5072.

Vancouver

Niños Deudores (Children of the Debt). Video in Spanish by Estela Bravo with English subti-

les. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

U.S. Out of Central America. Demonstration Sat., Feb. 17, 12 noon. Sargele Torg. Sponsors: Sweden-Nicaragua Friendship Association, Sweden-Cuba Friendship Association, "El Salvador Will Win."

Nordic Brigade to Cuba. Slideshow and discussion with participants on the brigade: Rosita Gonzáles, Union of Communist Youth; Dag Tirsén. Sat., Feb. 17, 3 p.m. Room 404, Medborgarhuset (T-bana Medborgarplatsen). Sponsor: Sweden-Cuba Friendship Association.

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OHIO: Cleveland: 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

OREGON: Portland: 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 9 E. Chelton Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown: 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor, Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-692 0319.

BRITAIN

Cardiff: 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Postal code: CF2 1EJ. Tel: 0222-484677.

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 01-401 2293.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield S3 8GW. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Persistent — If Romania's ex-King Michael got back in, it would be his third shot at the job. In 1927 he replaced his father, Carol, but in 1930, Dad threw him out. Michael



Harry Ring

made a comeback in 1940, holding the post until he headed west in 1947.

Grass roots dynasty — In explanation of the above: Romania's

King Carol originally lost his crown for marrying a Romanian. It seems the dynasty had been installed by German imperialism, hence the no-Romanian marriage rule.

Travelers ain't confused, Lorenzo is — Continental, sister airline to strikebound Eastern, abruptly fired its ad agency and is hunting for a new one. Noting that the company is hurting, the *New York Times* said that one problem is that its image has been "tarnished by travelers' confusion of the relationship of Continental and Eastern Airlines."

Theoretical contribution of the week — "You can't understand Stalin simply as an intrinsic villain. He

had a unique mind — a criminal mind — but still he was a communist. Not of the positive, life-asserting kind, but the negative, deeply egalitarian type." — Victor Kisselov, a section head in the Soviet Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, in an interview with Irwin Silber in *Frontline*, a U.S. left paper.

The recyclers — It was only with the outbreak of egg-related salmonella in Britain that people outside the poultry industry there learned that chickens are fed the ground-up, frequently diseased, remains of their predecessors. This is now reportedly the subject of tighter hygiene controls.

Hope they have better coverage — "Today, the family pet can receive ultrasound tests, prosthetic hip surgery, pacemaker implants, electrocardiograms, plastic surgery, endoscopic exams, root canal, hearing aids, kidney transplants, and laser and arthroscopic surgery." — *American Medical News*.

No drug dealers on the corner? — Responding to assertions they had been paid off, the Sega company explained why its children's video games featured Budweiser billboards and Marlboro signs and banners. It was, Sega assured, "simply a game designer's innocent attempt to mimic real-life locations."

A great bet — After years of

stalling, the Food and Drug Administration required phasing out use of Red No. 3, a food and cosmetics additive long known to cause cancer. An FDA spokesperson said the lifetime odds on getting cancer from the dye was 1 in 100,000 — six times better than the chances of dying in a plane crash.

Makes sense — "Q. You don't have much truck with the idea that the Democratic Party is the savior of the American working people. A. No, I sure don't. In fact, I see them as the problem. They create the illusion of hope. . . . We have a one-party system with two heads." — From a *New York Newsday* interview with Michael Moore, director of *Roger & Me*.

Soviet regime's 1917 appeal to Muslims of the East

The following appeal was issued Dec. 3, 1917, by the Soviet government of workers and peasants that had come to power in Russia a few weeks before. It was addressed to "All Moslem Toilers of Russia and the East."

Under the tsarist monarchy tens of millions of Asians had been forcibly incorporated into the Russian Empire. Many of these peoples were still nomadic, and some were organized on a tribal basis. Their cultures and languages were abused by Great Russian supremacy, and the religious practices of Muslims were trampled on by the monarchy and the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox church.

Settlers from elsewhere in the empire moved into the areas where these oppressed peoples lived and stole their traditional lands. Resistance by the native inhabitants was met by military force.

Even before 1917 ferment had begun in these areas, inspired by democratic revolutions in China, Turkey, Iran, and Russia.

After the tsar was toppled by the massive uprising in February 1917, the national movements deepened. In many cases these struggles took a religious form and Muslim mullahs and other clerical figures took the lead. But the provisional government established in February refused to honor the right to self-determination.

It was in this context that the communist-led Soviet republic that came to power in November issued its appeal, a declaration that was followed by deeds.

An important gesture was made when the government turned over to a regional congress of Muslims in Petrograd a sacred Koran that had been stolen by the tsar's troops and placed in the imperial library.

Most significantly, during the three-year civil war waged by counterrevolutionary armies, the revolutionary Red Army won wide support from oppressed peoples because of its respect for national autonomy and religious freedom and for supporting radical land reform.

This policy toward oppressed peoples in the early years of the Russian revolution was reversed with the rise of the privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin, and the prison house of nationalities was restored.

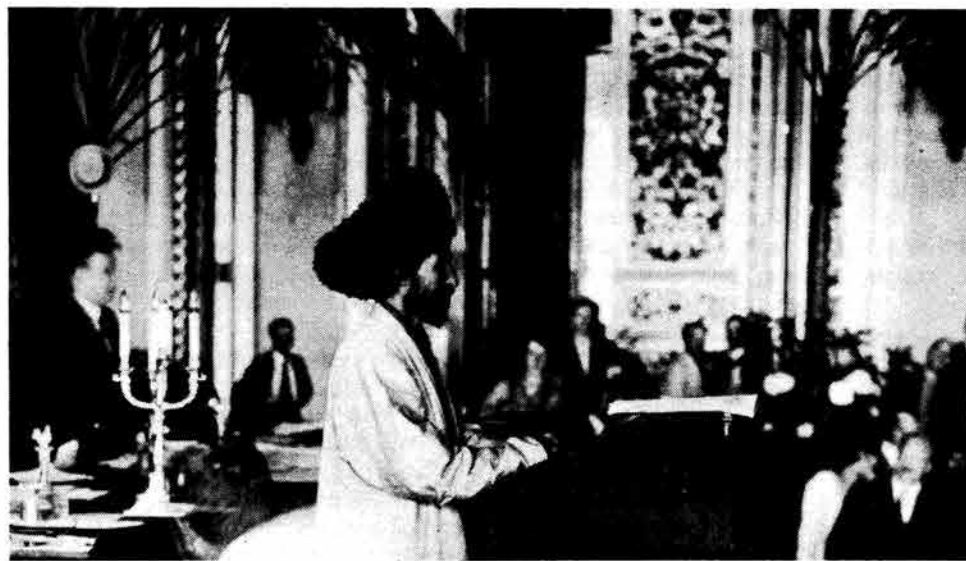
Today, a new revolt against this tyranny is emerging, which includes some of the country's 50 million or more Muslims. More than one-sixth of the USSR's total population, they are the majority in six of the 15 republics — Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kirghizia.

The translation of the appeal is taken from *Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy (1917-24) Vol. I*, selected and edited by Jane Degras.

* * *

Comrades! Brothers!

Great events are taking place in Russia! An end is drawing near to the murderous war, started by the bargainings of foreign Powers. The rule of the plunderers who exploit the peoples of the world is tottering. The ancient citadel of slavery and serfdom is crumbling under the blows of the Russian revolution. The world of violence and oppression is approaching its last days. A new world is being born, a world of the toilers and the liberated. At the head of this revolution stands the workers' and peasants' Government of Russia, the Council of People's Commissars. Revolutionary councils of workers',



The Congress of the Toilers of the East held in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920. Initiated by the Communist International, the congress advanced the fight of oppressed peoples for self-determination and deepened the alliance between the Soviet government and the Muslim nationalities long oppressed by tsarism. The revolutionary government's stance was proclaimed in the 1917 statement declaring "free and inviolable" Muslims' beliefs, customs, and national and cultural institutions.

soldiers', and peasants' deputies are scattered over the whole of Russia. Power in the country is in the hands of the people. The labouring masses of Russia burn with the single desire to achieve an honourable peace and to help the oppressed peoples of the world to win their freedom.

Russia is not alone in this sacred cause. The mighty call to freedom sounded by the Russian revolution has been taken up by all the toilers in the East and West. The peoples of Europe, exhausted by war, are already stretching out their hands to us, in our work for peace. The workers and soldiers of the West are already rallying under the banner of socialism, storming the strongholds of imperialism.

Even far-off India, that land which has been oppressed by the "enlightened" European robbers for so many centuries, has raised the standard of revolt, organizing its councils of deputies, throwing the hated yoke of slavery from its shoulders, and summoning the peoples of the East to the struggle and to freedom.

The empire of capitalist plunder and violence is falling in ruins. The ground is slipping from under the feet of the imperialist robbers.

In the face of these great events, we turn to you toiling and disinherited Moslems of Russia and the East.

Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Trans-Caucasia, Chechens and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia! Henceforward your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are declared free and inviolable! Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, will be protected by the might of the revolution, by the Councils of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies!

Support this revolution and its authorized Government!

Moslems of the East! Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Hindus. All you in whose lives and property, in whose freedom and native land the rapacious European plunderers have

for centuries traded! All you whose countries the robbers who began the war now desire to share among themselves! We declare that the secret treaties of the dethroned Tsar regarding the annexation of Constantinople, confirmed by the deposed Kerensky, are now null and void. The Russian Republic and its Government, the Council of People's Commissars, are opposed to the seizure of foreign territory; Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Moslems.

We declare that the treaty for the partition of Persia is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military operations the troops

will be withdrawn from Persia and the Persians will be guaranteed the right freely to determine their own destiny.

We declare that the treaty for the partition of Turkey, which was to despoil it of Armenia, is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military operations, the Armenians will be guaranteed the right freely to determine their political destiny.

It is not from Russia and its revolutionary Government that you have to fear enslavement, but from the European imperialist robbers, from those who laid waste your native lands and converted them into their colonies.

Overthrow these robbers and enslavers of your country! Now, when war and desolation are demolishing the pillars of the old order, when the entire world is blazing with indignation against the imperialist brigands, when the least spark of discontent bursts out in a mighty flame of revolution, when even the Indian Moslems, oppressed and tormented by the foreign yoke, are rising in revolt against their slave-drivers — now it is impossible to keep silent.

Lose no time in throwing off the yoke of the ancient oppressors of your land! Let them no longer violate your hearths! You must yourselves be masters in your own land! You yourselves must arrange your life as you yourselves see fit! You have the right to do this, for your fate is in your own hands!

Comrades! Brothers! Advance firmly and resolutely towards a just and democratic peace!

We inscribe the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world on our banners!

Moslems of Russia!

Moslems of the East!

We look to you for sympathy and support in the work of regenerating the world.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Feb. 15, 1980

GREENSBORO, N.C. — On Feb. 1, 1960, four Black students from North Carolina Agricultural & Technical College sat down at the Woolworth's lunch counter to protest segregation. Their action helped spur the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Twenty years later the students and their struggle was honored in a week-long series of activities here.

The high point came on February 1 when the four former students — Joseph McNeil, David Richmond, Franklin McCain, and Jibreel Khazan (formerly Ezell Blair, Jr.) — returned to Greensboro. In the morning they were guests for breakfast at the Woolworth's where they held the sit-in.

The student governments at predominantly Black A&T State University and Bennett College scheduled addresses by former UN ambassador Andrew Young and Rev. Ben Chavis. Chavis hammered home the political importance of the march in Greensboro against Klan violence scheduled for the next day. "We're not going to let the Klan or Nazis drive us out of our communities. They'd better understand that," the Wilmington 10 leader said. "Everybody get some rest tonight because I want you all to be up early tomorrow."

The example of the four students in 1960

had become a source of inspiration to students to take part in the march, which drew 7,000 participants.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Feb. 15, 1965

The voter-registration drive kicked off by John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, January 17 in Selma, Alabama, continues to press forward despite the stalling tactics of registration officials and the courts and the brutality of Sheriff James Clark. Meanwhile, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., released from jail in Selma, has gone to Montgomery to begin a registration drive there.

On February 8, Negroes in Selma again demanded to be registered at the Dallas County courthouse, and when officials offered to take their names instead of registering them, the Negroes protested.

By the end of the day, Clark had arrested 50 more persons, bringing the total arrests to 3,400 since January 17.

On February 4 Malcolm X appeared in Selma. He held a press conference and spoke to a meeting of the demonstrators, who are mostly school children, in the church used as a rallying center.

ANC unbanned, Free Mandela!

Working people in South Africa and internationally scored a significant victory with the February 2 lifting of restrictions and legalization of the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups in South Africa.

The bannings and the host of other restrictions on freedom of association, speech, and assembly — maintained through force of arms by the apartheid state — have been central weapons in the suppression of the fight for a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

The system of apartheid is doomed. The struggle by millions for their freedom is tearing apartheid apart. The apartheid state can no longer maintain the legalized system of segregation, race classification, confiscation of land and property of Blacks, and control over every aspect of labor and life through divide-and-conquer tactics and force and violence.

The measures announced by South African President F. W. de Klerk mean that for the first time in 30 years the ANC can legally hold meetings, organize, openly publish its views, and mobilize broad forces to wrest more rights and political elbowroom to help advance the fight against the apartheid state.

Because these concessions are a result of the mass struggle inside South Africa, and take place in the framework of a string of defeats in the expansionist drive by the regime, organizing protests now to further isolate the apartheid regime can be especially effective.

The broad anti-apartheid conferences and mobilizations inside the country since July have exhibited the depth of the struggle against the hated system.

The December anti-apartheid Conference for a Democratic Future held in Johannesburg drew 4,600 delegates from 2,100 organizations, representing some 15 million of the country's 37 million people. The meeting was the most representative event ever held in the country since the 1955 congress that adopted the Freedom Charter. The conference adopted resolutions on stepping up the struggle and planned further activities.

By contrast, the parliament to which de Klerk made his announcement is elected by some 2 million eligible, white voters.

The conference followed several months of mass protests against evils of the apartheid system — from actions to desegregate beaches to mass rallies at which freed ANC leaders spoke.

In September a general strike paralyzed the country. The Congress of South African Trade Unions-led action involved some 3 million workers who protested the parliamentary election September 6. Students boycotted classes and protests were held across the country.

The election day strike signifies the extent to which the working class in the country, through a powerful trade union federation, has directly become a major engine of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Rail workers, emerging victorious after a 13-week strike six days prior to the announcement of the new measures, sent a signal to the entire ruling class in the country that restrictions, firings, goon squads, and government interference will not stop the organization of the masses of working people.

Moreover, as apartheid rule begins to crumble, and as cleavages begin to widen within the ruling circles, some traditional chiefs in South Africa's bantustans are being won away from support to the regime. These desolate

scraps of land have been designated by the regime to be the 10 "homelands" of the African majority. Millions are forced to live there and migrate to work in the urban centers. The fact that a growing number of these chiefs are openly joining the Mass Democratic Movement represents a further weakening of apartheid rule.

This rising movement inside the country takes place within the framework of the regime being dealt blows internationally and its expansionist drive being reversed.

As an imperialist government, one that relies on its ability to export manufactured goods and capital, especially in southern Africa, the apartheid rulers are vulnerable to setbacks they suffer internationally.

The apartheid regime has sought to economically, militarily, and politically dominate the entire region. It has invaded and sent troops into neighboring countries to intimidate or overthrow sovereign governments. Pretoria, as a junior imperialist partner to Washington and London, has played an essential role as a stronghold for imperialist exploitation of the African continent.

A decisive blow was dealt to this course in Angola, when a combined force of troops from Angola, Cuba, and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation of Namibia decisively defeated a massive South African invasion of the country at Cuito Cuanavale in March 1988.

The stinging defeat settled forever whether the South African imperialists could militarily conquer, and politically and economically dominate, countries that had won their independence from Portugal, Britain, France, Belgium and other imperialist powers that previously dominated the region.

Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, Angola's minister of foreign affairs, explained last October that without defeating the invasion, "we would have no People's Republic of Angola, no Mozambique, probably no Zimbabwe, Zambia, or even Zaire."

The defeat of apartheid's army gave added inspiration to fighters in South Africa and deepened the conviction that the regime was vulnerable and could be brought down.

Moreover, far from expanding, Pretoria was forced, as a result of this defeat, to permit Namibia its independence. In November 1989, 74 years of direct South African rule was ended when Namibians voted for the first time for a constituent assembly.

The plea by de Klerk for the lifting of economic sanctions as a reward for the unbanning orders shows the extent to which the international fight to isolate the regime has been effective. Without direct economic, military, and political support from Washington, London, and other imperialist powers, the racist regime would have already fallen.

As a result of international protests, 277 multinational corporations were forced to cut direct investment links with South Africa between 1984 and April of last year. The South African economy faces increasing difficulties, and foreign reserves have been depleted in a desperate attempt to stave off the crisis.

Opponents of apartheid should seize the opportunity to step up demands on Washington, London, Paris, and other imperialist governments to impose tighter sanctions on and break all ties with South Africa.

Such protests would be a gigantic aid in the fight to force the regime to immediately free Nelson Mandela, end the state of emergency, release all political prisoners, and remove its troops from the townships.

Can't count on pensions

No one knows for sure when the next recession will take place. But one thing is certain: when it comes working people will be more vulnerable to its effects than during any downturn since World War II.

The growing difficulties facing banks and other lending agencies, evidenced by the near-total collapse of the savings and loan industry last year, have signaled that the savings and pension plans of millions of workers and farmers will not be protected by government insurance plans when the banking system flounders.

Another threat to workers' pensions was reported in the January 31 *Wall Street Journal* in an article warning of the possible crisis stemming from the insolvency of the government-run Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. (PBGC). The PBGC is the federal agency that insures more than \$800 billion in private retirement assets for nearly 40 million U.S. workers and more than 100,000 retirees.

According to a study by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, in 1988 the PBGC's liabilities exceeded assets by more than \$17 billion. This could spell disaster in the case of a default in the pension obligations of one or several major companies. The combined pension assets of six major airlines, for example, total almost \$10 billion or about four times the PBGC's current assets. A major default by one or two of the airlines would bankrupt the PBGC's funds.

Millions of workers who are counting on their pensions for a secure retirement face the prospect of their plans going down the drain. As an economic recession approaches, the looming crisis of the PBGC threatens to swallow up the hard-earned "safety nets" — like pensions and savings — of working people, helping turn an economic crisis into a catastrophe for millions.

A fighter 'who remained true to the working class'

BY DOUG JENNESS

February 11 marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of the *Militant's* first editor, James P. Cannon. He became editor when the paper began publishing in 1928.

Anniversaries and birthdays, including those with round numbers, tend to be artificial signposts for noting important developments in the working-class movement. This one, however, offers an occasion to give today's *Militant* readers, many of whom are involved in militant labor fights, a glimpse of the paper's origins and some of the traditions it has been part of.

Cannon came from a working-class family in Rosedale, Kansas, on the outskirts of Kansas City. As a teenager he worked in meat-packing plants and for the railroad, among

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

other jobs. When he was 16, he helped distribute the main socialist newspaper of that time, the *Appeal to Reason*.

It was a time of many labor battles, and hundreds of thousands of workers were rejecting old notions and misconceptions and adopting more radical and progressive ideas. At the age of 21, Cannon joined the Industrial Workers of the World, a revolutionary organization that promoted the idea of organizing workers into one big industrial union that would overturn capitalist rule and reorganize society. It downgraded political action and organization, counterposing them to "direct action," which it favored.

The young rebel soon became an organizer for the IWW, often riding the rails from one strike to another to help workers organize support for their struggles. In 1913 he was involved in a rubber strike in Akron, Ohio, which at one point sparked a shutdown of the entire town. The same year he was in Duluth, Minnesota, for a strike on the docks where iron ore was loaded for shipment to steel mills on the Great Lakes.

Cannon worked for an IWW newspaper, *Solidarity*, in New Castle, Pennsylvania, developed his skills as a soap-box speaker, got involved in free speech fights, and spent some time in local jails.

In 1917 the young militant's views about the IWW's course were radically shaken by the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia led by the Bolshevik Party. Cannon, like many other IWW members, immediately and enthusiastically supported the new revolutionary government in Russia, comparing it to the "one big union" he was fighting for. But he also recognized that in Russia a politically conscious section of the working people was organized into a political party. It was that organization, a communist party, that had proved to be decisive in leading the revolutionary mobilization of the exploited classes to victory.

Through a process of reeducation, Cannon shed the syndicalist views of the IWW and became a communist. He joined the left wing of the Socialist Party and started editing the *Workers' World* in Kansas City. The Socialist Party split in 1919 and the Communist Party was formed by components of the left wing. Cannon was elected to the CP's central committee and became a party organizer in the coalfields of southern Illinois.

Cannon soon went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he became the editor of the *Toiler*, a newspaper of the new CP. Soon the paper was moved to New York and Cannon went along with it. After a time, the paper's name was changed to the *Worker* and later to the *Daily Worker*.

Cannon became one of the central leaders of the fledgling Communist Party and participated with fellow revolutionists from other countries in meetings of the Communist International.

During the course of the 1920s the majority of the CP leaders in the United States and other countries abandoned the communist perspective. They became defenders of privilege, repression, and narrow nationalism in the Soviet Union as a bureaucratic caste developed in that country and usurped the power from working people.

Cannon, however, continued to hold fast to the same course he had started on, refusing to subordinate the interests of the working class to any exploiting or oppressive layer.

In 1928 Cannon and others were expelled from the CP and started publishing the *Militant*. They founded the Communist League of America, whose activists participated in labor battles as they developed during the Great Depression. This included the victorious struggle to organize the Teamsters union in Minneapolis in 1934.

Through a process of convergence and fusion with other working-class fighters who were adopting revolutionary ideas, the Socialist Workers Party was established in 1938. Cannon remained a central leader of the party for many years and was its national secretary until 1953.

Many of the speeches and writings by Cannon are available from Pathfinder and are well worth reading today.

When Cannon died in 1974, Farrell Dobbs, who succeeded him as SWP national secretary, said that Cannon had "remained true to himself, true to the movement, true to the working class with which he identified throughout his whole life." That remains the aim of the *Militant* Cannon helped found.

'America — land of free — isn't so free anymore'

We have just eaten lunch and I notice the man in cell 216, next to mine, was not fed. He has not been allowed to shower either.

When the guard comes to pick up our empty trays, I ask: "Why didn't you feed that man?"

"That's between 216 and the other guard," she answers.

They brought him in yesterday with a five-guard escort, handcuffed from behind. He must weigh 150 pounds, but

BEHIND PRISON WALLS

each guard weighs over 260 and has a nightstick.

It's obvious they've been beating him. His face says it all. The look of anger and humiliation, but no sign of fear. They were careful not to bruise him so that it could be seen.

It reminds me of the way they treated me.

* * *

I was sitting in the prison dining room, eating the last meal of the day. I wanted to go straight back to my cell and write letters or watch TV. I don't hang out in the yard because trouble is too easy to get into.

I noticed two guards asking people for identification cards. They were only going to tables where people wore hats and I knew they were giving them conduct violations. It only takes one violation for the parole board to deny parole. As far as they're concerned, if a guard gives you a violation, he is right and you are wrong.

One guard stopped at my table and asked for my ID. I told him I didn't have it with me and asked what the problem was.

"You're wearing your hat in the dining room, so I'm going to give you a violation," he told me.

I took my knit winter skullcap off, but he said, "It's too late now. You have the violation. Name and number?"

I told him I wanted to see the captain. As I left the room to go to the captain's office, two guards rushed at me. One grabbed me and I pushed him off, hitting him in the face. My arms were pinned behind me.

The room was crowded. People were watching, running, and screaming. The guards were trying to get out quick because the crowd was big and they were outnumbered 100 to 1.

Five more guards came running in, one of them a captain notorious for beating prisoners because of his hatred for all of us, particularly anyone with dark skin.

"Come along," he said, handcuffing me. All seven guards started dragging me out, beating me as they went. So I tried to kick myself free.

They tightened the cuffs on my wrists so that I now have nerve damage in both hands. One kept grabbing me in the

groin, trying to hurt me. Another tried grabbing my legs.

They carried me to the office and the captain left. He didn't want to be around while they beat me. It wouldn't do for a captain to be implicated in an illegal beating. Just let the rookies take the chances.

I stood there, in the middle of the room, surrounded by guards. A sergeant walked up to me and said, "So you think you're tough." He brought his knee up into my stomach.

They beat me until I was lying face down, trying to protect my face as best I could. The blows kept coming to my face, head, and back. After a while I felt numb all over. The blows felt distant and far away.

I decided to pretend I was unconscious, hoping they would stop. The sergeant pulled his men back, looked at me, picked me up. When they saw I could stand, he asked, "Why did you hit the guard?"

"They rushed me first," I said. They began hitting me again.

When they stopped, I lay there. They took all of my clothes, virtually tearing them from my body. Naked, on the floor, my face swollen, back hurting, bruises all over.

"I need a pair of boots, anyway," I heard a guard say.

I squinted through my eyelids and saw a guard standing above me with a glass jar filled with a dark red liquid. He threw it in my face. It burned so badly I wondered if I would go blind.

Someone led me to the shower and gave me a towel. After I cleaned myself up, they took me to a cell and gave me a paper hospital gown.

Five minutes later, they took me back to the office where a nurse asked if I was alright.

I didn't answer. Even if I told her what had happened, she wouldn't report it for fear of losing her job. She knew what had happened.

They took me back to my cell — no mattress, sheets, or blankets. They turned off the water in the sink and toilet.

After 15 minutes, they took me to the investigator's office. He read me my so-called rights and told a woman with a camera to take pictures to be used against me in court. I still have no idea how pictures showing me bruised and beaten can be evidence against me.

Then the investigator asked a guard, weighing about 350 and looking like a wrestler, "Are you hurt? Are you bleeding?" The guard had blood on his shirt.

"The blood on his shirt is mine. They beat me," I said. But the investigator ignored me. He works for the same system they do.

* * *

The next day they would not feed me. I still had no mattress, sheets, or blanket.

They came to my cell and began talking to me. One guard

kept holding up a homemade rope for me to see. It was made of sheets and shaped into a crude noose. The guard silently formed the words with his mouth, "Going to hang you, nigger."

Now I was really scared. But I decided if they came to hang me, I would fight so hard they'd beat me to death.

Cell bars down the walk started to rattle because the other prisoners could hear some of what the sergeant was saying. They made noise in an attempt to support me.

"I'll be back," a guard whispered, "at 7:30 to kick your ass."

I yelled to the other prisoners, telling them of the threat.

"Oh, and don't eat the food here," said another guard. "It could kill you."

The guards left. I waited most of the night to see if they would come. I couldn't sleep anyway on that hard slab of concrete where a mattress should have been.

* * *

Four days later I got a mattress — no sheets or blanket or running water. But that night they didn't feed me until the other prisoners yelled and cursed, demanding I be fed.

It got very cold. I lay on the mattress shivering in that paper gown. So I tore open the mattress and climbed inside, using it like a sleeping bag.

The guard on duty woke me and gave me a violation for destroying state property.

I was placed on \$3 spending money a month until I pay the \$46.50 they say I owe for the mattress. They also placed me on restricted visits.

* * *

I am in isolation.

I received a letter from the assistant public defender. I've often wondered why they are called public defenders because they are in the pay of the state government and couldn't defend the public if they wanted to.

She informs me that one of the cops of capitalism, the prosecutor, is offering me two years on each of three counts of assault. That would be six years in all and I have no good choice. I will lose if I take this to trial and will end up with five years on each count.

So I write and tell her I will plead guilty to obtain a smaller sentence.

I'm already serving a 30-year sentence and have been in prison for nine years and six months. This will mean I'm now serving 36 years.

America — the land of the free — isn't so free anymore.

The writer is a prisoner at the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City.

LETTERS

Vets on Panama invasion

A forum on the U.S. invasion of Panama was sponsored by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), the New Jersey Rainbow Coalition, and several other organizations in Montclair, New Jersey, on January 9.

Clarence Fitch of VVAW chaired the panel and urged people in the United States to actively demand "U.S. troops out!" Jane Franklin, a historian and author who was one of 118 delegates at a November 1989 international conference in Panama, stated, "The issue is Panamanian sovereignty, Panamanian self-determination." She explained that control of the Panama Canal was behind the invasion.

The panel included Roberto Drummond, a Panamanian-American and Vietnam-era veteran with the Center for International Political Studies, and Rev. German Acevedo, executive director of Marcha (Hispanic Caucus within the United Methodist Church).

M.R.

Newark, New Jersey

Crisis in El Salvador

I attended a January 14 forum in Roseburg, Oregon, on the atrocities of the Salvadoran government against its working class and poor. The speaker, Brenda Hubbard, had spent three months working with Co-Madres (Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared, and Assassinated of El Salvador) and documenting human rights violations.

She herself was injured in a bombing, arrested, beaten, tortured, and sexually harassed. To obtain her release from detention after more than 50 hours, good and benevolent

Uncle Sam made her sign a statement saying she was not abused in any way.

Hubbard's forum and the showing of the video *Crisis in El Salvador* brought the horror and reality of the situation into perspective for me.

If Hubbard is speaking elsewhere, people should do their best to hear her and support Co-Madres. The video is available from Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 78 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108, at a cost of \$15.

Co-Madres USA can be contacted at 945 G St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

Gene Lawhorn
Sutherlin, Oregon

Leonard Boudin

Constitutional rights and democratic freedoms have been a giant stride for mankind. This was the life of Leonard Boudin.

Anyone who gained his or her freedom in the past 50 years is most certainly indebted to Boudin. It is through him, more than any other individual, that these freedoms are intact for all of us in the United States and throughout the world. And nations themselves have gained from Boudin's help.

Thanks to Boudin, there is a better life in parts of the world because the masses themselves are on the move. The gigantic strides in Eastern Europe tell us this is so.

John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minnesota

Antilabor disruption

I've enjoyed the *Militant* for eight of the nine and a half years I've been in prison. The paper gives me hope, so thank you all for caring.

I was framed up and sentenced to

30 years, so I am glad that Mark Curtis has so many friends supporting him. That will make his release a lot swifter.

Every time I read the *Militant*, I share it with those who are hungry for news. The puppets of the prison administration also read it before sending it to me. Who knows, maybe it could do them some good to read the truth for a change.

I want to congratulate you on the victory over the Workers League and Alan Gelfand in the 10-year disruption lawsuit. Whenever this becomes a free country, the Socialist Workers Party will be known as the organization that first awakened the masses of American working people.

A prisoner
Jefferson City, Missouri

Nuke-toting trains?

The United Transportation Union paper *UTU News* has a report on government plans for the railroad cars that would be used to keep MX missiles moving around. They would try to make the train look as much like an ordinary freight train as possible, but the locomotive would have special features, including bullet-proof glass and armored plating.

And, the paper reports, "The diesel would have the same tightly woven silver flash curtains that hang in a B-52 bomber cockpit that can be drawn tight to protect the crew from the eye-searing fireballs of nuclear conflict."

I can assure you that we on the train crews are certainly glad to see the government is looking out for us.

Jane Roland
Greensboro, North Carolina



A paper in Spanish I

I found out about the *Militant* newspaper through a friend of mine. I could understand only a little since I am Cuban-American and am still learning English.

I came to the United States on the boatlift from Cuba in 1980 and am now realizing I made a mistake.

My friend informed me you have a fund for prisoners. If possible could you please send me a subscription to the *Militant* in Spanish. I would be most thankful.

A prisoner
Represa, California

A paper in Spanish II

I would like to know how to get a copy of the January 5 *Militant* in Spanish. What I want is the speech by Fidel Castro.

Please hurry up. A lot of Spanish-speaking people over here want to read it.

A prisoner
Represa, California

Editor's note: The January 5 issue of the *Militant* was a special edition, published in response to the Decem-

ber 20 U.S. invasion of Panama. It carried two speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro — one given prior to the invasion, paying tribute to the Cubans who have died while carrying out internationalist missions, and the other given the day after the invasion, defending Panamanian sovereignty.

The December 21 speech is reprinted in the January edition of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language monthly. *PM* regularly carries translations of many articles that appear in the *Militant*. Subscriptions, \$3 for four months for new readers, can be obtained by writing to *PM* at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Prisoners who are unable to afford the full subscription rates can write for information on our special prisoner fund.

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.

Rum Creek union-busting drive backed by federal board, cops

BY JIM ALTENBERG

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — After a mobilization of nearly 1,000 coal miners closed the Rum Creek Coal Sales, Inc., coal tippie in Dehue, West Virginia, January 26, U.S. government officials and the company's owner, A.T. Massey Coal Co., have escalated their efforts to drive the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) out of Rum Creek Coal. A tippie is a facility where coal is cleaned and processed for shipment.

Miners at Rum Creek went on strike August 20 when Massey hired a contractor to open the unionized tippie on a nonunion basis. Massey had closed the prep plant the previous month, claiming that the strikes of 44,000 UMWA miners who walked off the job in support of miners striking Pittston Coal Group had forced Rum Creek Coal into bankruptcy. The 1,900 Pittston miners in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky struck April 5; some 200 are from Logan County where Dehue is located.

Marshals escort scabs

On January 29 U.S. marshals escorted scab coal truck drivers into Rum Creek Coal. This continued throughout the week. The number of marshals has increased. Threatening arrests, marshals have forced the union to have no more than 15 pickets at the bridge leading into the tippie.

Although a court injunction limits the marshals' activity to the picket lines only, in

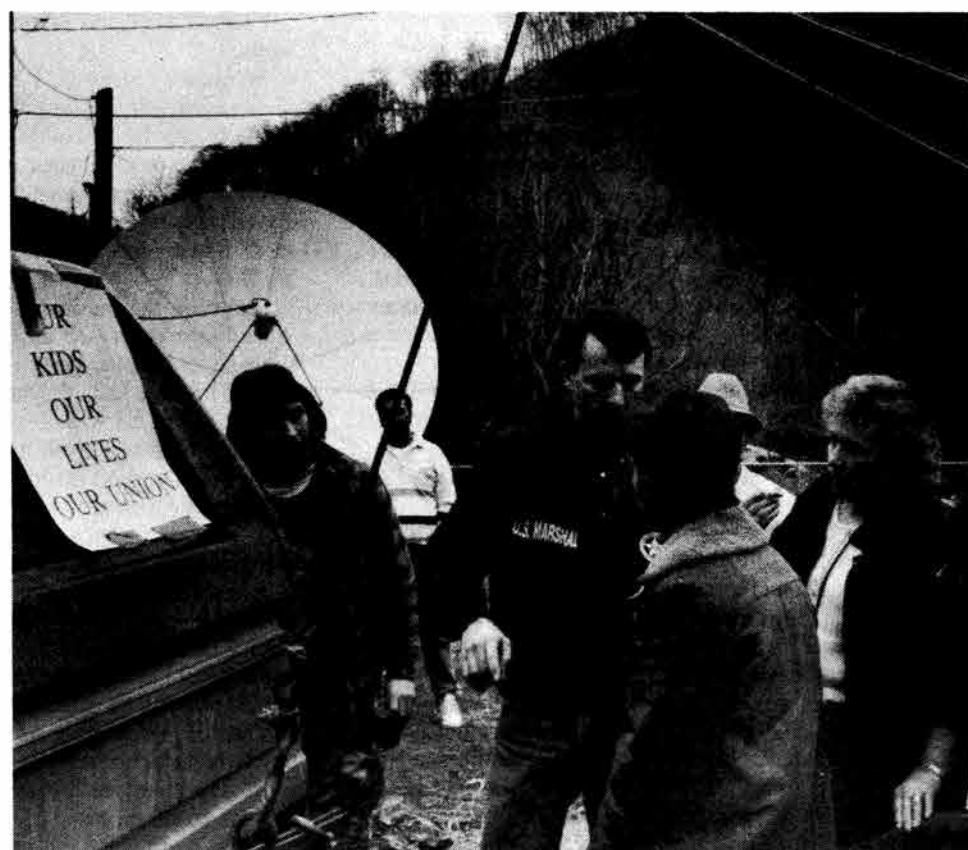
fact they have widened their presence to the community of Dehue.

Linda Grimmett, a strike activist and Dehue resident, explained in a telephone interview, "They are going up and down Dehue. They are making everyone very nervous. They are out of their jurisdiction and they should not be allowed to do that." She explained the marshals openly work with and escort Mike Holbrook, who heads the scab-herding operation for Massey at Rum Creek.

The National Labor Relations Board has also joined in the government's union-busting drive. It has asked U.S. District Court Judge Dennis Knapp to impose fines of \$25,000 on the UMWA International office, \$10,000 on the union's District 17, and \$750 on individual strikers for violation of Knapp's antipicketing injunction issued last August. A hearing was set for February 8.

Union officials have sought to meet with the company. But the company has refused to hold serious talks. Rum Creek Coal President Richard Zigmund claims he has no power to make an agreement and that the UMWA must talk with the contractor, Mike Holbrook's Con-Serv, Inc.

Holbrook has said he will not recognize the union or negotiate a contract with the UMWA. "This plant at Dehue will operate nonunion, with or without their cooperation," he says.



Militant/Cecelia Moriarity
Federal marshal assists Rum Creek Coal company in towing of strike supporters' cars January 24 in Dehue, West Virginia. Union members there are trying to prevent coal plant from being run nonunion.

Oil unionists consider contract offers

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — Thousands of U.S. oil workers are discussing contract provisions offered by Amoco and agreed to by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers National Oil Bargaining Policy Committee. Most of the more than 300 contracts covering some 40,000 workers expired at 12:01 a.m. February 1.

Major oil companies — including Mobil, Shell, British Petroleum, Conoco, Arco, Uno-

cal and Chevron (Port Arthur, Texas) — and union negotiators have agreed to the Amoco provisions. They include a three-year contract with wage increases of 80 cents across the board the first year, 5 percent the second, and 4.5 percent the third; increased company contributions on medical premiums (workers' premium costs will still increase); and an on-the-job accidental death benefit of \$250,000.

Twenty-four hour rolling extensions are being granted by union officials as local issues bargaining continues refinery by refinery.

The Amoco offer falls short of the Oil Bargaining Policy adopted last fall at a conference of oil worker delegates led by the OCAW. Breaking with past practice, the delegates voted to demand, not a "substantial wage increase," but \$1.25 an hour a year for a two-year contract and a 50 cents an hour hike in shift differentials.

Hundreds of Los Angeles-area oil workers attended special union meetings in recent weeks where a militant stance was taken toward oil company demands for givebacks on local issues and for a fighting, national strike if necessary to win the union's national demands. Striking Eastern workers spoke at most meetings, urging OCAW members to join in helping bring down Eastern's hated union-buster Frank Lorenzo.

Bob Robertson, an Amoco worker at the Whiting, Indiana, refinery, told the *Militant* that most workers there view the national provisions being offered as modest steps forward from recent contract rounds where lump-sum bonuses were often substituted for wage increases.

'We'll be worse off'

"But," Robertson noted, "some of us are going to vote no because giving up a two-year pact is a big step backward since oil contracts contain no automatic cost-of-living escala-

tors to offset inflation. Three years from now, we'll be worse off than we are now. With inflation picking up and bigger economic troubles looming, we would be in a better position to open up a real fight to maintain or improve our living standards if we kept a two-year contract."

Robertson, who as a barrel-house worker makes about one-half the wages of most operators and maintenance workers, also objects to the regressive percentage increases in two of the three years, which will widen the gap. Most operators and maintenance workers are paid just over \$15 per hour.

According to Rod Rogers, publicity director for the OCAW, one strike is taking place over local issues. Some 250 members of Local 8-455 in Oil City, Pennsylvania, have struck a Penzoil refinery.

OCAW officials report that contract ratification votes at the Chevron refinery in Port Arthur and the Unocal refinery here resulted in "overwhelming" votes to ratify.

Protests in Utah hit attacks on Indian treaty rights

BY NANCY BOYASKO

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Native Americans and their supporters held a series of activities here last month protesting attacks on Indian treaty rights. Representatives of 15 tribes from the West and Midwest joined picket lines for three days outside a meeting called to form a "National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy."

A victory was scored when the meeting, organized by a group of county commissioners from Wisconsin who have led attacks on Chippewa fishing and forestry rights, decided against forming the coalition.

More than 200 Native American rights activists marched to the state capitol two days later. The January 22 action targeted legislation that would create a state "Commission for Indian Affairs" — to be composed of seven Indians and six others, including one representative of the oil, gas, and mining industries. The bill would give the state criminal and civil jurisdiction over Indians and Indian territory.

This is the first time all the Utah tribes have come together to defend their interests. Plans were announced for a nationwide meeting of tribal councils this month in Rapid City, South Dakota.

Chemical workers win pact with BASF

BY WILLIE M. REID

PASADENA, Tex. — Chemical workers in Geismar, Louisiana, have won an agreement with the BASF Corp. after a more than four-year fight.

Signed in December, the new contract ends the company lockout of 370 members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-620 that began in June 1984.

The settlement includes a three-year contract that provides jobs for all members of the bargaining unit and pay increases of 2 percent immediately, 3.5 percent December 16 this year, and 3.5 percent in December 1991. And the company will pick up the tab on all medical insurance premium increases in the first two years, then cover 80 percent of the increased cost in the last contract year. At the heart of this long struggle was the

company's attempt to break the union. Management's first proposals included the elimination of all 110 craft jobs, which would have also eliminated most of the local's leadership.

John Dagle, secretary of OCAW District 4 Council and one of the craftsmen, said, "It will never happen again."

Dagle credits the local's success to its efforts to win public support against BASF and its unity with environmental groups. He explained that a coalition formed with groups like the Ascension Parish Residents, Louisiana Environmental Action Network, and individuals inside the plant. Working with the OCAW local, they helped expose the danger of the hazardous chemicals in BASF's dumps.

The union's educational campaign reached across Louisiana, strengthening the environmental movement and influencing legislation and industry regulation.

OCAW representatives traveled to BASF headquarters in West Germany and won support from workers and their unions there.

The success of this campaign reflects the accumulation of concern about exposure to hazardous waste being dumped daily by 18 chemical plants located within a 10-mile radius of Geismar.

As an activist who works in the office of OCAW Local 4-620 explained, the unionists feel more confident and have made many friends. The OCAW local voted at its meeting in January to continue to support the environmental movement.