

## New facts show S. Africa regime's role in violence

BY GREG McCARTAN

Damaging new evidence has forced the South African government to admit it secretly funded some activities of the Inkatha political organization, a rival to the African National Congress.

A former South African Defense Forces (SADF) sergeant also gave evidence July 18 that Military Intelligence has orchestrated numerous incidents of violence made to appear as fighting between the African National Congress and members of Inkatha. South Africa's Special Forces units have directly killed scores of people in these attacks.

ANC leaders have insisted for months that government forces are complicit in the violence against its supporters and others involved in the struggle against apartheid. It has refused to enter into negotiations until Pretoria brings a halt to the killings.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the exposé of clandestine funding of Inkatha confirmed that "the government is pursuing a double agenda of talking peace while it wages war on the ANC and the democratic movement."

After revelations of the top-secret government documents appeared in the *Weekly Mail*, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok conceded that up to 1.5 million rand — nearly \$600,000 — had been paid to help Inkatha organize political rallies.

Monies also went to the United Workers Union of South Africa, an Inkatha-organized outfit set up to try to block the development of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. COSATU, the largest union federation in the country, has played a prominent role in the fight for a democratic, nonracial republic.

Inkatha is a Natal-based political organization headed by the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi.

Because Inkatha was legal during the years of suppression of the ANC and other organizations engaged in the fight against apartheid, Buthelezi was able to utilize his position and Bantustan government resources to build up the organization. He opposed Pretoria's designs to make the Bantustans — barren bits of land designated as the "homeland" of Africans — so-called "independent states" and he demanded Mandela be released from prison.

But Buthelezi also developed a close relationship with the apartheid regime and today backs most government policies against those of the ANC.

Files on the government funding of Inkatha reprinted in the London *Guardian* show Pretoria was anxious to head off Inkatha's decline after the ANC was unbanned.

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## Latin American presidents meet in Mexico

BY SETH GALINSKY AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA, Cuba — With growing inter-imperialist competition and increasing economic and social devastation in Latin America threatening explosive struggles by workers and peasants throughout the region, the heads of state of Latin America's Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries held the "First Ibero-American Summit" in Guadalajara, Mexico.

The July 17-19 event, hosted by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, included 23 heads of state or government from 19 Latin American countries, plus Spain and Portugal. Everyone from Cuban President Fidel Castro to King Juan Carlos I of Spain was present.

The unprecedented character of the meeting was noted by Castro in his remarks to the gathering. "For the first time," he pointed out, "we Latin Americans are meeting without having been called together by someone else."

Washington not invited

Spain and Portugal, now Washington's junior partners, were the European colonial powers that dominated Latin America for 400 years. While they were invited to the summit, the United States, the imperialist power that has dominated the region since the end of the 19th century, was not. In the words of one commentator, Washington was the great presence whose weight was felt by its absence.

The fact that the meeting was organized outside the framework of the Organization of American States was significant. The OAS, with its headquarters in Washington, was established under U.S. tutelage in 1948 as a vehicle for U.S. political domination of inter-American relations. Its members include all the governments of North and South America and the Caribbean — except Cuba, which was expelled from the OAS in 1962 at Washington's instigation.

The Guadalajara summit is the first time in nearly 30 years that Cuba has participated

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## Group of 7: aid will not stem Moscow's crisis

BY GREG McCARTAN

The deepening economic and political crisis in the Soviet Union dominated the recent "Group of Seven" meeting in London, where the world's major imperialist powers agreed

that even massive financial aid could do little to stem the crisis facing the ruling regime in Moscow.

Instead of providing aid, they demanded the Kremlin show an even greater determi-

nation to drive against the standard of living and rights of working people as the only hope of stabilizing the crisis-ridden regime.

Pressed by a growing economic and social catastrophe that is bringing untold hardships on the country's workers and poor farmers, the Soviet regime is trying to find a way to shore up its privileged bureaucratic rule.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had campaigned over the past months to be able to address the annual Group of Seven gathering. The meeting of presidents and prime ministers of the United States, Japan, Britain, Canada, Germany, France, and Italy ended July 16.

Gorbachev won several hours of time after the event formally adjourned to plead his case

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### Come to the 27th National Convention of the YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

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### Eyewitness Reports

**"National Liberation, Stalinism, and Communism: African National Congress Fighters Face the Coming Struggles"**

by Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant* newspaper, attended July ANC national conference in Durban, South Africa Friday, August 9, 7:30 p.m.

**"The Cuban Revolution Faces a Changing World: Rectification at a Crossroad"**

by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International* magazine, just returned from reporting trip to Cuba Saturday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.

**"Youth, the Working Class, and Capitalism: Sharpening Class Polarization in U.S. Politics"**

by Jack Barnes for the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party Saturday, August 10, 1:00 p.m.

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## New York socialists open ballot drive

BY LARRY LUKECART

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party has announced the campaigns of Meryl Lynn Farber and Derek Bracey for New York City Council.

Farber, who is a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers Local 485, will run in District 2, which includes much of the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Bracey, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, is running a write-in campaign in District 33 in Brooklyn.

"It is capitalism and its relentless drive for profits that is at the root of the world's problems and is driving humanity toward more wars — like the slaughter against Iraq — and another depression," said Farber.

More than 40 supporters fanned out across the Lower East Side of Manhattan to petition to get Farber's name on the November ballot.

Because of undemocratic election laws, Farber's supporters must collect 2,700 names to place the SWP candidate on the ballot. Campaign supporters plan to turn in more

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Militant/Marc Lichtman  
Meryl Lynn Farber, socialist city council candidate and member of International Union of Electronic Workers.



# Steelworkers end long strike at Monsanto

BY MEG HALL  
AND DAVE WELTERS

NITRO, West Virginia — Members of United Steelworkers of America Local 12610 voted June 22 to end their nine-month strike at Monsanto Chemical Co. here. During the strike the unionists fought court injunctions, a National Labor Relations Board ruling against them, and a provocative force of Nuckols security guards.

In early June the union faced a new challenge when members of the Charleston Building and Construction Trades Council employed by Union Boiler Co. began crossing picket lines to work on Monsanto's wastewater treatment plant.

An official of the Trades Council stated that the construction unions had no dispute with the Steelworkers local, and that they would not be performing work ordinarily done by striking Steelworkers. He said construction workers would use a new gate to avoid any confrontation with Steelworker pickets. Union Boiler began construction of the new gate along a property line it shares with Monsanto.

The Steelworkers local condemned these

moves. "Their being in the plant — other union individuals — isn't conducive to getting the strike settled," said George Jividen, a member of the local's negotiating committee. "Their presence in the plant isn't good for labor overall, and the rank and file in the trade unions, they don't think it's good either."

The Steelworkers organized pickets near the new gate to pass out leaflets and try to persuade construction workers not to enter the struck plant.

Within days, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the Steelworkers were conducting an illegal secondary boycott and ordered the pickets removed. The Monsanto strikers, however, responded by mobilizing supporters on their picket lines, whose numbers reached more than 100.

"We don't see any difference in crossing a picket line at one gate or another, or whether they crawl under the fence, come in on barges, or are dropped in by helicopter," the union said in a statement to the press. "Anyone on the other side of that fence while we are on legal strike is a scab."

Prominent at the mobilizations were Steel-

workers fighting against Ravenswood Aluminum Corp., where they have been locked out since November 1.

The two Steelworker locals supported each other throughout their strikes and initiated several large solidarity actions.

Union Boiler stopped work at Monsanto as the picket lines grew in size. A tentative agreement was reached between Local

12610 and Monsanto a few days later.

The three-year contract accepted by the local provides for a two-tier wage structure and other concessions. The union successfully fought an attempt by the company to fire 15 union members for their strike activity. All 15 were reinstated with full seniority and benefits, though several received reprimands or suspensions.

## Videotape shows Fort Worth, Texas, cop beating motorist

BY PATTY MIYAMOTO

HOUSTON — A police beating along a major highway in Fort Worth, Texas, was videotaped by a woman in a nearby yard July 3. Police officer Edward Parnell was filmed repeatedly hitting Ernest Anderson, who was handcuffed, with a nightstick.

The amateur videotape, broadcast on local and national television, was compared to the highly publicized footage of Los Angeles cops beating Rodney King. In this case, however, both the cop and the person he beat are Black.

Anderson had been arrested and was being transported to jail in Parnell's car when he kicked out the rear passenger window. An Explorer Scout from a post sponsored by the police department was accompanying Parnell and held on to the handcuffed Anderson. The videotape shows Parnell hitting Anderson, who is hanging out the window, at least 28 times with a nightstick.

"I can't understand why he was hitting me because I couldn't struggle," Anderson told KXAS-TV of Fort Worth in a jail interview the next day. "He hit me so many times I passed out."

Anderson suffered cuts on his right arm, chest, back, right leg, forehead, and the top of his head.

Dozens of motorists stopped to stare at the beating taking place on the side of Interstate 30. People called the police to report the beating even before it was broadcast on the 6 o'clock news. This was in line with the increasing trend noted by Houston police of people using their home videos to record police actions.

Fort Worth Police Chief Thomas Windham sought to deflect the outrage aroused by the beating. Immediately after viewing the videotape, he stated that Parnell "may have used excessive force."

Two days later, charges were filed against Parnell for assault with a deadly weapon. He was suspended with pay.

Meanwhile, Anderson faces charges of criminal mischief, theft, resisting arrest, and evading arrest. After releasing him on \$2,500 bail, the Fort Worth police issued an arrest warrant for Anderson on the charge of attempted murder, which supposedly took place last month.

## Los Angeles police chief agrees to quit

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, July 22 — Yielding to continuing pressure, Daryl Gates said today that he will withdraw as chief of police. He said he plans to retire in April of next year, but that the process of selecting a new chief "should begin immediately."

A recommendation that Gates yield his office was a key point in the report of the Christopher Commission, established in the wake of the stormy public protest triggered by the videotaped police beating of Rodney King, a construction worker who is Black.

With the release of the commission's report, members of the city council announced they had struck a deal with Gates to withdraw by year's end, but he then responded he might delay his departure for a year or more.

In the Black community, church figures, including officials of the influential Baptist church, joined with civil rights and community groups to demand the chief's ouster.

Reporting on a press conference at the headquarters of the Brotherhood Crusade, the

Los Angeles *Sentinel* said that the demand for removal of the chief "was stifled periodically by deafening applause and resounding shouts of 'Gates must go!'"

Frank Higgins, president of the Baptist Ministers Conference of Southern California, declared, "We're totally against Gates staying in office. . . . There's a lot of tension and defiance. We're close to a riot in South Los Angeles. The chemistry is there."

The July 26 *Militant* in its news article incorrectly said the Christopher Commission argued that 44 cops, of a force of 8,000, were mainly responsible for police violence in the city.

The commission did point to 44 cops with an unusually high record of complaints against them, but then spoke of 300 cops against whom complaints had been filed for excessive use of force in a four-year period, and an even larger group with personnel complaints and use-of-force reports on their records and who were involved in shootings.

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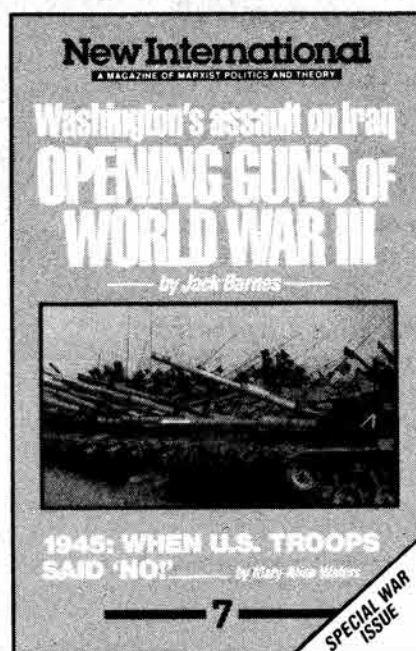
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# Prison files show Curtis singled out because of politics

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES — Mark Curtis received his prison file from authorities at the Iowa State Penitentiary June 27 as part of an international campaign by his supporters to win his release on parole.

The documents contain clear evidence that the union activist, currently serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges, has been singled out for special attention because of his political activities.

The 120-page file contains numerous evaluations of Curtis' behavior and job performance, as well as security ratings. It covers the two years and nine months he has been in prison and records institutional charges brought against him by guards and their outcome. It includes the recommendations from prison personnel to the Iowa State Board of Parole prior to his two parole reviews in 1989 and 1990. The file also contains copies of some articles on Curtis' case that have appeared in the Iowa press.

Curtis has been incarcerated in five different prisons since being victimized for his efforts to defend 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers at the Swift (Monfort) meat-packing plant here.

After his conviction, he was sent to two county jails and then to the Iowa Men's Classification Center at Oakdale. From the Classification Center, Curtis was assigned to the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa.

## 'Resident is political activist'

The very first entry on his record upon arriving at the Anamosa prison strikes a theme which appears throughout the file. It identifies Curtis as a union and political activist and notes that there is a broad campaign fighting for his vindication.

"POLITICAL ACTIVIST FOR EL SALVADOR," his orientation entry on Dec. 19, 1988, reads. It continues: "Promotes socialist causes. Nationwide campaign as a political prisoner."

"Was involved in labor dispute at Swift Packing 2 days prior to arrest," it adds.

"This resident is a political activist," wrote the committee assigned to orient Curtis that

day. "In fact, he notes that his current offense was politically motivated. It appears to be a nationwide campaign for this resident to have a new trial."

These references are repeated in entries prepared for review by the State Board of Parole. On Sept. 27, 1989, Anamosa prison authorities filed an Institutional Progress Report for the board in preparation for Curtis' parole hearing in November. The report states: "It is noted that Curtis vigorously denies the allegations, states that he was framed, and has apparently convinced many people in the community of his innocence."

It goes on to say that "Curtis has a well organized defense committee in the community working for his release."

In their Annual Institutional Progress Report prior to a 1990 parole hearing, authorities at the John Bennett Unit of the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, where Curtis was moved earlier that year, wrote: "Inmate Curtis denies that he committed the crimes he is serving time for and considers himself a 'political prisoner' as he states the Des Moines Police Department is corrupt."

The first question parole board members asked Curtis in his 1990 hearing was, "Do you still consider yourself a political prisoner?"

Curtis' political activity and insistence that he was the victim of a police frame-up are not only pointedly raised by prison officials in reports to the parole board. They are also used as a rationale to urge the board to reject Curtis' release.

In a pre-parole "psychological evaluation" prepared for the board, Kazam Hassan, director of Clinical Services at the Fort Madison penitentiary, wrote: "During the interview, Curtis presented as mentally and emotionally a stable individual. In that, he was fully oriented, coherent, and goal oriented. His thinking was coherent and well organized."

"He denied his involvement in these offenses and presented himself rather a victim of the police. He continues to claim that he was framed by the police because of his political and union activities. He now feels that he is eligible for parole because he has 'carried well and done most expectations of me.'"

"In our observations, Curtis has no mental illness. He impresses as a liar, impulsive, and emotionally indifferent. He acts and thinks in a cold and calculated manner. In a way, he is naive and thinks others would believe his denials and accusations in regard to his offense. Others may not believe him but at least, it satisfies his ego. Any release consideration at present would appear pre-mature."

In short, Curtis' efforts to overturn his frame-up are cause to keep him behind bars.

Officials' dislike of Curtis' ongoing political activity in prison also comes through in the file.

## 'Getting too powerful'

At Anamosa, Curtis was active in the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, which organized political and cultural programs. He was elected secretary of the group and made political presentations at its meetings. He had several run-ins with prison authorities over his political activities and contacts outside the prison.

In May 1990 Curtis was abruptly transferred from Anamosa to the Bennett Unit at the state penitentiary. He was told that the move was just "routine."

The file contains an entry written one month earlier that reveals the real reason for the transfer.

"Inmate not present," the entry begins. It proposes Curtis be transferred to the state penitentiary, and notes the recommendation has been approved by penitentiary officials and by Charles Lee, the deputy director for Institutions of the Iowa Department of Corrections.

The justification for the transfer is contained in a brief note entitled "administrative review," which says that Curtis is "getting 'too powerful' in inmate population."

While the file contains evidence of political prejudice, it also contains numerous favorable evaluations of Curtis.

In Anamosa, prison officials entered in his

ORIENTATION CLASSIFICATION		DATE: 12-19-88
NUMBER: 805338A-2		
NAME: CURTIS		
PRESENT CUSTODY: Medium		
PRESENT ASSIGNMENT: Industry Pool - Metal Stamping, level 2	(This resident has been approved for the level 4 waiting list)	
MEDICAL WORK CLASS: 1		
PROGRAM INTERESTS:		
1. This resident has completed his high school diploma. He also claims a two year college program.		
2. Group counseling: Groups of interest will be the Current Events group, the Old Mans group, and the New Man's group. The Sex Offenders or SEARCH group will be placed on hold until we get information regarding the resident's appeal.		
3. Vocational counseling: The resident has vocational interest in the areas of welding and auto body.		
COMMITTEE COMMENTS: This resident is a political activist. In fact, he notes that his current offense was politically motivated. It appears to be a nationwide campaign for this resident to have a new trial.		
COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: Mr. Mayo, Mr. Hebron, Mr. Hinton, Jr.		
COMMENTS/RECOMMENDATION. (Briefly describe the factors you consider the most important considering this inmate's suitability for release.)		
Inmate Curtis is a 31 year old individual presently serving a 25 year concurrent sentence for burglary, first degree, and sexual abuse, third degree. He has an effective date of 11/18/88 and a tentative expiration date set at 06/27/2000. He initially began serving this sentence at IMCC and was then transferred to IMR on 12/08/88. He was then transferred to JBC on 05/16/90. In the past year, he has received two disciplinary reports, however, has completed vocational welding and is presently involved in vocational commercial cooking. Inmate Curtis denies that he committed the crimes he is serving time for and considers himself a "political prisoner" as he states the Des Moines Police Department is corrupt.		

Samples from files. Curtis' political activity and insistence that he is victim of police frame-up are pointed to by prison officials throughout documents.

record periodic "Living Unit Evaluations," which are uniformly positive:

- March 5, 1989: "Curtis seems to have a pretty good attitude."
- Oct. 22, 1989: "Cooperation and attitude are both pretty good."
- Jan. 13, 1990: "Cooperation and attitude are real good. Gets along quite well with all."

All his job performance evaluations and reviews of school accomplishments are laudatory:

- March 7, 1989: "He is receiving above average work reports."
- July 31, 1989: "Completed welding did really well. Worked metal stamp previously, want him back."
- Dec. 4, 1989: "The inmate is an ongoing college student who is doing very well. Inmate wants to work in soap shop. Soap wants to hire. Commissary supervisor doesn't want to lose him."
- Jan. 16, 1990: "He has done quite well in the commissary. . . . In fact, the commissary supervisor, Mr. Jensen, is not interested in seeing Curtis leave."
- The year-end preparole hearing evaluations are equally positive.
- 1989: "Excellent worker" and "Since coming to the Reformatory, Curtis has behaved commendably."
- 1990: "He is currently earning four bonus days per month and appears to be doing quite well."

In 1989 the parole board itself felt compelled to write, "The Board commends your positive efforts and would like to see you continue this way. At the appropriate time, these things will help demonstrate to the Board that you are able and willing to fulfill the obligations of a law abiding citizen."

## Security evaluation

In March 1991, a security evaluation of Curtis was made. It reports that the chance of a "probable parole or work release violation" on Curtis' part is "0". Similarly, it reports "0" problems of either "discipline" or "institutional adjustment."

The parole board reviews these factors — conduct and job performance, and the amount of time served and community support — which provide the basis for determining a prisoner's eligibility for release.

Curtis has already served more time in state prison than the average inmate convicted on the rape charge he was framed on. As the prison records themselves show, he has an extensive network of outside support.

By criteria set forth in Iowa's administrative code, Curtis is more than eligible for parole.

His file also contains the record of prison officials' efforts to victimize him for allegedly violating regulations, which are extensive and are enforced arbitrarily by authorities to keep the inmate population in line.

Like all inmates, Curtis has faced a number of such allegations. Some were arbitrary. Some were conscious efforts by officials to victimize him and involved fabricated charges. All of them show the dehumanizing and alienating character of the regime in U.S. prisons.

The file recounts when Curtis was penalized for spitting on the ground to clear his mouth in the middle of a basketball game, framed-up on false charges of betting on the Superbowl game, and penalized for lending his cassette player to another inmate. It also documents his successful fight to receive literature in Spanish and other foreign languages over the objections of prison authorities who labelled the material a security risk.

## Aids fight for parole

"These files are a powerful tool in our drive to win Mark's freedom," said Maurice Williams, a member of the Des Moines-based Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Williams is helping to organize a drive to get letters urging parole for Curtis to present to the parole board. The Committee's goal is to collect 200 letters from prominent figures, trade union officials, and others by the end of August.

"They help prove what we have been saying, that Mark more than meets the criteria for release," Williams added. "And they demonstrate that prison officials view Curtis differently — as a political person — and attempt to use that fact to prevent him from getting parole. The file makes clear the importance of demonstrating the breadth of the international outcry for Mark's release."

Letters urging freedom for Curtis should be addressed to the Iowa State Board of Parole, but mailed to the Curtis defense committee. The defense committee is organizing a delegation to present the letters to the parole board in September.

To get copies of the files, or to make a contribution to the defense fight, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311, or call (515) 246-1695.

## Iowa prison officials transfer Curtis to Mt. Pleasant jail

State prison officials in Fort Madison, Iowa, transferred Mark Curtis to a correctional facility in Mt. Pleasant July 17. The prison is Curtis' sixth since his 1988 frame-up.

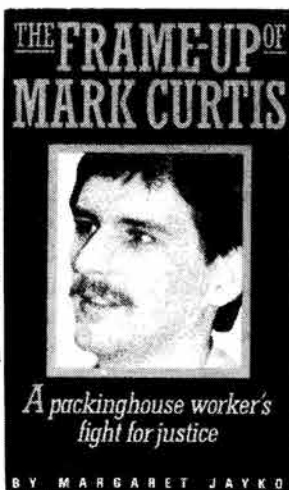
The medium-security jail is about 135 miles southeast of Des Moines, slightly closer than Fort Madison, where Curtis had previously been incarcerated. At Mt. Pleasant, Curtis is assigned to the general population section.

In a phone call to the *Militant*, Curtis reported that he had already made new friends and met old friends as well, inmates he had been jailed with before. He encouraged supporters to write him.

Address letters to Mark Curtis #805338, Highway 218 South, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa 52641. Prison rules require the sender's full name and address in the upper left of the envelope. Senders must sign their name in full at the end of the letter. Greeting cards and photos less than 8 1/2 x 11 inches are permitted.

## The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.00.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$3.00 for postage and handling.



# Latin American heads of state meet in Mexico

Continued from front page

in a top-level meeting of Latin American government leaders. That fact alone made the Guadalajara summit a blow to Washington. More of the capitalist governments of Latin America find it convenient, and not too costly, to tweak Washington's nose by re-establishing relations with Cuba.

Leading up to and during the summit it was announced that the governments of two countries that have not had diplomatic relations with Cuba for some time, Chile and Colombia, had reached agreement with Cuba on reopening consular offices.

A high-level Cuban delegation attended the meeting, including Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, vice president of the Council of State; Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca; and Carlos Aldana, secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. Here in Cuba, the delegation and the summit received extensive coverage on radio, television, and in the Cuban Communist Party daily newspaper, *Granma*.

## Foreign debt over \$400 billion

Each participating head of state or government was allocated seven minutes to make a statement at the beginning of the summit. Castro's remarks were printed in full in *Granma*.

The Cuban president's address focused on the economic and social problems facing Latin America.

"For the tenth year in a row, the economic crisis continues to affect all of our economies," the Cuban leader noted. "Per capita production has not surpassed the level reached 13 years ago."

"The foreign debt is still more than \$400 billion, in spite of the fact that \$224 billion worth of resources have been transferred out of the region in only eight years. Inflation has reached unprecedented levels in this period."

"The policies set by the great economic powers and the international financial bodies under their control have not brought development, but they have brought poverty to more than 250 million people," Castro explained. "They have not brought in foreign

capital, but have resulted in the export of capital to the developed countries. Latin America has much less weight in today's world economy than it did 20 years ago."

"Transformed into real gold," Castro said, "the total value of the net convertible hard currency that leaves Latin America every year is more than all of the gold and silver that Spain and Portugal extracted in 300 years."

The Cuban president described the enormous social and human cost of imperialist exploitation "expressed in terms of hunger, disease, illiteracy, slums, tens of millions of homeless children, almost half the population unemployed, underemployed, or malnourished."

Castro called on the meeting participants to have no illusions. "These are the sad realities that wear out and destabilize governments at the speed of light," he said. "For almost 200 years, since the majority of Latin America gained independence, we have been divided, assaulted, amputated, intervened, underdeveloped, and pillaged."

"There is always a new siren song for the eternal sailors that we have become," Castro added.

"I'm not talking about blockades, dirty wars, mercenary invasions or the use of the armed forces of the most powerful military power in this world, which have been scandalously repeated before our eyes in this hemisphere during the last three decades," he said.

"I'm referring to illusions like the Alliance for Progress, the Baker Plan, the Brady Plan, and the latest fantasy: [U.S. President George Bush's] Initiative for the Americas."

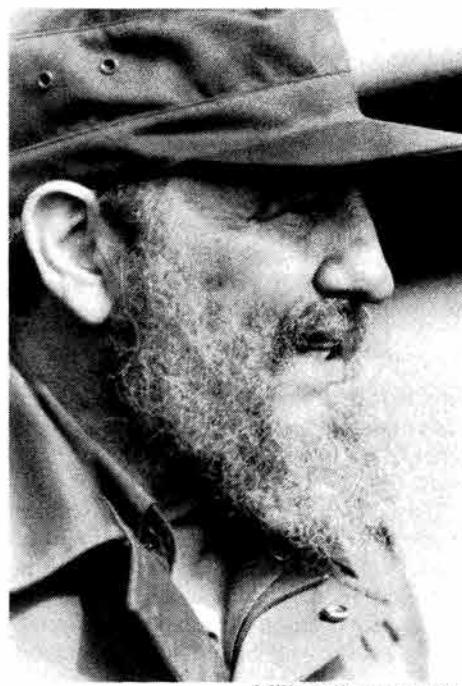
Given the conditions created by decades of U.S. domination, Castro stressed the need for Latin American unity to confront the intensifying imperialist pressures.

"In the face of the large groups that dominate the world economy today," Castro asked, "is there any place for our peoples in the future without an integrated and united Latin America? Aren't we capable of seeing that we will only be able to discuss with the United States, Japan, and Europe if we are united?"

"The great economic powers have no friends. They only have interests," he said.

Cuba is ready and willing to belong to "an integrated and united Latin America," Castro stated, "and to discuss with it any topic and even spill our blood to defend what today is the front line of independence and sovereignty of our peoples."

As part of the fight for independence and sovereignty, Castro condemned the "irritating privilege of veto" in the United Nations Security Council, which he said must be eliminated because it is "anachronistic, dan-



Militant/Selva Nebbia

"The policies set by the great economic powers and the international financial bodies under their control have not brought development, but they have brought poverty to more than 250 million people," Cuban President Fidel Castro told Latin American summit meeting.

gerous, and unjustified. To speak of democracy we have to start with democratizing the United Nations."

A 41-page message from Castro was also distributed to the participants on the last day of the Guadalajara meeting. According to summaries that appeared in *Granma* and *Juventud Rebelde*, the weekly paper of the Union of Young Communists, topics included in the document are: the economic and social situation in Latin America, democracy and human rights, and the international context.

## Cuba an example

Cuba is an example of how to construct a just and humane society under difficult circumstances, *Granma* noted. "Cuba has not repeated the lamentable situation of other nations where a rich minority is immune to the crisis, while the majority of the population is submerged in deep poverty."

"Only if we resolve the grave problems of misery and marginalization under which more than half the continent's population lives," the document stated, "can we aspire to the high ideal of democratization that we all seek."

Cuba's democracy, it continued, is based on "national unity, social property, and popular participation."

According to *Juventud Rebelde*, the Cuban message also analyzed the impact of the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union on Latin America.

"The new world order could be worse than the old one," *Juventud Rebelde* wrote, paraphrasing the document, "because in a unipolar world, the system of imperialist economic and political relations that subjugates... the Third World now exists without a rival."

"It is premature to think that the restructuring of international relations is now over, much less that its impact will necessarily be positive for the peoples of the Third World. As a new type of relations between the su-



perpowers is developing, brutal interventions like the invasion of Panama can take place.

"The war in the Gulf is a warning, a clear signal of the role the United States assigns itself in this new order."

The summit meeting voted to form a permanent body that will meet annually. The next meeting of the Ibero-American Heads of State and Government will be held in 1992 in Spain. Brazil, Colombia, and Argentina will host subsequent summits.

Promoting the U.S. government's attempts to isolate Cuba, some reporters sought comments from summit participants criticizing the Cuban government.

A Miami-based reporter asked Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González if the summit was going to demand that Havana hold elections as a "passport" for admission to the Ibero-American community. The reporter also asked if González was bothered by Castro's attendance in his customary military uniform and olive-green cap.

According to *Granma*, González answered, "The problem of the cap is not an unsolvable one. I don't give it much importance. I'm even willing to put one on myself."

The Spanish prime minister added, "I'm more interested in sustaining a dialogue with Cuba, than in making a speech to be on your good side. We don't want anybody to be absent."

As he was boarding the plane to return to Cuba, Castro answered questions from journalists on his evaluation of the meeting.

Calling the gathering "a first step toward Latin American unity," Castro noted that many countries were not invited to the summit, "such as Puerto Rico — that is, a free Puerto Rico, not a Puerto Rico that is a U.S. possession."

He also noted that Haiti and the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean were not present. Castro suggested that in the future the "Ibero-American family" could grow into something different.

## — CALENDAR —

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Cuba Va!** An evening of solidarity with Cuba for the July 26th anniversary celebration. Speaker: Jorge Ruiz, first secretary, Cuban Interests Section. Program with slide show, salsa music. Fri., July 26, 7:30 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th Street.

#### Oakland

**Cuba and the New World Order.** Speaker: Jorge Ruiz, first secretary, Cuban Interests Section. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 14th and Castro streets. Donation: \$10-\$12.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### BOSTON

**Meeting the Challenges of the 90s: The Continuing Revolution in Cuba.** Speakers: Ariel Ricardo, third secretary, Cuban Interests Section; Francisco Brea, officer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 187, leader of recent strike against Greico Bros. in Lawrence. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Northeastern University, African-American Institute, Cabral Rm., 40 Leon St. (off Forsythe) Donation: \$3.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Cable TV Special.** "Konnections: Alternative News and Views." Featuring Militant Labor Forum: "Protest Police Brutality." Speakers: Sharon Mayse, mother of Tasha Mayse, killed by New Jersey cops on June 9 in Hillside; Charlton Mayse, uncle of Tasha Mayse. Sat., July 27, 9:05 p.m. Channel 32.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Hear Cuban Diplomat Bernardo Toscano, Third Secretary, Cuban Interests Section.** Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. International Conference Center, Cleveland State University, East 21st street and Euclid Avenue. Sponsor: Bernardo Toscano Tour Committee.

## Socialists open New York ballot drive

Continued from front page

than 5,000 signatures over the next three weeks.

Farber and her campaign supporters hit the streets on the hottest day recorded in the last 11 years, with temperatures over 100 degrees.

The city council candidate spent the day in District 2 with groups of supporters who petitioned around campaign tables. Using a bullhorn, she explained the SWP's program, soapbox fashion, to working people and youth as they passed by.

Farber and Bracey held a midday press conference at Union Square that was covered by Channel 2 TV news. WBAI radio had aired a four-minute interview with Farber the previous night.

Farber explained that working people need to chart a course of independent political action to begin solving their problems. In the course of fighting for their class interests here and internationally, they will form a labor party.

"New York Mayor David Dinkins, and the ruling rich he represents, proposes laying off thousands of city workers," Farber noted. "A labor party would demand a

shorter workweek, with no cut in pay, to spread around the available jobs. Working people are not responsible for this so-called fiscal crisis and we shouldn't have to pay for it."

"A working-class party based on the labor movement would fight as part of a powerful international class and would stand opposed to Washington's continued brutal sanctions against the people of Iraq and three decades of U.S. aggression against Cuba."

"If working people had our own party, we could fight more effectively to defend and extend affirmative action and the right to a safe, legal, abortion," Farber added.

Bracey also spoke at the news conference. "I just returned from the historic conference of the African National Congress where they discussed the need to intensify the struggle to bring down the apartheid system," he said. "We need to stand shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters in South Africa and see their fight for a free, democratic South Africa as our own."

Bracey invited young people to join the YSA and to participate in the upcoming YSA National Convention to be held August

9-10 at Oberlin College, in Oberlin, Ohio.

During the course of the day more than 1,500 people signed to put the SWP on the ballot. Sixty individual copies of the *Militant* were sold. Eleven young people signed up for information on the upcoming convention of the YSA.

Anyone interested in getting involved in the campaign or making a financial contribution should contact the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 191 7th Avenue, New York, or call (212) 675-6740.

### Socialist Workers Campaign Rally

Speakers: Meryl Lynn Farber, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council Dist. 2, Manhattan; Derek Bracey, SWP candidate (write-in) for City Council Dist. 33, Brooklyn. Sat., July 27, Reception 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 191 Seventh Ave. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel.: (212) 675-6740.



# Young Socialists build upcoming convention

BY CAITLIN DIXON

NEW YORK — The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) 27th National Convention will open in Oberlin, Ohio, on August 9.

YSA members and political-minded youth from around the country will be coming to the gathering along with youth from other countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America. The two-day conference will feature eyewitness reports from Cuba and South Africa, given by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Classes will be held and delegates will discuss and vote on political reports centering on the opportunities ahead for building the revolutionary socialist youth organization.

This will be an especially important convention for the YSA. Recent world developments — such as the devastation of Iraq, court attacks on abortion rights, and widespread police violence brought to light by the Rodney King case in Los Angeles — have combined to sharply expose the decay of the capitalist system. More and more youth have questions about this crisis-ridden and corrupt system in the face of such attacks on working people.

The YSA offers a revolutionary perspective in the face of the worldwide capitalist crisis. YSA members and chapters will be focusing their efforts in the next three weeks to make sure the widest possible layer of young fighters can participate in this discussion.

In Twin Cities, Minnesota, a two-day conference was held July 13–14, with classes on Malcolm X, abortion rights, Cuba today, and young people's fight against imperialism and war.

"We've signed up twenty people already, and we expect at least ten more to come," said Kari Sachs, Twin Cities YSA chapter organizer. "We're hoping to attract people to the convention through the discussions." Proceeds from the conference will go toward getting people to the August convention.

The chapter reached out to other YSAers to build the weekend conference and the convention, and two at-large members from Mankato, Minnesota, participated in the effort to sell Pathfinder literature on campuses and at plant gates. Elizabeth Swenson, one of the Mankato YSAers, joined the YSA three months ago and was able to attend the SWP convention in late June. "It was really intense to see so many people who believed the same things I did," she said. "And the YSA conven-

tion will be a million times better. We need a youth perspective on revolution."

The San Francisco chapter is also working closely with new members to build the convention. Brian Gibbs, San Francisco chapter organizer and socialist candidate for sheriff, reported: "One of our newest members from San Jose joined at the SWP convention and has been very active in getting his friends to participate. We're meeting with two of them this weekend to discuss the convention and how we can organize to get out to Ohio. One YSA member got her sister to go to the convention, and another young person, a woman from a South African youth group, really wants to go if she can raise the money."

Getting to Oberlin is a special challenge from San Francisco, where round-trip airfare to Cleveland is \$500. "We're planning a fundraising party in San Jose. There seems to be a lot of political action there," Gibbs said. "And we've discussed having a rummage sale. It would be a good way to raise money, and a chance to get rid of extra stuff."

"We're making banners and signs to take out on Pathfinder sales," reports John Cox, Washington, D.C. YSA chapter organizer. "The banners highlight political issues we're discussing, like police brutality." Such discussions have been successful in recent weeks. Cox reported meeting two interested young people on a Pathfinder sale in nearby DuPont Circle and another who joined the YSA three weeks ago and will be attending the August convention.

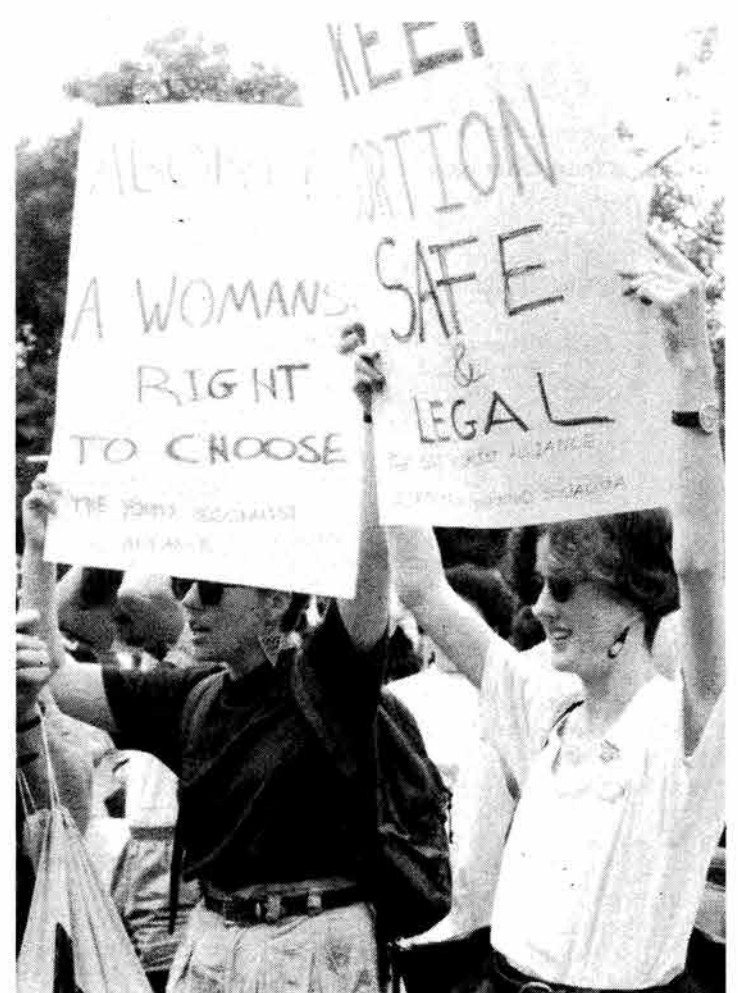
The Omaha YSA, the newest chapter in

the country, faces a special challenge.

"We were just voted in last week, and our chapter meeting will be the first YSA meeting in Omaha in a long time," said chapter organizer Elizabeth Kealy. "We've just recruited two new members. There's quite a bit of ferment in the minds of young people today, especially with the devastation of the Iraq war. There's a lot of interest in a youth group that wants to fight the attacks on rights, not retreat under a rock."

"We're going on a concerted drive to call all our friends, to let them know about the convention and upcoming events to help build it," Kealy continued. "We're planning a city-wide slide show of my recent trip to Cuba, and a meeting on defense of GI rights."

Defense of GIs is a central task for the Omaha chapter, whose members include Jason Coughlin and Jeff South, two new



Militant/Rose Ana Berbeo  
Members of the Young Socialist Alliance at July abortion rights rally in New York.

young socialists who are in the U.S. Air Force and are stationed at the Offutt Air Force Base.

For more information on the YSA convention, see the directory on page 12 or write YSA, P.O. Box 211, New York, NY 10011, Tel: (212) 727-8422.

## Mideast war led youth to join YSA

BY PETER THIERJUNG

CHICAGO — Many members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) attended the Socialist Workers Party convention here June 26–30. It was the first national political gathering of its kind for many of them.

Ann, 24, joined the Des Moines, Iowa, YSA chapter January 16, the day after Washington began its murderous bombing of Iraq. "It made me very angry," she said, explaining that she knew friends who had relatives stationed in the Middle East during the war. "That's when I realized the Democrats were no different" than the Republicans

in supporting the war.

"The U.S. government is the most dangerous government in the world," Ann said. "It claims to be democratic, but it's the opposite. My thinking about what the U.S. government stands for has totally changed."

Ann became a candidate member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) a month before the convention. She said being a member of the YSA had helped her learn more about what socialism really is and helped her decide that she wanted to take another step. Recently, she began working as a machine operator in a factory.

Malcolm, 21, was a college student in Charleston, Missouri, when he met the YSA during activities against the U.S.-led war in the Middle East several months ago.

He first came into contact with the Democratic Socialists of America and considered joining them. But after learning more about the YSA, he changed his mind. "I discovered that members of the YSA and the SWP were Marxists based in the working class," Malcolm said. "They were not trying to change the Democratic Party," which is the DSA's strategy.

One benefit of coming in contact with the YSA, Malcolm said, was that he began reading Pathfinder Books and was able to study Black history. He said he also enjoyed reading about the history of the SWP, especially the book by SWP founder James P. Cannon, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.

"The war in the Middle East was decisive in my joining the YSA," said Dana, a 20 year old who had earlier lived in Israel for ten years. She now lives in Pittsburgh.

"I was in solidarity with the *intifada*," the uprising of the Palestinian people, Dana said. "That's why I couldn't live there anymore. I was opposed to the genocide."

### Attracted by internationalism

"When the war hit," she said, "I realized how absolutely little value a passport and nationality had." Active on campus in building protests against the war, she had opposed the yellow-ribbon campaign and the slogan "Support our troops."

The experience of opposing the war convinced her of the importance of internationalism and the perspectives of the YSA and SWP.

Dana recommended membership in the YSA. "It's not enough to be mad at the establishment," she said, "choices have to be made to change things. A young person can really use the YSA to get tuned in to what's happening, to get educated, go to classes on socialism, and read."

The democratic functioning of the SWP convention and the serious character of the political discussions by the delegates impressed Dana. Only by coming to the convention can one "really see it," she said. "The SWP is the only political party ready and strong" for the coming class battles in the United States.

## New York City cuts hit workers hardest

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — An agreement between Mayor David Dinkins and the city council on an annual budget opened another phase of the capitalist government's attack on the jobs and living standards of millions of working people here.

The June 30 accord, described as a compromise, basically confirmed all but \$117 million of the Dinkins plan for \$1.5 billion in cutbacks affecting the jobs of city workers and social services.

The plan calls for \$735 million in property and income tax increases that will tighten the squeeze on some layers of the middle class as well as more highly paid workers.

The plan affirmed Dinkins' layoff of 6,000 city employees on June 28, and called for 4,000 more layoffs. City officials are also discussing contracting out more city services to private firms, which would further weaken the city's unions.

Among the cutbacks, home-delivered meals for some 1,000 elderly people have been abolished along with the elimination of free meals in senior centers for about 5,000 elderly people.

The city will eliminate thousands of lead-paint inspections in apartment buildings, which means that more children will be exposed to poisoning from lead-based paint.

Programs to aid drug-addicted pregnant women and mothers of young children have been sharply scaled back.

A program to reduce infant mortality, which helped result last year in the first drop in the infant mortality rate here in some years, has seen its funding cut in half.

The living conditions of 125,000 residents of city-owned housing will deteriorate further. Layoffs will mean a rapid increase in the backlog of 100,000 undone repairs that already exists. Eleven of the 12 workers who inspect housing to assure that landlords install window guards — which prevent small children from falling out of tenement windows — are on layoff.

Dinkins' plan calls for closing a shelter for homeless women and packing the inmates into one shelter formerly assigned to men.

The mayor imposed a 48 percent cut in the budget for the Bureau of Laboratories which analyzes most tests for HIV, the AIDS virus. Branches of the Brooklyn Public Library are now open only two days a week, and the library systems in other boroughs are facing similar radical cuts.

Layoffs of sanitation workers have meant the end of Sunday collections of garbage from 10,000 public litter baskets on city street corners. The result has been a sharp increase in the trash on streets and sidewalks in many areas.

The health department's Bureau of Pest Control cut the number of exterminators from 12 to 7 and slashed the number of exterminations annually from 65,000 to 25,000. The bureau will now only respond to specific complaints about rat infestations, rather than carry out routine extermination efforts.

The result is expected to be a big increase in the rat population, estimated at between 7.5 and 10 million.

All of these cuts strike working people most severely, especially those who are Black, Hispanic, or Asian.

Meanwhile, plans to expand the police force are going forward and \$1 billion is being earmarked for more prison beds. The city government also paid \$156 million in tax breaks to real estate developers and manufacturers in 1991 and approved 146 more applications for such breaks.

The fact that Dinkins is a liberal Democrat who is Black and has close ties to the city's labor movement has been used by the capitalist rulers to impose the cuts with a minimum of resistance from working people so far. Unlike his predecessor Edward Koch, who boasted of cutting "wasteful" social services, Dinkins claims to strongly support them. "I don't want to lose these programs any more than you do," he told one group of critics. "All these programs are important."

The Dinkins administration is now demanding up to \$600 million in takebacks from city employees — cuts in wages, jobs, health and welfare benefits, vacations, and work rules. Getting the unions to agree to concessions without a serious fight against them is vital to the drive to impose the whole takeback program on the working class.

While denouncing layoffs, the top union officials have put up no effective resistance and have instead steadily yielded ground. On July 1, union heads Stanley Hill and Barry Feinstein announced they are considering offering a \$100 million reduction in wages and welfare fund payments. "The pain must be shared," has been the slogan of Hill, executive director of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Feinstein, who heads the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 137.



# Group of 7: aid will not stem Soviet crisis

Continued from front page

behind closed doors, begging for massive economic aid, technological assistance, and other steps he hopes will bring the "Soviet Union's organic integration in the world economy."

In a 23-page letter to the heads of state, Gorbachev threatened that without this course, possible only with a massive infusion of funds, the worsening economic situation in the USSR would lead to "major social conflicts and pose a threat to democratic reform."

For Gorbachev and the rulers of the imperialist countries these are code words for working-class resistance to the driving down of workers' already deteriorating standard of living and to the repressive measures of the regime, as well as the attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy to stave off the kind of collapse kindred governments in Eastern Europe went through recently.

Leading up to the meeting, Washington and Tokyo had made known their opposition to any new infusion of loans to the regime—overriding the German, French, and Italian governments' desire to see at least some hard cash aid extended.

U.S. President George Bush said Gorbachev "stopped short of what some predicted might be on his agenda" during the meeting, referring to the "radical" market reform program being pushed by some in the ruling Soviet hierarchy.

Bush also made it clear in a July 17 press conference that Washington is pressing Gorbachev to suspend its trade with revolutionary Cuba.

Asked by a reporter if Cuba's military and economic ties with Moscow are a "barrier... to aid from the West," Bush agreed, saying it "is the political problem that we've got about helping the Soviet Union as long as they're propping up the one totalitarian dictator—Communist dictator—in our hemisphere."



The U.S. president said Gorbachev "understands" Washington's position because "we've been talking about that for a long time." Bush claimed it is "hard to ask the American people, 'Please spend money, send checks,' when this one dictatorship, 80 miles from our shores, is being propped up."

The *New York Times* reported that British Prime Minister John Major "candidly" told Gorbachev "the West expected reform in property rights, market prices, the breakup of state monopolies, and the establishment of a Western-style legal system" before he would favor much in the way of direct loans or grants.

After the discussion with Gorbachev the seven governments decided to extend the status of associate membership in the International Monetary Fund to the Soviets, and offer technical assistance to the ailing oil

industry, food distribution, nuclear safety, and conversion of military factories for civilian use.

More meetings with the Soviet president would be held in the future to discuss "matters of mutual concern" and to "review progress," Major said in a July 17 press conference.

When queried by reporters about associate membership in the IMF, an assistant to Major said that as the first country with such a status, the USSR would only be eligible for technical advice, not loans.

"Associate membership does not exist," he said. "It's some kind of special relationship that will be made up by the IMF."

## 'Barrel without a bottom'

Giving a more straightforward assessment of why an infusion of capital would not stem the economic or social crisis in the USSR, *Der Spiegel*, a weekly German magazine,

commented that financial aid to Moscow is a "barrel without a bottom."

Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador-designate to the Soviet Union, told a Senate committee he strongly opposed any aid to Moscow.

Giving a bleak assessment of the possibilities of a transition to capitalism in the Soviet Union he said, "The economy is in free-fall. The bureaucracy is in decay.... Pouring money in there without something stronger in place would be like pouring it down a well."

Strauss encouraged Gorbachev to "make the hard choices necessary to get economic reform on track." As to prospects for growth of foreign capitalist investment in industry, Strauss was equally pessimistic. "What I hope to do is help start tiny projects where we can create some sprouts. That's the best I can hope to do."

*New York Times* columnist Leslie Gelb called the Group of Seven package to Gorbachev "Band-Aids and baloney," designed by "western leaders to pretend to be doing something consequential."

## Failure of capitalist restoration

The desperate situation the ruling caste in the Soviet Union finds itself in and the reasons why the imperialists believe that even a massive infusion of funds would not reverse the fortunes of the Soviet economy can partially be seen from two sources: the failure of any moves toward restoring capitalism in Eastern and Central European countries and the economic situation in the Soviet Union itself.

Imperialist powers fear the growing instability arising out of the collapse of the former Stalinist regimes could spread to the Soviet Union. They prefer a strong, repressive regime, capable of keeping working people out of political life, to the unravelling of the ruling party and secret police apparatus.

The imperialists had hoped the bureaucracies could continue to suppress working people's desire to fight and defend the historic conquests of the 1917 revolution in the Soviet Union and the social conquests in Eastern Europe following World War II.

These revolutionary struggles overturned capitalist property relations and ownership of industry, banking, and the land. The counterrevolutionary drive on the part of the Stalinists, though, took hold of the reins of power, driving working people out of politics and away from contact with revolutionary struggles in other parts of the world.

The fact that massive protests shattered the Stalinist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe and millions in the Soviet Union have refused to be driven further backwards under the whip of police state repression is posing greater problems for imperialism in its long-term goal of restoring capitalism in these countries.

In Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries where capitalism has been overturned the newly emerged governments have failed to attract much investment, especially in the industrial sector, despite their pro-capitalist and anti-working-class pronouncements.

In Germany, unification with East Germany has brought Bonn enormous problems. Workers in the east have waged strikes and protests against deteriorating conditions, unemployment, and factory closings. The government has been forced to pump huge sums of borrowed money into the eastern provinces, a drain that has put a severe strain on the German economy and balance of payments.

Leading up to the Group of Seven meeting, more facts on Soviet industrial production, foreign debt, balance of payments, gross national product, and other measures appeared in the big-business media.

For decades these figures have been closely guarded secrets of the regime and when made public were doctored to paint a glowing picture of the economic successes of the ruling Stalinist group.

The figures offer little breakdown of the differential impact the economic crisis has on the worst-off sections of the working class and peasantry as opposed to the ruling stratum and newly emerging layers of speculators and traders. But they starkly show the enormity of the economic decline in the country.

The Soviet currency, the ruble, is not convertible on world markets. But its official exchange rate has declined from \$1.60 to 4 cents. Farm and industrial production are

Continued on Page 7

## Soviet workers face shortages, low wages

BY GREG McCARTAN

Conditions faced by the majority of the population in the Soviet Union continue to worsen as the ruling caste argues over the best way to continue its parasitic skimming off of a large percentage of the social surplus produced by working people.

Soviet officials say the number of consumer items in stores has declined from 1,100 in 1985 to 60 today. The average worker's wage is 300 rubles a month, hardly enough to live on even if goods were available.

"I have three children and I went to the shop yesterday and spent 25 rubles and didn't get enough for us to eat," a coal miner told a *Washington Post* reporter. "My son is in school where the uniforms are 120 rubles a month. I make 200 rubles a month. How am I to do this?"

A steep increase in the price of goods took

effect in April. Many items are still highly subsidized, such as bread, beef, flour, and other basic items. But the three-fold increase in the cost of a pound of beef to 3.18 rubles, a loaf of bread to .60 rubles, and a pound of flour to .63 rubles hits the average wage earner hard.

A sofa takes a month's wages at 346 rubles, a color television 4 months wages at 1,218 rubles, and a shirt, 10 percent of wages at 41 rubles.

Destruction of the environment, lack of health care, inadequate housing, and other manifestations of the disastrous consequences of decades of Stalinist-directed economy abound.

In a new book, *Steeltown, USSR*, Stephen Kotkin describes the city of Magnitogorsk, in Russia. Built as a center of steel production in the 1930s, the city now features "entrenched alcoholism, recurrent shortages of consumer goods, a severe housing crisis extending well into the future, a ubiquitous black market, a crumbling or nonexistent urban infrastructure, almost unfathomable pollution, and a health catastrophe impossible to exaggerate," Kotkin writes.

## Coal miners

The conditions of coal miners came more to light during their recent strike.

The mines on Sakhalin Island have some of the worst conditions. Miners there say that because there are no elevators they must slide on their backs for an hour down to the coal face. Until last year workers did not even get paid for the time they spent sliding down to work.

As workers are less and less able to make ends meet, many are forced to turn to other means to feed themselves and their families. "Throughout the countryside, city dwellers turn meadows and fields into patches of potatoes and cabbage," *New York Times* reporter Serge Schmemmann writes. It is just one example of the increasing waste of human labor power and the pressures on workers to revert to individual and inefficient ways to make up for lack of goods, rather than progressively organizing the socialization of all aspects of productive activity.

As working people scramble for their daily existence, the bureaucracy takes advantage of the growing shortages to enrich itself.

Along with this development comes a more openly anti-working-class vocabulary, directed at toilers both at home and abroad.

Government statistics admit that of some 2 billion rubles paid out in bribes last year, 1.2 billion went directly to officials of the regime.

## Workers are 'floppy green plants'

Members of Komsomol, the Young Communist League, have taken advantage of access to party funds to set up video game concessions, computer sales, and other sales outlets. Among the top layers 1,000 rubles is known as a *shtuka*, slang for an inconsequential amount of money. They call a worker earning a living at 300 rubles a month "dumb as a *lopukh*," a fool or a floppy green plant.

An advisor to Gorbachev described how local and regional government officials "get a little piece for themselves" from those needing permission to set up small businesses.

Svyatoslav Fyodorov, a member of the CP's Central Committee until last year, has set up a private ophthalmology clinic and is reportedly bringing in a handsome income.

"The political fight for power is the fight for property," he wrote recently in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. "If people get property, they will have power. If not, they will remain eternal hired hands."

Managers at many enterprises faced with shortages have turned to barter with other factories as competition for raw materials and machines sharpens.

At a Moscow sock factory the director told a *Washington Post* reporter that he constantly had to scramble to find elastic and needles for the machines.

"Our hard currency reserves have suddenly disappeared," he complained. "For all these years we have been throwing away our money on all those Third World countries, and now, we're told, there's no money left. At the top they yak and yak but we sit here without raw materials."

But contrary to the claims of this manager, the shortages and growing social differentiation are the result of decades of the ruling stratum's bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy and its eradication of the forms of workers democracy and control that were established in the first years of the revolution.



Buying bread in Moscow



# Ohio unionists strike uranium fuel plant

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

PIKETON, Ohio — Workers at the Portsmouth Gaseous Diffusion Plant here walked off their jobs June 11 after contract negotiations between Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 3-689 and Martin Marietta Energy Systems broke down.

When the strike was announced at noon, unionists at the uranium fuel recycling facility organized a mass picket and blockaded entrances to the plant. The company obtained a temporary restraining order which was read to the pickets about 9:00 p.m. The blockade continued until early the following morning, however, when dozens of cop cars arrived and the workers dispersed, leaving four pickets at each gate as stipulated in the court order.

Leading up to the strike the 1,070 union members worked without a contract for 41 days. Donna Davis, who is on the union's negotiating team, explained that during this period they organized a lunchtime "solidarity parade" through the administration building, a "solidarity week" when workers turned down overtime shifts, and a mock funeral to bury one of the company's contract offers.

Martin Marietta operates the Piketon facility for the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE). The OCAW and Martin Marietta recently settled contracts at similar DOE plants in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Paducah, Kentucky.

Here at the Piketon plant the company is demanding the elimination of seniority in job bidding. This would mean that less experienced people could be assigned hazardous jobs without adequate training. Workers who had earned enough time to bid out of the most dangerous and highly radioactive departments could be forced back onto those jobs.

The company also wants DOE regulations and memos to supersede contract language. One picketer said this could pave the way

for forced overtime and speedup. "At any time they could also say the federal budget demands that our wages be cut and send in the National Guard to enforce their decisions. Martin Marietta and the government are in bed together," he said.

Martin Marietta is running the plant with 1,300 salaried workers and management personnel, having recently hired hundreds of additional employees in preparation for the strike.

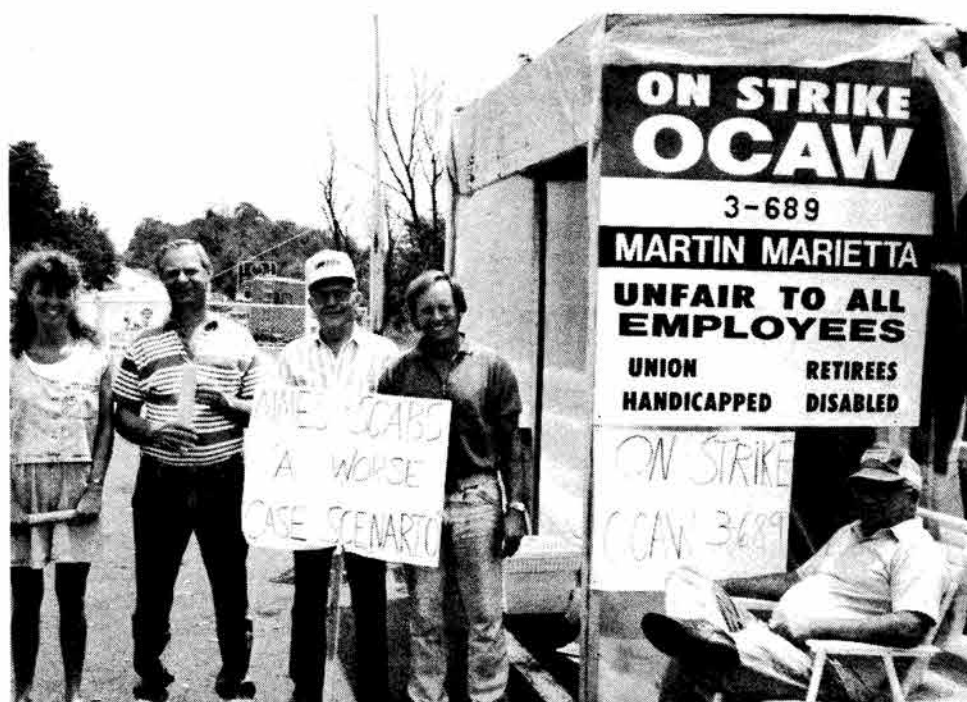
Union President John Knauff call the company's decision to operate without trained workers "a disaster waiting to happen."

On June 17 union members and community residents rallied to voice their concerns over safety.

Tim Hart, a worker with 21 years in the plant, asked, "What makes them qualified in six weeks to go do my job where I have to have four years experience to do the same job?"

Vina Colley, a former employee, said, "If an accident occurs no one will be safe for miles."

These concerns were confirmed on July 4, when a radioactive gas release occurred.



Militant/Illona Gersh

Strikers at Martin Marietta plant, which contracts with U.S. Department of Energy.

Martin Marietta reported that less than 10 grams of uranium hexafluoride leaked during a transfer. The company further claimed that no gas escaped the plant and that although radioactive contamination was found on one worker's coveralls, none registered on the worker's body or on 15 others who were evacuated.

"We think they're lying. We think a greater amount was released because it took them eight hours to clean up," Donna Davis said in a telephone interview.

Maggie McCraw is a member of OCAW Local 3-89 in Alloy, West Virginia. Kevin Kellogg also contributed to this article.

## Group of Seven meeting tells Gorbachev aid cannot stabilize crisis-ridden regime

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projected to drop nearly 10 percent in 1990 and more steeply in 1991. The Gross National Product could suffer a 15 percent fall this year alone.

The value of imports has risen to five times that of exports; government revenues came in one-third lower than expected in the first quarter of 1991; and the budget deficit is five times greater than projected.

Moscow's foreign debt to capitalist governments and banks grew by \$5 billion since the end of last year. Some 25 percent of the total \$70 billion debt falls due this year. Moscow needs \$50 billion in hard currency in 1991 to service debts and pay for imports.

Rifts in ruling stratum

This situation has caused deep rifts within the petty-bourgeois social layer that holds the reins of political power in the workers state and which reserves a large portion of the social wealth for itself.

Heads of the army, secret police, and the interior ministry have denounced Gorbachev's promises to introduce more extensive market mechanisms in the economy and his pleas for investment and other aid from imperialist governments. They charge that aid programs would in reality be disguised U.S. Central Intelligence Agency operations to subvert the Soviet economy.

This wing of the ruling stratum favors more open repression of strikes, of protests for national independence that occur in the republics, and of other demonstrations. They call for retention of the centralized command economy.

As the chief arbitrator between the competing sections of the bureaucratic caste, Gorbachev has alternately sided with this wing and with those who say their privileged position can best be defended by driving to integrate the Soviet economy into that of world capitalism. The latter group, almost entirely made up of former Communist Party leaders, also favors giving more political decision making power and a greater share of the country's wealth to those in positions of power in the governments in the republics.

Gorbachev recently made a pact with top officials from nine of the 15 republics, granting them greater political and economic powers. He has also expressed more interest in plans put forward to move more rapidly to institute wider market mechanisms in the economy.

Officials of the republic governments, such as Russian President Boris Yeltsin, believes they can no longer rely on the widely discredited Communist Party, made into an instrument under Joseph Stalin in the 1920s to defend the interests of the bureaucracy and repress the working class. Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze became the latest member of the Politburo to resign from the Communist Party.

These forces' main interests lie not with advancing the interests of working people, but in winning more benefits for themselves out of the current crisis.

Yeltsin recently won control of coal mines in Siberia following a strike by mine workers there. In the Ukraine, officials are driving to keep more income from taxes in their hands, rather than sending the monies off to Moscow.

Roots of current crisis

Far from a newly emerged crisis, the trends today have been developing for years. Their roots lie in the counterrevolution carried out by the well-off petty-bourgeois layers for whom Stalin spoke and carried out state repression to protect beginning in the 1920s.

Because basic industry remains nationalized, the bureaucrats do not own the means of production, as individual ruling families do in capitalist countries. Their perks and life-style come from their monopoly on political power. They are therefore driven to defend existing property relations, no matter how much they wish to try and copy those they look to in the imperialist countries.

Despite claims of moving rapidly to a market economy and plans to sell up to 50 percent of state property to private concerns, only through a massive defeat of the working class in struggle can a capitalist restoration even be posed.

Although bereft of any revolutionary or communist vanguard today, the working class in the Soviet Union will extend its struggles against the designs of the bureaucracy — both those in Moscow and the republics — to impose even greater economic deprivation and denial of political and democratic rights.

Through these struggles and by becoming part of the battles of the toilers the world over, a leadership will be forged that can take political power out of the hands of the ruling stratum and chart a working-class road forward out of the dead end into which the Stalinist counterrevolution led the Soviet Union.

## Solidarity campaign protests jailing of Aborigines

BY BOB ANDREWS

SYDNEY — A public meeting of more than 80 people was held here June 17 to campaign against the frame-up of 17 Aborigines following a police riot in Brewarrina in 1987.

Two victims of the frame-up, Arthur Murray and Sonny Bates, were present, having just been released from prison pending their appeal of convictions for riotous assembly and assault.

Brewarrina is a small town in northwest New South Wales, with 800 whites living in the town and 500 Aborigines living on the fringes, mostly in shacks and tin sheds.

On Aug. 15, 1987 several hundred Aborigines had gathered for the funeral of Lloyd Boney, who had been found hanged in a local police cell just 90 minutes after being taken into custody.

Following the funeral the Aborigines marched peacefully on the police station and then gathered for a wake at the town park. A group of whites shouted racist remarks from a nearby hotel bar and brandished shotguns and rifles at the crowd. When rocks were thrown at the hotel, the police Tactical Response Group, in town from Sydney to "observe" the funeral, staged a 30-minute attack on the wake.

Arthur Murray was a particular target of the cops. He was bashed unconscious in the park and then found himself charged with riotous assembly and attempted murder of a police officer.

Murray's son was killed in police custody in 1981 and he has been a leading campaigner for the establishment of a Royal Commission into Black Deaths in Custody. (This commission was in fact set up following Lloyd Boney's death.) The Brewarrina case came to trial in April. Bates and Murray were among those found guilty and sentenced to 18 months in jail.

"I've fought for my people," Murray told the meeting. "I was sent to jail for something I didn't do," he said. "With your support we can get something done."

## Framed-up political activist acquitted in Australia; ruling prohibits new trial

BY MANUELE LOMANO

SYDNEY — Shouts of jubilation reverberated through the Supreme Court here as the three judges acquitted Tim Anderson and prohibited the government from ever ordering a new trial. The ruling was handed down June 6.

Anderson, a political activist, was convicted in November 1990 on frame-up charges stemming from the murder of three people killed when a bomb exploded outside Sydney's Hilton Hotel on Feb. 13, 1978. He served seven months of a 14-year jail term.

In forbidding the government from ordering a new trial, the Court gave backhanded acknowledgement to the public support for Anderson, a second-time frame-up victim, in Australia and around the world.

Spearheaded by the Campaign to Expose the Frame-up of Tim Anderson, wide backing was won around Australia. CEFTA put out the newsletter *Framed*, which exposed other cases of police frame-ups, particularly those of police violence against Aborigines. Internationally it celebrated the release of the Guildford Four in Britain and covered the case of framed political activist and unionist Mark Curtis in the United States.

At an April 23 defense rally, the last meeting before Anderson's appeal, more than 600 supporters packed the hall.

Anderson was first convicted on frame-up charges of conspiracy to murder the leader

of the rightist National Front in 1979. He spent seven years in prison before that frame-up was exposed and he was pardoned. The media and police linked his name to the Hilton bombing throughout this time.

Anderson now intends to seek compensation for the time he spent in prison and to take legal action against the police prosecutor and the two people who brought evidence against him.

Ray Denning, a prisoner serving a life sentence for armed robbery, testified against Anderson to get his jail term shortened. He said that Anderson had admitted to him that he was the "Hilton Bomber." This assertion was discredited when prison records were produced showing that the two were not in the same prison when Denning claimed Anderson made this admission.

Evan Pederick is now serving a 20-year sentence for stating that he placed the bomb in the garbage bin outside the Hilton Hotel. He claimed Anderson made him do it, but his testimony was riddled with contradictions.

With Anderson's acquittal the demand for a public investigation into the Hilton bombing is picking up steam. On June 21 Ted Mack, Independent Federal Member of Parliament, called for a full public inquiry into reports that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation may have been responsible for the Hilton Hotel bombing.



# The challenges confronting the African National Congress today

## Keynote addresses to historic national conference of ANC

Printed below are the keynote speeches by Nelson Mandela, outgoing deputy-president, and Oliver Tambo, president, of the historic 48th National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC). The July 2-7 conference, held in Durban, was the first such ANC meeting held on South African soil in more than 30 years.

At the close of the conference, Mandela was elected president of the ANC and Tambo, national chairperson.

We reprint here Mandela's speech in full and major excerpts from Tambo's talk. The text was released by the ANC. Sub-heads and footnotes are by the 'Militant.'

### Nelson Mandela

I would like to join our President, Comrade O. R. Tambo, in welcoming you all to Conference. As he has said, this is an historic occasion not only for the ANC, but also with regard to the future of our country.

It is an incontestable fact that the millions of our people and many more internationally are looking forward to the results of this Conference in the expectation that at the end we will convey to them all a message of hope that the long days of apartheid tyranny are about to end. We shall not, through our own acts of omission or commission, disappoint these expectations by reducing the Conference just to another event in the political calendar of our country. The week ahead of us is therefore very important.

Consequently, we are very pleased that we have present in this hall representatives of all the organised structures of the ANC, as well as Observers from our Allied Organisations. During the few days ahead of us we will have to take very important decisions, which may very well decide the fate of this country for many years to come.

It will therefore be required of each one of us that we approach all issues on our agenda with all due seriousness. We expect of all of us rational and constructive debate. Out of that debate must come equally rational, constructive, and realistic decisions, aimed at taking South Africa forward as quickly as possible to its destination as a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

The conference here today is the culmination of a singularly democratic process. It is a little over a year since the ANC began the task of reconstituting itself as a public organisation in our country. You delegates have been chosen by close to one thousand branches to represent the views of our entire membership. Your branches have participated in rigorous discussions concerning our strategy, constitution, organisation, and policy.

You have been elected by a thoroughly democratic process. The procedures that have brought you here are unique in this country. There are not many movements or organisations which can claim to measure up to these democratic standards. Certainly, outside the ranks of the mass democratic and trade union movement, such practices are virtually unheard of.

The very process that brings us together here is an outstanding example of participatory democracy, which augurs well for the future. Let us continue to demonstrate in our debates here this week that we stand by the principles of freedom of expression. All views are entitled to be aired. It is through vigorous and constructive debate that together we will chart the path ahead.

We have convened as part of our continuing effort to make further inputs into the unstoppable offensive to end the criminal system of apartheid, to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy and to reconstruct it as a country of justice, prosperity, and peace for all our people, both black and white, in keeping with the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter.

In this regard, the first point we would like to make is that it is the responsibility of our Movement to be in the vanguard of the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country. We must both lead

and learn from our people.

We make this point not out of any feeling of arrogance or superiority over any other political formation. We say it to make the point that the ANC is the repository of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our people. In terms of mass support and for reasons that are very easy to understand, we are the major political formation in this country.

Secondly, because it is the oldest formation among the forces that are fighting for the victory of the perspective of a non-racial democracy, the ANC contains within it a unique reservoir of experience of the struggle for democracy, equality, and an end to racism in all its forms.

The ANC has a proud record of struggle and resistance to the efforts of successive white minority regimes to entrench this system and make it an everlasting reality defining the nature and functioning of South African society.



Militant/Greg McCartan  
Nelson Mandela: "Our central objective is transfer of power to people."

It is precisely that struggle which has changed the balance of forces to such an extent that the apartheid system is now in retreat. Through the struggles of our people the ANC has been unbanned and we are able to meet in our country today. A regime whose ideology is based on a virulent anti-communism has been forced to unban our ally, the South African Communist Party, and remove provisions from the law prohibiting the propagation of communist ideas.

We have with us many of our friends from the rest of the world who, only a short while ago, would not have been able to enter this country. They have come here at the invitation of the ANC in order to demonstrate their continuing solidarity with our cause.

All of these developments represent important victories of the heroic struggle that the masses of our people have waged under the leadership of the ANC.

It is our Movement that has the vision, the policies, the programmes and the mature leadership, which will take our country from its apartheid past to its democratic future.

From this Conference we must formulate the strategies and provide the leadership that can and will enable us to lead all the people of South Africa to the goal which the overwhelming majority seeks, that of justice, democracy, peace and prosperity.

In a period of transition, in which we will experience many things for the first time, we are bound to make mistakes and experience failures. We must make sure that we recognise these quickly, assess them, criticise ourselves where necessary, learn what has to be learnt and emerge from these stronger and better able to carry out our historic mission.

The ability to conduct struggle is gained

in struggle. The ability to score victories is a function of experience that we gain in struggle. Experience also means mistakes and failures. It is by learning from these that we are able to struggle in a better way. Fear of mistakes and failures means only one thing. It means fear of engaging in struggle.

As a result of the struggle that we waged for decades, the balance of forces has changed to such an extent that the ruling National Party, which thought it could maintain the system of white minority domination forever, has been obliged to accept the fact that it has no strength to sustain the apartheid system and that it must enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people. Negotiations constitute a victory of our struggle and a defeat for the ruling group which thought it could exercise a monopoly of political power forever.

When we decided to take up arms, it was because the only other choice was to surrender and submit to slavery. This was not a

We have never claimed that we have a monopoly of wisdom and that only our views and policies are legitimate. As a democratic movement we shall continue to defend the right of all our people to freedom of thought, association, and organisation. It is precisely because of this that we have firmly committed ourselves to the perspective of a multi-party democracy.

We say all this to contribute to our preparations for the period ahead of us when we shall enter into negotiations, which will determine the destiny of our country for the foreseeable future. We must participate in these processes with a clear vision of what we want to achieve, with a clear view of the procedures we must follow to ensure that our representatives are properly mandated and that they report back to us, and with a clear view of the process of negotiations.

Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system. It does not serve the interests of the masses we represent and the country as a whole that we delay the realisation of the achievement of the objective transfer of power to the people. Therefore it is necessary that we should have an idea of the time-frame we visualise for the processes, which must take us to the election of a parliament representative of all the people of our country.

### Violence an obstacle to negotiations

What, then, are the principal steps that we foresee on the road to this goal? First of all, there remains the matter of the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration. This must now include the question of the ending of the campaign of terror against the people, in this province, in the Transvaal, and in the rest of our country.

When these issues have been attended to, we should then move to convene the All-Party Congress. Out of that Congress must emerge a number of very important decisions. These will include agreed constitutional principles, the mechanism to draw up the new constitution, the establishment of an interim government, and the role of the international community during the transitional period.

We still have to grapple with the fact that the process of the removal of obstacles to negotiations has not yet been completed. We will discuss this question, bearing in mind both the progress achieved and what still remains to be done.

One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations, by dragging its feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed. This has come as no surprise. It has never been on the agenda of the National Party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power. It is also in this context that we should understand the use of violence to derail the peace process.

All of us present in this hall know that there are people within our country, and within state structures, who remain opposed to the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. Not only do these forces of reaction stand against the realisation of that ultimate goal, they are also opposed to each and every step that has so far been taken to build towards the accomplishment of this objective.

They did not and do not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of all exiles, to terminate political trials, to end the state of emergency, to review security legislation, and so on.

They took fright at the prospect of these agreement being implemented because they knew that sooner or later this process would lead to the democratisation of political power in our country and, therefore, the creation of the possibility for the people themselves to dismantle the system of apartheid and create a society that would be in keeping with the genuine aspirations of all citizens of our



country. That is precisely why there has been the escalation of public violence such as we have experienced during the last 12 months.

It was not because we were failing that they decided to shoot the people down. It was exactly because we are succeeding. The lesson from all this must surely be that as long as we make progress towards the achievement of our goals, so must we expect that those who fundamentally disagree with these goals will resort to violence and terror to deny us the possibility to move forward.

A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the presently ruling National Party to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations.

Neither can it expect that we will accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces it controls, themselves engage in violence against the people, permit such violence to occur, and remain immune from prosecution when there is clear evidence of their involvement or connivance at the murder of innocent people.

Consequently, nobody should complain when we accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda, one of talking peace while actually conducting war. It is for this regime to demonstrate its good faith not by what it says but by what it does.

What is of strategic importance for us is that we must defend the lives of our people at the same time as we push the process forward, leading to the transfer of power into their hands. We should not allow the situation whereby those who deliberately inject violence into our communities succeed in their intention of slowing down the process leading to the democratic transformation of our country through the use of such violence.

We must defend peace at the same time as we advance towards people's power. We must engage in successful defensive battles against the counter-revolution at the same time as we conduct successful offensive battles to defeat the apartheid system. This is a struggle we must fight on all fronts simultaneously.

The Conference has a responsibility to consider these questions, which pose important strategic and tactical challenges. In this context, we will need to assess the correctness of the positions we have adopted, the effectiveness of the actions we have taken, the possibilities we face in the future, and arrive at decisions that will ensure that we do not submit to an agenda that has been set by the forces of counter-revolution, but pursue our own agenda whose core must always remain the speedy transfer of power into the hands of the people.

The Conference will have to consider all issues which relate to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations and take all the necessary decisions. I have no doubt that our struggle to create such a climate will succeed, as I am certain that our offensive to achieve the democratic transformation of our country will triumph.

#### Difficult, complex transition

Accordingly, in our planning we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles, important as this issue might be. We must engage one another in serious discussion about how we should manage the period of transition which our country has entered.

From all that has happened so far, it seems clear that this period is likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex, and challenging in the entire life of our organisation. It is therefore one which we must all approach with the greatest vigilance and firmness with respect to matters of principle, clarity with regard to strategy, and timeousness and flexibility with reference to tactical issues.

One of the first principal policy questions we are going to face during the transitional period, and in the context of the process of negotiations, is the issue of the All-Party Congress. With regard to this matter, we must evolve a clearer idea on such questions as



Delegates at conference were chosen by nearly 1,000 branches of ANC, which began reconstituting itself as public organization in South Africa one year ago.

the composition of this Congress, its agenda, the manner of its functioning, and the length of time we propose that it should sit.

Conference should bear in mind the fact that we ourselves said that the All-Party Congress should convene when the obstacles to negotiations have been removed. Accordingly, we must calculate on the Congress taking place sooner rather than later and therefore approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency.

Similarly, we must discuss the issue of constitutional principles which will be on the agenda of the All-Party Congress. Fortunately, we have a draft document on this issue, prepared some time ago by our constitutional committee and which we have been discussing in our branches and regions. I refer here to the documents dealing with constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights.

These are important documents as they spell out our views on the framework and the broad character of the new constitution. We must ensure that these do indeed advance our fundamental perspective of the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

We must also discuss the issue of the mechanism to draw up the new Constitution. As all of us know, we are convinced that this mechanism should be an elected constituent assembly and have made this into one of our major campaigning slogans.

The winning of the objective of a constituent assembly will not be achieved solely through the negotiation process. It will require the generation of mass support for this demand.

We reject the regime's contention that mass mobilisation stands in the way of the negotiating process. In the absence of voting rights, the only power we can exercise is the power and the strength of our organised people.

But we must also deal with other important matters which arise in the context of the constituent assembly. To have an elected constituent assembly means that we must have elections. For us to succeed in those elections we must prepare for them, bearing in mind the fact that throughout the period of its existence the ANC has never participated in general elections.

We must therefore take all the necessary decisions which will enable us to engage in this process successfully. Among other things, this means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organisational machinery to do this. It also means that we must have clear ideas about such questions as electoral systems and the demarcation of boundaries of constituencies.

As you are aware, another issue which belongs within the transitional period is the question of the interim government. The importance of the matter cannot be over-emphasised.

Among ourselves we are agreed that it would be incorrect and unacceptable that during this transitional period one of the parties to the negotiations, in this case the National Party, should continue to govern the country on its own.

An interim government will therefore have to be formed and constituted in such a

manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity. Once this government is formed, we will have reached the situation whereby, for the first time this century, South Africa will cease to be ruled by a white minority regime.

In this regard we must provide the lead on all major questions that will affect the constitution of an interim government as well as its lifespan.

It would be important that we have some idea of the time-frame within which the new constitution should be drawn up and adopted. We certainly do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter. In the end, as we have said already, the sooner power transfers into the hands of the people the better.

The international community continues to be of vital importance to the future of our country. This will remain the case even after we have won our freedom. In both the Harare and UN Declarations, it is visualised that a

**“ We must arrive at conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party. ”**

stage will be reached when this community will determine that we have arrived at an internationally acceptable solution to the South African question. This would then enable the rest of the world to welcome democratic South Africa as an equal partner among the community of nations.

But before we reach that stage, it would be important that we discuss the question of the possible role of the international community during the transitional period. The role it could play to expedite this process so that we move forward with minimum delay towards the accomplishment of our cherished goals. Conference will therefore have to deal with this matter as well.

Needless to say, the transitional period is not an end in itself. It constitutes the conveyor belt which should take us through to the goal of a democratic South Africa. At the end of this road and the beginning of another, is the question of the exercise of political power. I take it that we all agree that when the moment comes the ANC will present itself to the country at large for the election into the new parliament.

It therefore seems obvious that we should continue the work we have been doing already of preparing our policy positions on all major questions of public life. We have already had to explain ourselves to the people as a whole, in terms of these various policy positions. The country has understood that we needed the time to work out these positions as we had to rebuild our Movement after 30 years of illegality.

#### Policy needed for future government

But obviously elaboration of policy cannot itself go on forever. We must begin to arrive

at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party. Conference should at least give the broad guidelines which will enable the Movement as a whole to move forward and arrive at these basic policy positions as quickly as possible.

The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility. They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision.

It is clear from everything we have said that there are very many major tasks ahead of us. Their accomplishment will be of critical importance not only to the ANC and its allies but to the country as a whole and to the millions of people who are not necessarily members of our organisation.

We must therefore closely scrutinise the issue of our organisational capacity to carry out these tasks. If we are weak, we will not be able to realise our goals. If we work in a confused manner, we will not be able to take the country forward.

The Secretary General will be presenting the report on the organisation. Therefore I will not go into any detail with regard to the issues that confront us in this area of our work. I would, however, like to draw your attention to a few issues which I am sure Conference will have to discuss.

Organisationally, what do we need? We need a movement that is organisationally strong in terms of the membership that it attracts into its ranks. After 17 months of legality, we have recruited 700,000 members. Even though the effort has been commendable, there is no room for complacency and much more work has got to be done to draw millions of all our people into the ANC.

We must also express concern at the proportionately low number of members that is drawn from rural areas. We must also do more to attract members from the middle strata.

We can ill afford to be content with the relatively low level of success that we are making with regard to drawing whites, coloureds and Indians into the organisation. We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so. In this context, we should not be afraid to confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future which we should address.

#### ANC must represent all people

We must remain a Movement representative of all the people of South Africa — a people's movement, both in name and in reality. As we build our organisation, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population.

Apart from the ANC itself, our Movement has three other important component parts. These are the Youth and Women's Leagues, and the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The responsibilities that fall on the shoulders of the Leagues are very heavy indeed. It is part of our task to ensure that they are themselves strong enough to carry out these responsibilities.

They, like the ANC itself, should under-

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# Mandela speech to delegates

Continued from Page 9

stand the point clearly that they are charged with the task of leading not just their own members. They must, each in its own sector, lead the millions falling within their constituencies. Thus when we talk of mass action, it must be real mass action which draws into struggle not just members but the masses of the people we represent.

At the same time, we need to pay better attention to our heroic army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, than we have done during the past year or so. MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe] has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible.

It is proper that this Conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us to where we are today. We are very glad that some of those who survived during the course of that struggle are with us today.

Some of them were serving long sentences, but we managed to get them out, even to the point where the notorious Robben Island Prison has at last been closed down. Some of them are serving as commanders of the people's army, but we have succeeded to get them to be present at this, their Conference. Of those that were sentenced to death, we have ensured that none will hang! Soon we shall have all of them among us, to continue the struggle for the victory of the people's cause.

We have suspended armed action, but have not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto we Sizwe therefore has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition to a democratic society.

New challenges will face MK in the context of the installation of the interim government. As we have said, this is one of the issues we will have to discuss, an important part of which will be the issue of the control of the security forces by such a government. It is clear that MK will have to play a vital role in these processes. Where it can, it must, of course, make its expertise available to those communities that are engaged in the process of establishing their self-defence units.

At the same time, MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of the reconstruction of our country. The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution but must be carried out now to ensure that, as happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia, when the time comes to rebuild our defence forces, we are ready to participate in these processes in defence of our democratic gains.

Such are some of the major tasks that

confront MK during this period. To carry out properly requires that all the necessary logistics be made available. But it also requires that MK continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent.

## New constitution of ANC

We will also be discussing the new constitution of the ANC. Quite clearly we must ensure that we agree on a structure which enables the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction of the work of the Movement while the leadership we will elect recognises that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead.

But whatever our constitution will say, it will only function properly if we all proceed from the position that we are all comrades, bound together by common goals, with all of us equally committed to make a contribution to the realisation of those common goals.

Much work remains to be done among us all to raise the level of political consciousness

**“ We must stand out as a real people's Movement . . . capable of drawing masses into action in their millions. ”**

so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our Movement, its character, its strategy, and tactics.

Certainly, we must also resist the efforts of some among the media to encourage factions within the Movement by suggesting there are groups locked in mortal combat, there is a division between the exiles and the internal group, the ex-prisoners and somebody else, the so-called militants and moderates.

We should not tolerate the formation of factions within the Movement. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinion.

## South African Communist Party

Many people both inside and outside our country repeatedly raise the question of our relations with the Communist Party. We would therefore like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the fact that we consider the South African Communist Party a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule. We will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organisations.

At the same time, the point must be borne in mind that the SACP is a separate

organisation which does not seek to dominate the ANC as the ANC. The ANC, for its part, does not seek to dominate the Communist Party. The policies of the ANC are not decided in the Communist Party as neither are the policies of the SACP decided in the ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organisations.

Both we and the Communist Party must be judged by the policies we espouse and the things we do to propagate and advance those views. We believe our detractors should outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold war, stop the redbaiting, and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multiparty democracy.

The other member of our alliance is the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We would like to reaffirm our firm determination to respect the independence of the trade union movement and to act in a manner consistent with this position, both now and in the future. We are ready to act in support of positions that are put forward by this allied organisation with regard to issues such as retrenchment, a living wage, and the Workers' Charter.

The incoming National Executive Committee will have to ensure that our tripartite alliance works better than it has done in the past. This will ensure that we use the collective strength represented by our respective organisations in a better way.

We have also advanced the perspective of a front of all patriotic forces. Undoubtedly a report will be presented to Conference on this matter. The unity of our people, and the organisations that represent them, has always been central to both our thinking and to our practice. Unity remains important to this day. It must remain an essential part of our activities, from the branch upwards.

Our contact with various organisations has not been as strong as it should be. This, too, will have to be corrected.

## Strengthen link with masses

Our strength lies in the masses of the people. We must therefore continue to pay the closest attention to the issue of our work among the masses. They must see the ANC as their organisation, one that represents their aspirations and actually advances their interests.

We must ensure that these masses are in fact engaged in struggle and are drawn into the fundamental discussion which must now take place about the future of our country. To ensure that these do not remain mere slogans and pious wishes, we must pay attention to the importance of door-to-door campaigning and the value of small local meetings.

We must help entrench the culture of political tolerance amongst our people. We reiterate, it is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles, we must ensure that the people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.

We must stand out as an unchallenged example of a real people's Movement, in touch with these masses, responsive to their needs, capable of drawing them into action in their millions and enjoying their genuine allegiance and voluntary support. Hopefully the Conference will address this question as well and be unsparing in its analysis and criticism of where we might have failed to relate to the masses in the manner I have described, so that we do indeed strengthen our links with these masses.

The continued support of the international community remains vital for the victory of our cause. We also need further to strengthen our links with the rest of the world to ensure that the international community, so well represented here today, remains engaged not only in the struggle against apartheid but also in the struggle for the democratic transformation of our country.

From this international community we shall therefore require continuing political and material support for the present phase of our struggle. But equally we will need to prepare these friendly nations to come to our aid as we carry out the enormous tasks that will face us during the period of the reconstruction of our country, as well as define the place of a democratic South Africa within that international community. These are matters of critical importance to our people as a



Militant/Ruth Haswell  
Rally on final day of ANC conference

whole and will have to be discussed bearing in mind this reality.

## Sanctions still needed

Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussions of the sanctions question which we began at our Consultative Conference last December. The challenge that faces us with regard to this question is that we should find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted.

Let me take this opportunity once more to join our President in saluting our honoured international guests who are with us today and pay tribute to them for everything they have contributed to the protracted struggle which has brought us to where we are today.

We thank you most sincerely for your support and are confident that you will stay the course with us not only to end the system of apartheid but to help us rebuild this otherwise beautiful country.

While you are with us, we hope that you will see a little bit of it, talk to as many of our people as you can and gain a better understanding of the challenges that the ANC and the rest of the democratic Movement face.

The masses of our people will undoubtedly feel greatly strengthened that you were able to visit them directly to express your solidarity and to strengthen the bonds of friendship which must underpin the relations that a free South Africa will have with the rest of the world.

We would also like to thank all of our other distinguished guests from within our country, including the members of the diplomatic corps, who took time off to be with us today. We deeply appreciate the interest you have shown in our Conference and trust that you will accept its results as a contribution to the common concern we share of the speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

I would like to thank all the comrades and friends who have been involved in the work of preparing this Conference. They have had to attend to a lot of issues. To honour and respect their contribution to the struggle, we are called upon as delegates to go about the business of our Conference with all due diligence and seriousness. I wish all of you success.

Finally, I would like to thank the Vice Chancellor of the University of Durban Westville, Professor Reddy and all other members of the university for making the university available for our historic Conference. We have no words to express our gratitude but trust that the results of our Conference will help to reinforce the work in which you yourselves are engaged, of transforming this centre of learning and the educational system as a whole in keeping with our common aspiration to create a just society. Thank you for your attention.

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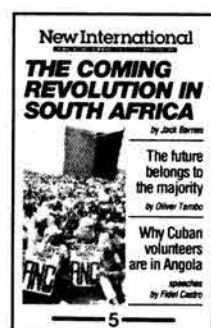
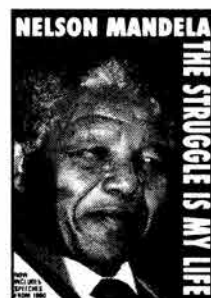
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# Oliver Tambo speech on history of ANC

We welcome you all with boundless joy, especially you delegates, who represent the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people across the length and breadth of our strife torn country. We welcome you conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by a burning desire to make this Conference the last one we ever shall have to hold under minority rule.

We salute our allies in the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. We salute the ANC Youth League — the future of our country. We salute the ANC Women's League for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issue of women's emancipation. We salute commanders and combatants of our glorious army Umkhonto we Sizwe for the sterling contribution they have made to the struggle.<sup>1</sup>

This Conference is not only unique because it takes place in South Africa after a period of three decades, but also because of its representativeness. Given the cloud of uncertainty hanging over our country and the climate of confrontation fostered by enemies of peace and democracy; and given our people's and the world's impatience with oppression, decisions emanating from this Conference must infuse South Africa and our entire region with consequences of historical magnitude. For congregated within these four walls is the voice of reason, the voice of freedom, the voice of peace — in fact the voice of humanity.

## Three decades of struggle

Comrades and Friends: It is my task to present a report back to our Movement, our people and country, on the mission we were assigned to do outside the country more than three decades ago. I present this report on behalf of my colleagues in the National Executive Committee, my peers and fellow combatants in the external mission — both the living and the departed.

Because the history of the past thirty years is as vast as the road we have traversed, one can but only mention landmarks in this report. In 1959 the ANC took a decision that Comrade Josia Matlou and I were to leave the country. Our mission was to rally international support for the isolation of the apartheid state. We also had to create a reliable rear base for our struggle. Comrade Matlou left before me. I left the country in 1960, a week after the Sharpeville massacre and just before the ANC and the PAC were banned.<sup>2</sup> Sharpeville, of course, marked a major watershed in our history and ushered in a whole new era.

Together with Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Segal we proceeded to Tanganyika. It was there that we met Mwalimu Nyerere who was heading the struggle for his country's independence. We were amongst the first freedom fighters to be received by this great son of Africa. Those were hopeful and exciting days. They were also particularly frugal ones where we often did not know where the next meal was coming from.

From Tanganyika we went to Ghana where we met Kwame Nkrumah.<sup>3</sup> It was there that the idea of a United Front was discussed between the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and an organisation which was later to be known as SWAPO of Namibia.<sup>4</sup> Our discussions on this issue were finalised in London and the South African United Front was formed. Thus, began our international crusade to win friends and isolate the racists.

## Choice was submit or fight

Comrades and Friends: It must be emphasised that the fundamental question that we then had to resolve was how to transform our Movement to meet the new situation in South Africa. The choice confronting us by a vicious and violent regime was, "to submit or fight." Rather than surrender we chose the path of armed struggle.

Our role outside was to prepare conditions for the politico-military training of cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Here at home the leadership was recruiting cadres to go for training as well as building the underground.

In this regard our mission abroad worked hard to ensure that the world was mobilised in support of our struggle. We appealed for the isolation of the regime and urged the international community to support our

armed struggle. From the very beginning we made steady gains in this regard. The Socialist countries, notably, the Soviet Union and the newly independent countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia threw their full weight behind our struggle. Most of these were willing to support the armed struggle.

In the West we succeeded in encouraging the formation of a powerful anti-apartheid Movement and other formations which helped to isolate the Pretoria regime.

Comrades: our position in international organisations, like the Nonaligned Movement, the Afro-Asian solidarity organisations and so forth, became unassailable. By 1974 the General Assembly of the United Nations was able to refuse the credentials of the South African representative despite strong resistance from some Western countries. It is a measure of our success that, by 1989, the ANC had more representatives abroad than the South African government.

## Draconian laws of repression

Comrades and Friends: Whilst we registered early victories on the international front here at home we suffered a devastating setback at the hands of a regime armed with draconian laws of repression.

The Rivonia arrests and the smashing of our underground structures set us back many years. Although colonialism was collapsing in Africa our sub-region was still in the grip of reaction.<sup>5</sup>

The imperialist powers collaborated with Pretoria, Portugal and Rhodesia against the liberation Movements. The cordon sanitaire they erected made it difficult for our Umkhonto combatants to return home. Following our discussions with ZAPU, we decided to send a detachment into Rhodesia, with instructions that they were to fight their way back home.<sup>6</sup>

By 1969 it was considered necessary to hold a National Consultative Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania. Conference was to take stock of the totality of our experience and, on the basis of that, map out the way forward. Morogoro became a landmark and a turning point in our struggle. It was that Conference which produced a comprehensive document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC.

Reporting to our Second National Consultative Conference in 1985, the National Executive made the following observation about Morogoro: "Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the re-orientation of our Movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the external mission of the ANC."

The decision to open up membership of the ANC to all South Africans, regardless of the colour of their skin, was a giant leap forward towards true nonracialism within the ANC.

The independence of Angola and Mozambique created new possibilities for our struggle. Angola, provided us with military bases. The MPLA under the leadership of the late President Agostino Neto allowed us training facilities regardless of their own serious problems.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of years of destabilisation by the regime Angola stood firm and with the assistance of Cuban and Soviet internationalism turned the tide against Pretoria. It was at



Militant/Ruth Haswell

**Veteran leaders of African National Congress: Oliver Tambo, center, with Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu.**

Cuito Cuanavale that the SADF met their match.<sup>8</sup> Victory there opened the way for Namibia's independence and Pretoria's historic retreat in our region.

The cohesion and steadfastness of the Frontline States proved decisive in enhancing our striking capacity.<sup>9</sup> If these countries had not acted together and created a united Front against apartheid South Africa, we would have been in serious trouble. In this regard, the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 further consolidated the strength of the anti-colonial struggles in our region. Thus, the balance of forces was irrevocably shifted in our favour.

However, in an attempt to roll the wheel of history back, these states were subjected to the most brutal form of destabilisation by South Africa. Representatives of these states have joined us today, to once more reaffirm their unflinching support for our cause. We are grateful to them and to their people for all they have done for us. Never shall we forget the support they rendered and continue to render to us.

The beginning of the 1980s witnessed the maturing of both the subjective and objective factors in favour of our people's victory. As we were poised for a great leap forward, we designated the 1980s the "Decade of Freedom." We proceeded to call upon our people to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. To this call our people responded in their thousands. Everywhere in the country, popular organs of people's power emerged, challenging the apartheid structures.

Our people's confidence in their ability to defeat the regime was restored by the daring armed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The blows which were struck at SASOL, Voortrekte Hoogte, Koberg and other installations inspired our people and demoralised the regime. In the same period we successfully reestablished the underground in the country as a vital pillar of struggle.

## Four main pillars of struggle

It was this underground which through its propaganda and leadership, stimulated the formation of the mass democratic organisations. With the dynamic growth of the UDF and COSATU we reached the point where our four main pillars of struggle — mass struggle, armed struggle, the underground and international support — posed the most serious challenge to white minority rule ever seen in our country.<sup>10</sup>

As a result, the regime was forced to declare the state of emergency in 1985. As the crisis of the apartheid state deepened, so did the confidence in our victory grow.

Internationally there was an almost universal turning of the tide in favour of our struggle. Even the traditional allies of the regime found it impossible to continue supporting apartheid.

It was in this context that, in 1987, an official ANC delegation was received in Washington, for the very first time. And at last, the United States administration fell in line with other governments who had long been supporting our cause. In this respect we would like to single out the powerful and consistent support provided over the years by Sweden and Norway.

Operating within the logic of a people's struggle — armed and political, and supported by the international community, we managed to push the enemy into crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order.

For the first time possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created. As a result of struggle, the closed door that our late President, Chief A. J. Luthuli, knocked on for many decades was finally opened.<sup>11</sup> It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity.

In this regard, it was vital that we did not surrender the initiative to our adversaries. We initiated a process of wide ranging discussions within the ANC, between the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement, and between the ANC and OAU and, in particular, the Frontline States.<sup>12</sup>

These consultations resulted in the adoption of the Harare Declaration by the OAU in 1989, the endorsement of this declaration by the Nonaligned Movement and the Commonwealth and the adoption of the UN Consensus Resolution on South Africa of 1989.<sup>13</sup>

## ANC must lead negotiations process

Once more, the world stood united behind democratic forces in this country. The unfolding democratisation process is, therefore, taking place on the basis of the agenda set by ourselves. Accordingly we must continue to assert the ANC's leadership of this process. This means that we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations.

As in the past, our leadership should be exercised both here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community. We must, therefore, refocus international attention on the need of continued support including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and the region in the post-apartheid era.

1. Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), which carried out its first armed actions in 1961, is the military wing of the African National Congress.

2. Pan Africanist Congress was banned along with ANC when South African government declared a state of emergency in 1960. PAC split from the ANC in 1959 over ANC's cooperation with non-Africans.

3. Kwame Nkrumah, president of the West African country of Ghana from 1960 to 1966.

4. South West Africa People's Organisation was formed in 1960 to fight for independence of Namibia from South African colonial rule. SWAPO launched armed struggle in 1966. Following defeat of South African forces by Cuban volunteers, Angolan troops, and SWAPO at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in 1988, apartheid regime was forced to agree to withdraw from Angola and to grant Namibia's independence. A UN-supervised election in Namibia was held in November 1989, with SWAPO winning absolute majority. Namibia became indepen-

dent March 21, 1990.

5. On July 11, 1963, police raided a farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, and arrested several anti-apartheid leaders on charges of sabotage. When trial opened in October 1963, Mandela, who was already serving a prison sentence, was included in the Rivonia trials as first accused. On June 11, 1964, Mandela and seven others were convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

6. Zimbabwe African People's Union, led by Joshua Nkomo, was one of the groups that fought to overturn white minority rule in Rhodesia, today called Zimbabwe.

7. Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, founded in 1958, successfully led Angola to independence from Portuguese rule in 1975.

8. South Africa Defense Force was defeated at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in 1988. See footnote no. 4.

9. Frontline States — named as such because of their proximity to South Africa — include Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia,

and Zimbabwe. They have been repeated targets of military and other attacks by apartheid regime.

10. United Democratic Front was formed in 1983 as umbrella anti-apartheid coalition made up of hundreds of organizations.

11. Chief Albert Luthuli was president-general of ANC from 1952 until his death in 1967.

12. Mass Democratic Movement; a broad coalition of organizations in South Africa opposed to apartheid. Organisation of African Unity was founded in May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; includes among its membership nearly all national liberation groups and governments in Africa except South Africa.

13. Harare Declaration was issued Aug. 21, 1989, by Organisation of African Unity at a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe. It denounced apartheid in South Africa and called on Pretoria regime to negotiate with ANC and other liberation organizations. In July 1989, UN General Assembly decided by consensus to hold a special December 1989 session, the first ever on apartheid.



# S. Africa regime's role in violence

Continued from front page

Major Louis Botha wrote after a meeting with Buthelezi that the "ANC instilled a degree of fear in the Chief Minister, especially if one looks at the diminishing membership of Inkatha and the implications this has for him."

Government donations went to fund Inkatha rallies, one in November 1989 and the other at the end of March 1990. One memorandum quotes Major Botha as saying that at the March rally Buthelezi would press the antisancctions line he had been espousing for some years and "praise the State President [F.W. de Klerk] for his political vision and performance so far."

Buthelezi denies he knew the funds came from the government. But a report by the head of the local branch of the security police, Brigadier J. A. Steyn, says: "The Chief Minister and Minister Mdetwa have asked me to pass on their gratitude and appreciation for the payment to those who were involved in obtaining funds."

## 'Here to defend the state'

Testimony to the press from a safe-house in Johannesburg by former army sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene has added to the mounting evidence of the regime's drive to maintain its grip on power.

Britain's *Independent* newspaper reports that Ndimene said that One Commando of Five Reconnaissance Regiment, called Five Recce, is the arm of the Directorate of Military Intelligence that carries out the attacks.

After the ANC was unbanned in February 1990, the unit's white commanding officers began holding political meetings. Unit members were told the ANC was "still the enemy." "They told us we are not here to defend the government. We are here to defend the state," Ndimene said of the meetings. "Our leaders say Inkatha is the party we must trust. Buthelezi is not a radical and we have to help those people and everybody must learn Zulu."

The regiment is recruited from countries across southern Africa, Australia, and Ireland. The unit had been responsible for terrorist operations against the ANC in Angola, Botswana, and Swaziland.

Ndimene revealed that his unit is responsible for the massacre on a Soweto-bound train last September. Twenty-six people were killed.

Five Recce members "got on the train with pangas [machetes] and AK-47s and they were using the name of Inkatha. They shot the people and killed them with AK-47s," he said. "They said they were not allowed to speak during the attack because most of the people [in the unit] were Namibian and could not speak Zulu."

Five Recce is involved in attacks in Natal Province and the Johannesburg area. "People who went to Natal in March came back in June and told me they were tired of killing children and women," Ndimene said.

Figures range as high as 2,000 for the number of people killed in the Johannesburg area as a result of the violence during the last year alone.

The *New York Times* reports that just prior to leaving on a tour of Spain, Latin America, and the Caribbean, Mandela told the media that negotiations with the government are fruitless unless the regime can restrain the police force. Although he had brought instances of police complicity with the violence to the government's attention, he had received no response, Mandela said.

The revelations are a serious setback to the regime because it has tried to portray itself as impartial and standing above the violence.

South Africa's *Sunday Star* said the payments are "just the tip of an iceberg of massive secret funding of the organization." "President de Klerk is in danger of being dragged down by the sinister forces that lurk in his government," the paper's editorial said.

Opposition parties in parliament are calling for fuller disclosure of the dealings. Dave Dalling, spokesperson for the liberal Democratic Party, said the funding is "an open-and-shut case of political corruption."

"Those responsible must be made to resign public office," he said.

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**Defending Affirmative Action. The Stakes for Working People.** Speakers: Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 100A; Katie Jordan, secretary Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 5, vice president Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women. Sat., July 27, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

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**Protest the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission's Attack on the Socialist Workers Campaign: Defend the Right to Privacy and Free Political Association.** Speaker: Sara Lobman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431; Larry Ginter, Iowa American Agriculture Movement. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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**The Fight for Democratic Rights for GIs.** Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party, former active duty anti-Vietnam War GI; Dan Cobos, former GI opposed to U.S. war against Nicaragua. Sat., Aug. 3, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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**Eyewitness Report from South Africa.** Speaker: Greg McCartan, *Militant* editor, attended July African National Congress 48th National Conference in Durban. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**What the Cuban Revolution Has Achieved and Its Significance for Working People Today.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 3, Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m.; Young Socialist fund-raising party to follow. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: Dinner, \$5; program \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Cuba and the Fight for Socialism Today.** Sat., July 27. Class: "Cuba in Africa." 3 p.m. Speaker: Naomi Craine, Young Socialist Alliance, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Forum: 7 p.m. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$5. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Cuba and the Road to Socialism.** Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Socialist Educational Conference on Cuba.** Session I: Revolutionary Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. Session II: Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism. Sun., July 28, 11 a.m. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Birmingham, member United Mine Workers of America Local 2368, recently visited Cuba. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$5, both sessions; \$3 one session. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Price

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Slide presentation and firsthand report. Speaker: Karen Ray, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America, recently visited Cuba. Sun., July 28. Dinner 4 p.m.; program 5 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 637-6294.

#### Salt Lake City

**Cuba: Challenges Facing the Revolution Today.** Speaker: Karen Ray, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America, recently visited Cuba. Sat., July 27. Dinner 6 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: dinner, \$4; program \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Charleston

**Defend Affirmative Action.** Speakers: Ervin Crenshaw, assistant to the president Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199; Mary Nell Bockman, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 40. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 1586 E. Washington St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**Eyewitness Report from African National Congress 48th National Conference in South Africa.** Speaker: Ruth Haswell, member of *Militant* reporting team at conference. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-401-2409.

#### Manchester

**Celebrate publication of New Internationalist no. 8 "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism."** Speaker: Helen Warnock, Communist League. Fri., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

#### Sheffield

**Eyewitness Report from African National Congress 48th National Conference.** Speaker: Ruth Haswell, member of *Militant* reporting team at conference. Fri., July 26, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-729469.

### CANADA

#### Toronto

**Why the Campaign against the Free Trade Pact Does Not Advance the Labor Movement.** Speakers: John Sarge, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers; Brigitte Groulx, Communist League. Sat., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

**Québec Sovereignty and the Crisis of Canadian Capitalism.** Speaker: Colin McKay, Young Socialists. Sat., Aug. 3, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

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### SWEDEN

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



**And be a relaxed parent** — A book, *The Nontoxic Baby*, advises what infections and diseases can be caused by toxins in the home, how



Harry Ring

to choose nontoxic paints, cleansers and diapers, plus how to reduce pesticides in foods.

**Almost as natural as serfdom** — To cope with a labor shortage in small sweatshops, South Koreans classified for limited mili-

tary conscription will be offered the choice of 18 months in the army or five years in a low-wage job. As draftees, they will be denied the right to organize or join unions. An official explained, "It's only natural that soldiers can't join unions."

**Let's hope so** — Responding to revelations that two of three chickens are contaminated, a poultry industry spokesman charged that the meat inspectors union is behind some of the revelations.

**Oh, don't be so rational** — Carol Foreman, a former food administration official, thinks the feds and the poultry industry should focus on eliminating con-

tamination instead of advising people on the need to refrigerate poultry properly and cook it thoroughly. The consumer, she said, should not have to treat poultry like "hazardous waste."

**A caring government** — During World War II, the Pentagon and Navy secretly exposed 1,700 troops to mustard gas and other chemical warfare agents to test protective clothing. Now, after decades of stonewalling, the government says it will pay pensions to survivors of bronchial and lung disorders and other afflictions resulting from the experiment.

**They're just being subjective** — A *Los Angeles Times* business

article conceded that with continuing high unemployment, it's understandable that a recent poll showed that eight out of ten people don't agree with the experts that the recession is over.

**Stay tuned** — That same L.A. *Times* article notes that a recovery could be "fleeting." The economy "could dip back into a second and possibly deeper recession only months after pulling itself out of the first downturn. If that's the case, the upturn may come and go before most of us even notice."

**American Way of Death** — In New York, the Long Island Pet Cemetery, which charges some \$300 for cremations, was found to

have disposed of up to a quarter of a million animals in mass incinerations or by tossing them into a huge pit. Piles of dead animals have turned four acres of land into a black ooze and an underground aquifer which supplies the area's water is being checked for contamination.

**How about that, Club Med?** — Internationally, tourism slumped during the Gulf war, but it increased in Cuba, reports the *Los Angeles Times*. The first quarter of 1991 showed a 20 percent rise in the number of visitors, according to Cuba's National Tourism Institute. Last year, there were 340,000 visitors, mainly from Canada, Germany, Mexico, Spain, and Italy.

## Montréal marchers denounce racist violence

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

**MONTREAL** — More than 400 people marched here July 6 to protest the shooting of a young Black by police and to denounce a racist attack that forced a dozen Blacks to move out of their homes in this city's east end.

On July 3, two unidentified police cars stopped a car carrying Marcellus François and three other people. Four plainclothes cops surrounded the car and Michel Tremblay, a member of the Montréal Police Special Weapons and Tactics Team, shot François in the forehead.

The cops dropped the gravely injured François at a hospital without determining his identity. They didn't notify his family until 16 hours later.

A few hours after the shooting, in an attempt to justify their actions, the police claimed that they had confused François with another suspect they had been pursuing who was Black.

Police produced a witness who said that he had seen François reaching for an "object that could have been a weapon."

The cops later admitted that they had found no weapon in or near the car.

"If undoing his seatbelt looked like pulling a gun what else could he do and not get shot?" asked Montréal *Gazette* writer Albert Nerenberg in his July 5 column.

Two weeks after the shooting, François died.

In another incident the day after the shooting, a crowd of racists threw rocks and bottles at a house in the east end where a dozen Ethiopian, Somali, and Jamaican-born immigrants lived. A Black man's car parked four blocks away was set on fire. The



Militant/Jim Upton

On July 6 in downtown Montréal 400 demanded end to anti-Black violence

neighborhood's residents are primarily white and French-speaking, or Québécois.

"All they did was play their music and speak some bamboo language," said one racist thug about the young Blacks.

"We don't want immigrants," another said. "They come here and steal our jobs and our girl friends."

"I'm proud to be white and I hate Blacks," said a racist wearing a "White Power" T-shirt.

The cops arrested most of the Black victims of the assault, claiming it was "for their protection." Only one of a handful of racists arrested has been charged with assault and possession of a dangerous weapon.

The next day Black residents moved out of the neighborhood, "escorted" by police.

Many in the neighborhood were angered by the attack, and young Québécois mobilized to cover over racist graffiti in the area.

Marching through downtown Montréal on July 6, hundreds of demonstrators chanted "Hey, hey! Ho, ho! Racist cops have got to go." Most marchers were Black, but close to 100 were white.

"Absolutely nothing has changed on the level of cop violence," Grace Edeh said.

Many recalled with anger previous racist killings by Montréal police. Anthony Griffin was shot in the forehead while in police custody in 1987, and Presley Leslie was gunned down in 1990.

Earlier in the day Montréal Mayor Jean Doré described the shooting of François as an "error." He said the shooting and the attack on Blacks in Montréal's east end were "not necessarily racist." Doré said he would ask for a public inquiry "if necessary."

At the rally, Dan Philip, head of the Black Coalition of Québec (BCCQ) and Jean-Claude Icart of the Christian Community of Haitians in Montréal, were two of the main speakers.

"We don't want the police being judge, jury, and executioner of our young people," Philip said. The BCCQ has called on the Québec government to conduct an inquiry into the shooting.

Dudley Laws, a leader of the Toronto-based Black Action Defence Committee, also spoke. Laws has been charged with libel by the Metro Toronto Police Union and is currently on trial for having described cops in Toronto as "the most brutal and murderous police force in North America."

Far from being intimidated, he repeated a similar statement in Montréal, recalling the murders of Lester Donaldson and Michael Wade Lawson by Toronto cops in 1989.

"We can't take this type of action any more," he said. "The government has the responsibility to arrest and imprison the police officer guilty of murder."

## Texas state trooper slays Black man; protesters call for indictment, trial

BY PATTY MIYAMOTO

**HOUSTON** — Two witnesses who had not been subpoenaed by the district attorney came forward to testify at the July 8 opening of a grand jury investigation into the shooting of Tyrone Earl Henry.

Henry was shot to death April 13 by James Lucky, a Department of Public Safety (DPS) trooper, in nearby Baytown. Lucky, who is 21 years old and white, was off duty and out of uniform at the time of the shooting. Henry, 21 and Black, was on his knees with his hands raised in the air, according to the two witnesses.

"All we want is justice," said Ray Wilson of the Baytown National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter in an interview. "We want the state trooper indicted for murder, given a fair trial, and, if the evidence substantiates a murder conviction, he should be imprisoned."

The district attorney has not submitted a recommendation on whether Lucky, who has been reassigned to a desk job, should be indicted.

Henry's family and friends held a small demonstration outside the district attorney's offices just before the grand jury investigation began. They received widespread media coverage.

Henry was shot at a party sponsored by members of the baseball team at Lee College. Lee is a community college in Baytown, where many oil refinery workers live.

Wilson told the *Militant* what happened. "There were around 150 students at the party. It was an integrated crowd — Blacks, whites, Mexican-Americans — everyone dancing with everyone and mixing it up," he said.

"At least two people saw Lucky walking around the party. They assumed he was part of the party because he's young and was wearing blue jeans and a T-shirt like everyone else.

"A fight broke out between two men, one white and one Black, but it wasn't racial.

"Then this officer Lucky came out of nowhere, hit the Black kid on the forehead with a big flashlight and knocked him to his knees. Several people wrestled Lucky to the floor and grabbed his flashlight. He still hadn't identified himself.

"Suddenly Lucky pulled out a gun. Somebody yelled 'he's got a gun' and the room cleared except for about four people.

"Then at that point he identified himself as a DPS officer. Everyone ran, except Tyrone Henry, who was on his knees with his hands in the air.

"The trooper got into a crouched position from five feet away and shot. Henry died quickly from a single bullet wound to his chest."

DPS officials claim Lucky identified himself as a police officer as soon as he entered the party, and that he killed Henry in self-defense when Henry allegedly moved as if to snatch his gun.

### THE MILITANT

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August 8, 1966 Price 10c

This is being written just after the striking airline mechanics voted to reject the White House-engineered settlement and members of Congress are pressing for legislation to force the strikers back to work.

Certainly right is on their side. In addition to many grievances about conditions of work, their previous contracts saddled them with a very low wage scale. By today's standards, a rate of \$3.20 to \$3.52 an hour for skilled airplane mechanics is certainly a poor wage. And the low wage scale is even more glaring in relation to the huge profits of the industry.

Another vitally important reason why many of the men voted against the proposed new pact was to register their opposition to the role of the government in the strike.

For example, Gus Gallas, president of IAM [International Association of Machinists] Local 1894 in New York, urged rejection of the contract, partly because of "White House interference."

"Our main objection," the union official declared, "is Congressional interference — White House interference — which we object to strenuously. Free collective bargaining is one of the standard democratic rights which we and the unions have."

A rank-and-file member of the local added: "The President thinks he can step in every time he pleases. It's getting about time

that the companies did not have the federal government to bail them out. Then maybe we could get a decent settlement."

These two unionists put their finger on the heart of the issue. Federal intervention, which has increased to a dangerous degree in recent years, is not designed to protect the interests of the public, but to defend the interests of the employers against the unions. Solidarity with the IAM, as well as the elementary interests of all labor, demands a vigorous effort by labor to prevent this.

### THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

August 2, 1941

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the Trotskyist Anti-War candidate for Mayor of New York City.

Comrade Cannon is one of the 29 under federal indictment, charged with "seditious conspiracy" by Roosevelt's Department of Justice.

His campaign will mobilize the advanced workers against the brazen attempts of Roosevelt and his War Party to intimidate the anti-war forces in America.

The first stage of the campaign is already under way with an all-out mobilization of New York party members and sympathizers to get the necessary 7,500 signatures of qualified voters on petitions to place Comrade Cannon's name on the ballot. Due to the election laws, our candidate will be listed on the petitions and ballots under the name of the Trotskyist Anti-War Party.



# Cops, courts, and crime

The U.S. Senate approved a bill July 11 that seeks to further restrict the democratic rights of working people. Labeled an "anti-crime" bill, its aim is to place more power in the hands of the cops and courts as the ruling rich wage their daily war against the working conditions and living standards of the working class.

The bill, which will be debated in the House of Representatives in September, includes the following provisions:

- It would add about 50 new crimes to the list, punishable by the death penalty.
- It would further limit the right of prisoners to appeal their convictions.
- It would make law the Supreme Court decision that permits the use of illegally obtained evidence in a trial — if the cops conducting the search are found to be acting in "good faith."
- It mandates drug testing for all federal prisoners, increases penalties for drug use in prison, doubles the sentences for anyone convicted of selling drugs in or near public housing, and mandates life imprisonment for anyone convicted of committing a drug-related or violent crime for the third time.
- It allows victim impact to be taken into account during sentencing in the death penalty cases.
- It adds three to 10 years to the sentence of anyone convicted of using a minor in a drug-related offense.
- It establishes mandatory sentences for those convicted of crimes against elderly people.

Because of substantial protest, the Bush administration was forced to drop a proposed provision in the bill that would have established secret tribunals for immigrants accused of "terrorism," allowing them to be convicted and deported with no chance to rebut testimony or even hear the evidence against them.

The ruling rich work overtime to try to whip up hysteria about "the rising crime rate" in order to justify their attacks on democratic rights and beef up the repressive apparatus of the government.

But the Senate "anticrime" bill has nothing to do with protecting the lives, rights, or property of working people. To the rulers, the workers are a dangerous criminal class. It is against workers and farmers that this bill, if it becomes law, will be used — especially against any worker who acts to oppose the right of the employing class to ride roughshod over working people. Thus, included in the Senate bill is a proposal to authorize money for more than 2,600 new FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration, and border patrol cops, as well as federal prosecutors.

The real face of capitalist "justice" is revealed in the scandal surrounding the Los Angeles Police Department, whose chief, Daryl Gates, has finally agreed to quit. This victory is a product of months of protest by working people after LAPD officers were videotaped savagely beating Rodney King, a construction worker who is Black.

In the recently released report on the LAPD issued by the Christopher Commission, working people get a glimpse of how the cops actually operate.

Despite the commission's attempts to pin the blame for cop brutality on "problem" officers, the report makes clear that the violent behavior witnessed in the King beating is only the tip of the iceberg.

Between December 1986 and December 1990, 3,419 allegations of "excessive force" or "improper tactics" were filed against the LAPD. This is in an atmosphere in which those filing such reports are routinely discouraged or intimidated from doing so.

The Christopher Commission report further states that, of the 3,419 allegations of excessive force or improper tactics, "only 103 or 3 percent were sustained. Of the 2,152 allegations involving excessive force, only 42 or 2 percent were sustained."

In 1990, the LAPD paid out \$11.3 million in civil settlements. However, the amount that the LAPD has paid out in awards has shown no sign of abating its violent record.

Far from being disciplined or restrained by top officials in the police department, the report shows that the most brutal cops are routinely commended and given positive evaluations.

The most damning aspect of the report is the view of routine cop behavior provided by the small selection of typed computer messages sent back and forth among the police. The messages, much like the videotape of the King beating, portray the side of the police department usually hidden from everyone except their victims.

The casual banter between the cops reveals their extreme racist, sexist, and anti-working-class attitudes. Their constant references to sadistic and arbitrary beatings and shootings speaks pointedly to the fact that their brutality against King was merely routine behavior.

As the United Steelworkers of America Civil Rights Conference noted in a resolution last March, "The vicious beating of Rodney King . . . is not just an isolated incident, but part of a pattern." The Steelworkers went on to point out, "It is clear from their conduct and recorded statements in this case that many Los Angeles police officers regard Blacks as a criminal race and subhuman species."

Police Chief Gates, the resolution continued, reinforces the cops' behavior "by issuing one inflammatory statement after another aimed at Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and other minorities." The Steelworkers demanded Gates resign or be fired.

The Los Angeles police are no different from the police departments across the nation. They all function in the same manner, whether it be Houston, Detroit, or Newark. Their so-called excesses are repeated a thousand times every Friday and Saturday night in working-class neighborhoods.

The bill that has been passed by the Senate is meant to strengthen the hand of the police, to allow them to act as judges and juries on the streets, and to give the courts more latitude to impose longer and harsher prison sentences.

Much of the bill is aimed at those who are the least able to defend themselves from these assaults — prisoners.

It is also aimed at any workers who fight back. Those who go on strike, like the *Daily News* workers in New York, see how quickly cops and company gun thugs are mobilized against them and court injunctions are handed down to block their picket lines.

Organizing more repression against working people is the ruling class's response to the worldwide economic crisis of capitalism. Their intention is to make working people pay for this crisis and they are preparing the cops and the courts to meet increased working-class resistance.

But it is not a given that they will succeed in taking away more rights. That depends on whether there is a fight to defend those rights.

Working people should discuss in their unions the real meaning of the capitalist law-and-order campaign. The labor movement should speak out against the Senate bill. The victory in forcing Gates out of office shows what can be done.

# S. African regime and violence

The admission by the South African government that it provided funding for Inkatha's political activities and mounting testimony that the regime's security forces are organizing murder squads are further evidence of Pretoria's attempt to stifle the revolutionary struggle in that country.

"The tip of the iceberg" writes the big-business South African *Star* newspaper of the revelations. Indeed they are, opening the door just a little more to the horrors of the force and violence used by the regime to maintain its rule over the decades.

The reports give added urgency to the demands by the African National Congress and other organizations that an interim government be formed, a step toward the adoption of a new constitution.

The revelations help show why government claims are false that the township fighting is "Black on Black" violence, "tribal" in origin, or the result of infighting between political organizations.

Today, the African National Congress is leading a fight to open up more political space for the kind of revolutionary action on the part of tens of millions needed to bring an end to the white minority regime.

ANC leaders point out that free political activity in the country is impossible while security police help organize violent attacks on the democratic forces, refuse to release up to 800 anti-apartheid fighters still in jail, and maintain

undemocratic security legislation on the books.

Supporters of the fight for a nonracial, democratic South Africa around the world can join in this struggle today by demanding all political prisoners be freed and an end to government complicity in the violence. Calling on Washington to press South African President F.W. de Klerk to take these steps can bring added pressure to bear.

Such demands can help build on the tremendous victories scored by the determined masses in South Africa over the past decade. They have battered down many of the main legislative pillars of apartheid, restricted the regime's ability to openly suppress public protest, forced the government to recognize the right to form political organizations, and begun the drive to build the ANC as a revolutionary democratic organization on a scale unknown before.

Opening up the ability of working people to practice politics in South Africa is an important part of hastening apartheid's demise. It allows for wider discussion, debate, and revolutionary action among the broadest numbers in both urban and rural areas. It also helps foster the culture of political tolerance among the various anti-apartheid forces in the country — something ANC President Nelson Mandela points to as a necessary ingredient of the struggle.

Unionists, students, working farmers, and others can make an invaluable contribution of internationalist solidarity by joining in raising these demands today.

# The fraud of 'nonpartisan' elections

BY DOUG JENNESS

"Nonpartisan elections?" This sounds like a contradiction. How can there be "elections" that are truly "nonpartisan?"

Iowa's Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission doesn't seem to have any trouble with this. It decided last month, in what it asserts somewhat belligerently was "a unanimous vote," to direct Socialist Workers Party candidates in the Des Moines city elections to disclose the names of financial contributors and recipients on the grounds that the elections are "nonpartisan." Exemptions, it stated, do not "have application in a nonpartisan city election."

I'll leave aside for the moment the fact that federal courts have ruled exemptions for SWP and other candidates in "nonpartisan" elections are necessary to protect the First Amendment rights of financial contributors.

The commission's decision puts a spotlight on several other questions: What are "nonpartisan" elections and what

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

role do they play?

"Nonpartisan" elections are found in city, county, and school board races and in contests for state judges. State and federal elections are usually "partisan." This setup is designed by the capitalist rulers to give them greater flexibility in local elections.

The two principal capitalist parties today — the Democrats and Republicans — are not homogeneous. They include diverse and conflicting capitalist economic and political interests. In local races, for example, construction companies, real estate sharks, capitalist landlords, bankers, big industrial corporate owners, small capitalist retailers, and so on often have different views on many city policies and the allocation of city funds.

Some of these capitalists may agree on promoting the same Democratic or Republican candidate for president or U.S. senator but want to support different local candidates to best serve and safeguard their particular profit-making interests. This may be facilitated if the candidates are not formally identified as Democrat or Republican, but are "nonpartisan."

The "nonpartisan" designation also allows greater leeway for local Democrats and Republicans to back the same candidate or candidates in municipal or county elections without appearing to be crossing party lines.

"Nonpartisan" elections, in which more than two capitalist candidates run, are a way to partially get around the limitations of the two-party system and allow more maneuvering room to cross party lines or to back third, fourth, or fifth capitalist candidates.

"Nonpartisan" elections are also a useful device for trying to camouflage the class character of a candidate or an election campaign. For example, in a situation where there is mounting support from a section of the working class for some form of independent working-class political action, a capitalist or petty-bourgeois candidate can hustle votes as an "independent" much easier in the nonpartisan framework. This is true of Democrats, Republicans, or any other stripe of capitalist or petty-bourgeois politician. It's also true of pro-Democratic Party trade union officials or pro-Democratic Party Black community leaders who run for office and may benefit from a less explicit identification with that party.

This underlines an important point. The class base, orientation, and program of candidates cannot be wiped away with even a deft application of the "nonpartisan" brush. From this class standpoint, there is no such thing as a "nonpartisan" election. Every candidate has a class perspective whether they are formally affiliated to or identified as a member or supporter of any party or attempt to conceal this affiliation.

That's what makes the Iowa officials' directive so absurd. The political views and class standpoint of candidates in "nonpartisan" elections are known, as well as which parties or sections of parties may be backing them.

The U.S. District Court in Florida ruled two years ago, in a case where Harvey McArthur, SWP candidate for mayor, was ordered by Miami officials to reveal the names of contributors, that the fact an "election is 'nonpartisan' does not make the first amendment's protections inapplicable."

The court noted, "The election is only 'nonpartisan' to the extent that candidates are not nominated by party primaries and ballots do not specify candidates' party affiliations." In Miami's "nonpartisan" election "as in any partisan election, nothing prohibited any of the candidates from seeking campaign contributions and support from political parties. The fact that the plaintiffs would be subjected to threats, harassment and reprisals if forced to disclose contributions and recipients' names, outweighs any distinction that the nonpartisan nature of the election has. . . ."

This is why the fight in Des Moines to get the disclosure commission to reverse its stand deserves and needs all the support it can get.



# Behind the 'unrest' at Iowa State Penitentiary

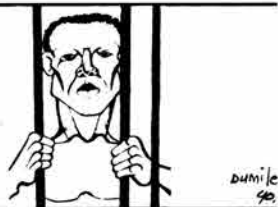
BY JIM MARCHELLINO  
AND MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON, Iowa — Inmates here question Warden Crispus Nix's recent statements that "unrest" is brewing at the Iowa State Penitentiary here.

In a warning to all inmates, printed in the inmate newsletter, Nix claimed that unrest at the prison by inmates was on the rise. He threatened that "disruptive behavior, disobedience and assault will be dealt with quickly and to the fullest extent of the law."

In an interview with the *Des Moines Register* and a television news program in Rock Island, Illinois, Nix explained what he means. "We are looking at a total view of

## BEHIND PRISON WALLS



the population to see if we can better manage them." During both interviews, the scare tactic of a riot by inmates at the prison was raised.

Nix was originally hired to head the penitentiary after a September 1981 rebellion in response to intolerable conditions. After regaining control of the institution, harsh conditions were imposed on inmates, and the "riot" has been used to justify every repressive measure taken by the administration over the last 10 years.

If there is any unrest at the penitentiary, "it's an administration-induced unrest," one inmate said. The pressures of the prison, especially in the last 10 years here, have weighed down on every man. But this fact gets none of the media attention that the threats and scare tactics do. In discussions with inmates who have spent a lot of time behind the walls it becomes clear that it is the prison conditions, not the prisoners, that are to blame for any trouble.

After the September 1981 rebellion, the prison instituted a system known as "unitization" in which cellhouses were divided into smaller cellblocks by walls. The lockdown imposed on inmates then never really ended. Inmates are allowed out of their cells for only two hours a day to exercise in the yard. Except for those two hours and time out for work, meals, and showers, everyone is locked in their cells sometimes for 16 or 18 hours, even if an inmate has a job. Weekends and holidays only mean more lock-down time in your cell.

While General Equivalency Diploma classes are offered with the help of Southern Community College, all higher education courses have been eliminated. Inmate organizations like Black Culture and Chicano and Native

American Culture were disbanded by the administration. Religious activities have been cut back. Weekend movies in the auditorium were eliminated.

Inmates are allowed just 20 minutes to eat a meal. If the dining hall opens late, or you happen to be at the end of the line, it's not unusual to get only 10 minutes to gobble down your meal.

The canteen system, which allows the inmates to buy soap, shampoo, shoelaces, and other necessities, is another issue. This year, the contract was once again awarded to an outfit that charges high prices, especially on tobacco and other necessities. Because they have no competition, their prices are consistently high. Efforts by inmates to get the canteen placed back inside the institution, where a small profit margin could be used for projects beneficial to the men, have been rejected.

The prison system follows a policy of isolation, keeping the men as far as possible from contact with society. No outside groups or speakers are allowed in to speak with inmates except for an occasional Alcoholics Anonymous member. The prison's location in the far southeast corner of the state is more than an eight-hour drive from major cities like Sioux City, and four hours from Des Moines. Often when visitors come, they are made to wait for hours for a prisoner to be "found," usually in their cells, by the staff. The visiting room guard warns inmates against hugging or holding loved ones, threatening them with no contact visits if they continue.

A new institution policy requires that prisoners write "Iowa State Penitentiary" on mail envelopes which embarrasses many inmates.

Even the phone company has been enlisted to set prisoners apart and remind family and friends of their status. Each time an inmate places a collect call, the receiving end is asked by an operator if they will accept a call "from a correctional facility."

### Half of inmates in lockup

This policy of isolating prisoners is even worse for the large number of inmates now in lockup, the prison within a prison. Of a total population of just under 550 men, one-half are now in lockup. There are some 13 different levels of lockup, from "administrative segregation" and "close management" to "disciplinary detention" and "incurable status." Many men have served years in lockup, denied even the few remaining rights afforded other prisoners. There are men serving lock-up terms of as long as 63 years!

Inmates in lockup status are allowed a 10-minute shower three times a week. They are escorted between showers and cells in cuffs. Guards pull inmates out of showers even if they still have soap in their hair when the time is up. They are allowed two phone calls a month, and one hour of

exercise each day. Sometimes exercise is scheduled before sunup and some men never see the sun for months.

The large number of inmates in lockup results from the design of the prison. About half of all cells are lockup cells, and they are kept full because of the limited number of cells available. No matter what happens, rule violations by inmates or not, these remain occupied.

Guards write reports without regard to the consequences for inmates. A major report can delay a man's release by as much as two years. The pressure on the inmate and family as his jail term gets longer has broken families up.

Nix's warning to the inmates was published in the inmate newsletter, which carries articles by inmates and their organization, the Prisoner's Advisory Council (PAC). This council was established as a result of a court ruling known as the Hazen Agreement. While this agreement calls for posting and discussing with inmates any major policy changes in advance, the authorities often violate this requirement.

But the newsletter is often filled with blank spaces where the administration has decided to censor inmates' articles. PAC has attempted to document some of these abuses in the newsletter.

### Threats taken seriously

The threats by Nix against the inmates at the Iowa State Penitentiary are taken seriously, even if his justifications are not. Although he plans to retire in 1992, Nix makes it clear that he will continue to crack down on the prisoners as long as he is here. "Even though I will be leaving, I don't want anyone to think that I am retiring in my position. As long as I walk, I intend to walk tall," he told the *Register*.

One of Nix's first acts since coming here to Fort Madison was to establish a squad of elite guards dressed in fatigues and combat boots and known as the Correctional Emergency Response Team (CERT). The CERT team has used stun guns on inmates, fired gas canisters at close range at inmates in their cells, and beaten and kicked many inmates. They rappel off prison buildings and practice "hostage situation" control. Many prisoners expect they will kill some of us in the event of another rebellion.

Despite these provocations and the pressures on them, inmates at the penitentiary reject the administration scapegoating them. They recognize that such threats are made regularly by the warden, especially around state budget time to justify further repression and more money to do it. The threat of another riot by officials "is the surest sign of spring, like the first robin," one man said.

Jim Marchellino is an inmate at the state prison in Fort Madison. Mark Curtis was recently transferred from Fort Madison to a state prison in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa.

## LETTERS

### Bill of Rights

Chicago Police Superintendent LeRoy Martin, taking advantage of a recent tour of the prison system in China, has called publicly for restricting the Bill of Rights in the name of the "war on crime."

Praising the Chinese prison system, Martin said during a radio interview taped on July 11, "I know we're a democracy, but you know, I don't think everything the Communists do can't be copied. . . . And I think there are some things they do that are better than what we do."

For example, "The sanitary facilities are a bucket. The prisoners are given a bowl of rice and a Thermos bottle of tea. And then they're locked down," he said glowingly. He noted with admiration that in China people convicted as drug dealers are executed by firing squad.

Martin then called for suspending parts of the U.S. Constitution in order to expand police powers. "We need to take a look at [the Constitution] and maybe from time to time we should curtail some of those rights."

Martin demanded that police be given free rein to conduct random searches of citizens. He also called for abolishing the exclusionary rule, which prohibits the use of evidence that cops obtain illegally. Recognizing that his proposals would violate the Bill of Rights, he said, "Those would be the areas in which rights would have to be somewhat modified. . . . I don't think the framers of the Constitution put it in granite that it should never be changed again."

The Chicago police superintendent claimed that his "anticrime" proposals reflected popular sentiment. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, "When told after the [radio] show that Adolf Hitler's ideas were

popular in Nazi Germany, Martin responded, 'And they had a very low crime rate then.'"

The day after the radio taping, Mayor Richard Daley defended the police superintendent, saying that while he disagreed with Martin's particular proposals, he sympathized with his "frustration" as a cop.

Martin, who was appointed by the late Mayor Harold Washington, has aggressively defended the Chicago Police Department against numerous accusations of cop brutality. He refers to the police department as the "toughest gang in town."

Martin Koppel  
Chicago

### From Turkish prison

I am a political prisoner in Turkey. I have devoted myself to the assistance of my fellow prisoners by translating political articles published in some foreign periodicals. The *Militant* is very useful to us and we want to continue to read it regularly. We will be thankful if you can continue to send it.

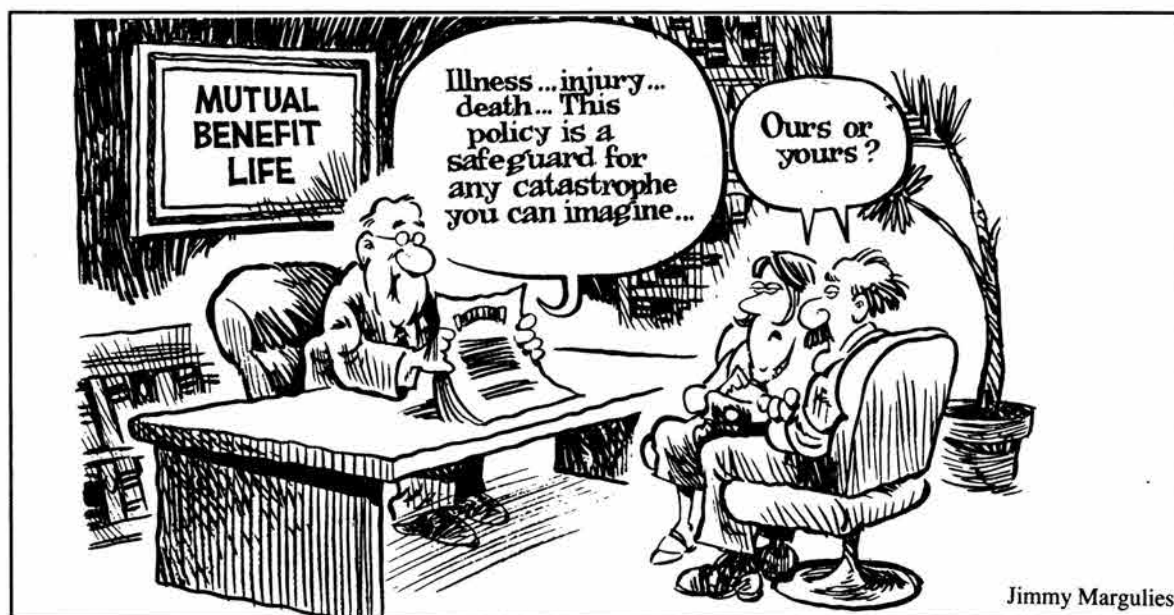
A prisoner  
Malatya, Turkey

### No neutral ground

In the July 5 *Militant* a reader from this prison wrote a letter addressing the concern of "one-sided reporting."

As a captive within the belly of the beast, I want the public to know that not everyone within this prison shares this particular reader's view. He must understand that the *Militant* is a socialist newspaper and therefore presents views from a socialist perspective.

There are two sides to every story and there can be no neutral ground.



Either you are for a bunch of imperialist lies or you are against a bunch of imperialist lies. Thank goodness for papers such as the *Militant* which are not afraid to present views from a socialist perspective.

A prisoner  
Crescent City, California

### Just like Attica

I read your letters column of July 19 and noticed several letters from brothers in Attica speaking about the conditions of that prison.

Though I've never had the misfortune of doing time in Attica, it sounds identical to the "climate" here in Clinton Dannemora. This has got to be the worst prison in New York state (and maybe history).

These guards get their pleasure brutalizing inmates, denying earned privileges, and duping prisoners with the "Annex" game of over-the-wall-and-back.

Rather than a bloody confronta-

tion with the administration (who can't wait for another chance to "duck-shoot" us in the yard again), I suggest a six-day deliberate lock-in by the inmates to slow this place to a crawl.

That ought to bring I.G.s [inspector generals] from Albany to give a sincere look into the problems here and maybe elsewhere.

A prisoner  
Dannemora, New York

### Cooper Power strike

More than 900 workers at Cooper Power Systems in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, manned the picket lines at midnight, July 9, after rejecting the company's contract offer by a vote of 610-4. Cooper's workers are organized into three separate United Steelworkers of America (USWA) locals.

The contract proposal offered small improvements in wages over the life of the agreement, in return

for which Cooper wanted the employees to start paying \$39 a month for health coverage, with a proviso that future increases in the monthly premiums would come out of the workers' pockets entirely.

According to the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the workers at Cooper gave up \$2.90 in concessions in 1985, and agreed to further cuts in 1988. Cliff Cochran, president of USWA Local 3968 said, "We gave through the 1980's. . . . We're saying enough is enough. This is a lousy contract, and I told the union members so."

Glenn Orlic  
Pittsburgh

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.



## Des Moines socialists protest order to turn over campaign donor lists

Call for defending the right to privacy and free political association

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DES MOINES — Calling it "a frontal attack on the basic political right to privacy and free political association," Sara Lobman, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mayoral candidate, spoke out here against a recent ruling by the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission.

The ruling directs the 1991 Socialist Workers Campaign—Nan Bailey for Mayor Committee to disclose the names of those who contribute to or do business with the committee.

Lobman is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431 and of the Young Socialist Alliance. She has replaced Bailey, who last month moved to New Jersey to build the socialist movement there, as mayoral candidate.

"Socialist Workers campaign committees have been exempted from disclosing supporters' names in state elections in Iowa and nationally," Lobman explained at a July 17 news conference at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. "These exemptions are based on the fact that supporters of SWP election campaigns are subject to harassment and victimization by government police agencies and right-wing forces."

A photo display and fact sheet documented such harassment since a branch of the SWP was established in Iowa in 1986.

### Against 'hit list'

"Today when working people face increasing attacks by the employers and gov-

ernment on our unions, on health and safety, on abortion rights, and on affirmative action; when we see police beatings captured on videotape; when President Bush and his allies are threatening a new round of bombing against our fellow workers and farmers in Iraq; we need to be able to discuss and act without fearing that our names are being put on a ready made 'hit list,'" Lobman said.

Sally Frank, assistant professor of law at Drake University, also appeared at the news conference. She pointed out that the commission's excuse for denying the exemption — that the mayoral race is non-partisan — is "totally specious. The idea that the general public does not know the candidate's political affiliation is beyond belief."

**"Workers need to be able to discuss and act politically without fear our names are on a hit list."**

She announced that she had sent a letter to the commission calling on it to "reconsider its stance and uphold the principles of freedom of speech and association embodied in the First Amendment to the Constitution and upheld by the United States Supreme Court."

Copies of a 1989 case, *McArthur v. Smith*,

were available to back up Frank's point. The decision from the U.S. District Court in southern Florida stated, "First amendment protections do not hinge on whether an election ballot announces party affiliation."

After the press conference, Frank explained that she spent several weeks as a law student volunteer in 1981 going through wiretapping and bugging logs the government was forced to reveal toward the end of a 13-year lawsuit filed by the SWP.

"We have never given the government the name of a single contributor and we do not intend to do so now," announced Chris Remple, who was the treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign—Nan Bailey for Mayor Committee and is currently the treasurer for the Lobman campaign.

"Broad public support exists for the rights to privacy and free political association, free of the well-founded fear of harassment and victimization by right-wing forces in and out of government," he said. "With that support in mind, we have confidence in our ability to withstand any challenge to our right to an exemption from these disclosure requirements."

Doug Jenness, director of the Socialist Workers 1991 National Campaign Committee, also attended the press conference.

News radio station WHO-AM aired a statement by Lobman the next day.

"We are appealing this decision," Remple said. "Letters urging the commission to reverse its unconstitutional stand will be important."



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Socialist mayoral candidate Sara Lobman urged letters be sent to commission urging campaign be exempt from turning in lists.

A temporary victory was scored when the commission decided the socialists can file the report due July 22 without names.

The five-member commission is appointed by the governor. Kay Williams, executive director, said in an interview July 19 that the commission's next meeting is set for September 5. The ruling that the SWP campaign must disclose names will be on the agenda "to reconsider the decision rendered. They definitely will review the matter in a nonpartisan and nonbiased way," she said.

Copies of letters to the commission have begun arriving at campaign headquarters.

### 'Weakens working-class rights'

Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, pointed out in her letter that this is the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. "Let us celebrate the Right to Privacy and Free Political Association by giving the Socialist Workers Party the exemption," she urged.

Gary Tell, a union steward for UFCW Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa, wrote in his protest to the commission that the denial of the exemption for the SWP "weakens the rights of working-class people in general, be they socialists or union activists like myself."

Hazel Zimmerman, treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, brought her protest letter to campaign headquarters in person. She recalled an incident where windows at the Pathfinder Bookstore, where campaign offices are located, were broken.

"It was a few nights after supporters announced collecting enough signatures on petitions to get Nan Bailey on the ballot for governor in 1990," Zimmerman remembered. Although a suspect was identified, "police did nothing."

"Would that have been the case if it were Democratic or Republican party headquarters?" she asked. The SWP needs this exemption, she concluded, because it doesn't "have the same status with the police and other authorities."

Letters protesting the denial and requesting the Socialist Workers candidates be exempted from disclosing names of contributors should be sent to the Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission, 507 10th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies should be sent to the Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign, 2105 Forest Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

## Oil company used undercover agent to frame up and fire union workers

BY ELIZABETH WHITTAKER AND TAMAR ROSENFELD

RODEO, California — "The only thing new is how UNOCAL did it... No hard evidence has ever been produced."

For Floyd Apodaca, this pretty much sums up nine months of arbitration hearings during which Union Oil (UNOCAL) presented its case against six union brothers framed up and fired in March 1990 for alleged drug use at the refinery here.

Apodaca is a member of Local 1-326 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW). He works as a head operator in the Coker unit of UNOCAL. He is also one of

**Some workers felt frame-up was attempt to break union and set in motion new drug program.**

three arbitrators presently hearing the grievance filed collectively by those who have become known as the "Coker Six."

A second arbitrator represents UNOCAL. The third "neutral" arbitrator ultimately acts as judge and jury.

### Undercover agent in union

The hearings have revealed in detail a company operation of spying and intrigue against union members.

UNOCAL hired an agent from the Krout & Schneider detective agency to go undercover as a union member at the Rodeo refinery. He posed as a newly hired operator for eight months.

The agent's real job was to spy on the work force. After eight months, six operators in the Coker unit were fired.

No evidence was produced except the "notes" of the agent. These included a "security file" documenting conversations and actions of operators such as "idling" and reading newspapers. The hearings revealed an incentive plan for the informer — the more he wrote, the more money he was paid!

Throughout the nine months of hearings, hundreds of pages of documentation and some 37 exhibits were introduced. These included maps of the Coker unit, union contracts, and descriptions of meetings between the agent and his bosses at local motels.

The Coker Six won broad support in the initial stages of their fight against the company frame-up. Union supporters mobilized on four separate occasions. Their picket lines topped 100 people and included both operators and maintenance workers. Union meetings were held to decide how to respond to each new escalation of the attack by the company. Regular information bulletins kept union members updated on the facts of the case and explained why it was important for the union to take a stand.

From the beginning, UNOCAL sought to justify its actions on the basis of a supposed concern for safety. In conducting this operation, however, the company not only invaded the privacy of the workers by planting a spy, but also jeopardized their health and safety and that of the community by giving the Krout & Schneider snoop free rein to break their own rules, which he did on such occasions as a Christmas party where he brought eggnog and brandy into the refinery.

Apodaca said that some workers at the Rodeo plant felt the frame-up was both an attempt to break the union and gather infor-

mation to set in motion a new drug program.

The case of the Coker Six comes at a time when many employers have escalated the assault on democratic rights in the workplace, often using drugs as a pretext. Airline and railroad workers were among the first to be subjected to random testing for drugs.

Since 1986 many large oil refineries have adopted "drug control policies" designed to impose further control over the work force. To date these policies have largely utilized the "just cause" approach. This approach gives license to foremen and supervisors to question one's fitness for work on the basis of such arbitrary judgments as "red eyes," "clumsiness," or "giggling."

Shell Oil in Martinez, California, is currently putting into place a random testing drug policy. If Shell is successful, other companies in the oil industry are sure to follow suit.

### OCAW position

The OCAW calls for rehabilitation if a worker has a drug problem, not victimization. Apodaca pointed out that through the experience at UNOCAL, it has become clear to many workers that company drug-testing programs are designed to victimize workers, not protect them.

The union is now presenting its case before the panel of arbitrators. The six union brothers who have been fighting the frame-up are determined to win all of their jobs back. Apodaca said the six made a decision to join in the grievance collectively and plan to return to work collectively. They are demanding their jobs back with full reinstatement and back pay.

Elizabeth Whittaker is a member of OCAW Local 1-5 at Shell Oil in Martinez, California.