

CIA-backed terror in Nicaragua exposed

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Recent reports by two U.S. human rights groups have confirmed what is common knowledge to Nicaragua's workers and peasants — the CIA-organized armed mercenaries, known as *contras*, are guilty of "assassination, torture, rape, kidnapping, and mutilation of civilians."

The two reports, one by Americas Watch and another by attorney Reed Brody, give the lie to Reagan's claim that the U.S.-backed *contras* are popular "freedom fighters," trying to liberate a disgruntled Nicaraguan people from shackles imposed by a totalitarian government.

The *contras* are led by former National Guardsmen of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. With the triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution on July 19, 1979, these torturers and murderers were forced to flee the country. Reorganized, trained, and financed by Washington, they are now waging a war of terror — operating from neighboring Honduras — against the peasants and workers they used to torment with impunity.

These are the people Reagan wants Congress to give \$14 million more in funding to.

The Brody report includes 145 sworn affidavits from witnesses to atrocities carried out by the *contras*. To check on Brody's report, both the *New York Times* and attorneys from the International Human Rights Law Group, the Washington Office on Latin America, and the office of Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.) did their own interviews with several of the witnesses mentioned by Brody.

In each case, the accuracy of the grisly testimony in Brody's report was confirmed.

Two examples of the barbarities carried out by these terrorists were described in the March 7 *Times*.

One of the witnesses, Santos Roger Briones, described an attack on unarmed civilians in a truck on their way to pick coffee at a cooperative farm north of Estelí.

"Suddenly, Mr. Briones recalled, the dump truck was peppered with rifle, machine-gun, grenade, and rocket fire. Many in the truck were wounded. Those who could jumped down and ran for their lives," said the *Times* account.

"I was hit in the foot and was covered with blood, so I lay on the ground, pretending to be dead," said Mr. Briones. "After the *contras* robbed him of his boots and

Continued on Page 8

U.S. gov't backs Israeli crackdown in Lebanon

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

While the U.S. government continues to deepen its war in Central America, it is also stepping up imperialist aggression in the Mideast. Two U.S. warships, the aircraft carrier USS *Eisenhower* and the guided-missile cruiser USS *Mississippi*, are steaming toward Lebanon to allegedly evacuate U.S. embassy personnel if threatened by Lebanese "extremists."

In truth, the show of force is to back up the Israeli crackdown on Lebanese workers and peasants. The U.S. government made its support of the Israeli regime's bloody repression even more clear March 12, when a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli terror campaign was vetoed by the United States. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the UN delegate from the United States, cast the only opposing vote.

The U.S. government seeks to crush the Palestinian national liberation movement and bolster proimperialist Arab regimes. Today the U.S. rulers are relying on the Israeli regime, their imperialist ally in the region, to do the job.

To better implement this drive against Arab workers and peasants, the Reagan administration is planning to boost its aid to the Israeli government. The Israeli regime has already gotten \$2.6 billion in aid this fiscal year — \$1.4 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic aid. Government officials in Washington and Tel Aviv are currently haggling over how much to increase the economic aid.

One immediate step being taken by the Reagan administration, however, is a proposal submitted to Congress March 5 that would eliminate all tariffs between the United States and Israel within 10 years. The two countries now exchange about \$3 billion worth of products a year.

Meanwhile, President Reagan told Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin, who recently visited Washington, that the White House will request a \$400 million increase in military aid for next year.

This aid is aimed at helping to defray the



Friends lead away survivor whose entire family was killed in March 8 bombing in Marakah, Lebanon. Bombing occurred 24 hours after Israeli army terrorized town.

cost of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. Since June 1982 the Israeli regime has dumped \$3 billion into its Lebanese war. It is currently spending up to \$1 million a day. This war spending has severely strained the Israeli economy, fueling an inflation rate of close to 450 percent last year.

The U.S. government is helping to foot the bill for the Israeli regime's aggression because the U.S. rulers share the same goals. Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in 1982 to try to crush the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and set up a stable

proimperialist regime in Beirut, the capital.

In addition, the Israeli regime sought to drive Syrian troops out of Lebanon and lessen their influence in the country. The Syrian regime of Pres. Hafez al-Assad has opposed the U.S. and Israeli stabilization plans.

Israeli armed forces occupied southern Lebanon and blanketed Beirut with a brutal 88-day siege in mid-1982. Under the protection of the Israeli troops, right-wing Lebanese militias carried out massacres, such as the murder of hundreds of Palestin-

Continued on Page 6

North American activists tour Ghana

BY ERNEST HARSCH

ACCRA, Ghana — A delegation of 18 North American political activists arrived here in Ghana March 3 for a fact-finding tour, to learn firsthand about the struggle of the Ghanaian people against imperialist domination.

The participants in the tour, the majority of whom are active in the Black movement

in the United States, were official guests at the March 6 ceremonies marking the 28th anniversary of Ghana's independence. With the assistance of the Ghanaian government, they were able to have discussions with political activists, government officials, students, leaders of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, and other Ghanaians, as well as previewing

various cultural events and touring Accra and Kumasi.

On March 4, the first full day of the visit, several representatives of the delegation addressed a news conference here in the capital to explain the purpose of the visit. They stressed the importance of solidarity in the United States with anti-imperialist struggles in Africa, such as the one that has been unfolding in Ghana for the past three years.

The news conference was opened by Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, a Ghanaian now resident in the United States and a central organizer of the tour. He noted that the struggle of Ghana's workers and farmers has met the determined opposition of Washington and its imperialist allies. This has been evident during the current upsurge, as well as the CIA-inspired coup that overthrew the government of Pres. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966.

"The slave masters never want to give up the power and privileges they have held, or the resources they control in the country," Botwe-Asamoah said. "Therefore the U.S. forces, the forces of reaction around the world, are not going to stand aloof and watch broader changes take place in Ghana. Grenada can tell you that. What's happening around the borders of Nicaragua will tell you that."

Botwe-Asamoah said that the purpose of his organization, the Solidarity Committee

Continued on Page 12

A special fund appeal to 'Militant' readers

With this issue of the *Militant*, we are urging our readers to join us in a 12-week fund drive. The goal of the Socialist Publication Fund is to collect \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of this fund is to finance continued publication of the *Militant*

Communist International in Lenin's Time — and a new collection of speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution are two other examples of the kind of political material *Militant* readers will be helping to produce by contributing to this fund.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have always received our financial support from the working people who read and distribute the papers — those who have confidence in what we write.

Also, the editors of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* last week asked our supporters to join the 10-week drive to win 30,000 new readers for the socialist press. This drive was launched by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and begins with this issue of the *Militant*. It concludes May 18.

The Socialist Publication Fund and the *Militant-PM* sales drive are politically

linked. They are both part of a stepped-up effort to increase the circulation of socialist ideas in this country and around the world.

The fact that broadly sponsored marches and rallies against U.S. intervention in Central America will be taking place in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast on April 20 give both the fund and the sales drive an added importance and urgency.

The *Militant* and *PM* have placed a high priority on building April 20 and telling the truth about Washington's war against the revolution in Nicaragua.

To maximize the quality of the socialist press, and the number of working people who read it, we urge our readers to give generously to the Socialist Publication Fund. The *Militant* will be regularly reporting on the progress of the fund.

Contributions can be sent to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITORIAL

and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The fund will also aid other socialist publication projects, like the *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory; and the international news magazine *Intercontinental Press*.

The multi-volume series of books — *The*

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY JOSÉ ALVARADO

HOUSTON — Port Arthur is a small city of some 90,000 people, many of whom are from rural areas in east Texas. During the last three years more than 12,000 workers have lost their jobs due to cutbacks in the big oil refineries and the shipyards.

This predominantly working-class city is about 100 miles from Houston. Last fall, socialist workers went there to meet and talk with workers at the big Texaco and Gulf oil refineries and to intro-

duce them to Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential candidate.

At that time, Texaco had just announced it was laying off 1,400 workers who are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW). We wanted to discuss politics with these workers, find out what they were thinking, and introduce them to the *Militant*.

The team included Janet Brammer, Bob Robertson, and Dick McBride. It was well received at

Texaco.

They sold 10 *Militants* on the first sale and were greeted by workers with handshakes and "glad you are here" remarks. After the plant-gate sale the team went to the OCAW union hall and talked to the local union leadership about the layoffs. Their answer was, "We are dealing with them on a day-to-day basis."

The sales team raised the need for a program to fight layoffs, including the need for a labor party. The union leaders responded by

pointing to the foreign oil imports and saying they were the cause of the layoffs. One worker in the hall didn't agree. He said, "I don't think so. Texaco is bringing in oil from Trinidad which it already owns, so how can you call it foreign oil?"

Since that November sale, we have gone back to Port Arthur several more times. In December we sold 13 papers. Then we went back twice in January and sold 29 more *Militants* at the Texaco and Gulf refineries. Many of these oil

workers are displaced farmers, and some still own small farms.

Because of the friendly response we've gotten from these workers, *Militant* sales teams look forward to our plant-gate sales in Port Arthur even though it is a several-hour drive from Houston. On our next visit we are planning to have sales and discussions about the attacks on working farmers in the United States.

José Alvarado is a refinery mechanic and a member of OCAW Local 4227.

Pan Am strikers firm, despite mounting pressures

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI, March 11 — Pressure is steadily building up on the Transport Workers Union and their allies in the TWU strike against Pan American World Airlines.

The TWU-organized mechanics, baggage handlers, cleaners, and food-service workers went on strike February 28 against a takeback contract offered them by the giant international airline. But after one week of honoring the TWU picket line, the pilots' and the flight engineers' unions decided their loyalties to the company outweighed support to other unions: they returned to work.

The other two unions representing Pan Am workers in North America — the Teamster-organized clerks and the Independent Union of Flight Attendants — continued to support the TWU strike. So far, few members of either union have crossed the picket lines.

The flight attendants voted to go on strike themselves starting April 1 if the company does not back down from union-busting contract demands aimed at them.

The decision of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and the flight engineers union to break the strike came as a shock to TWU union officials. They had counted on the pilots in planning the strike in the first place.

TWU members, on the other hand, are very angry, but not so surprised. A new hand-lettered picket sign appeared right after the pilots' announcement: "ALPA sucks. Scabs fly."

A striking mechanic said he had not expected the pilots to stay out very long after they announced their own agreement to a new concession contract with the company. That announcement, two days before the TWU strike began, undercut the whole TWU argument against more concessions.

One group of workers organized by the TWU are those who carry the passengers' bags into the terminal. At other airlines they are called sky caps. One of these workers on picket duty in front of the passenger terminal at Miami International airport said he thinks the pilots are paid so much that they live in a different world and can't identify with other airline workers. With some pilots being paid over \$100,000 a year for about 50 hours' work a month, the man certainly has a point.

Flight engineers are paid considerably less than pilots, but they are part of the cockpit crew and often become pilots. In most other airlines there is no longer a separate category of flight engineer. The job is called second officer behind the captain and first officer, or copilot. And all the cockpit officers are members of the Air

Line Pilots Association at most airlines.

During the first week of the strike, Pan Am operations were drastically curtailed. But the airline has not been completely shut down. In the United States only a small number of flights, almost all to overseas points, were operated by scabs and management.

But they can't come close to restoring full service themselves. A March 8 *New York Times* article described the strain on these scabs. Chris Murphy, company director of international pricing, complained, "I've lost five pounds. You don't have time to eat on those flights. When you get home you just crash and go to sleep."

They quoted an engineering department director, Lance Lipkus, who was trying to load and unload baggage at Kennedy airport in New York, as complaining that the work was too tiring and difficult and he was cold from the wind sweeping across the airport from Jamaica Bay.

While domestic U.S. flights were mostly stopped and international flights departing or leaving from the United States diminished, much of Pan Am's international service has continued without inter-

ruption. This includes their profitable routes originating in London and internal German flights based in Frankfurt.

Pan Am workers who previously worked for National Airlines, which merged with Pan Am in 1979, talk about the need for strike support overseas. They remember how British airport workers helped the National Airlines' machinist union members win a strike by refusing to service National planes. But no one has heard reports of Pan Am strike leaders travelling to London or Frankfurt to try to organize support.

In Miami, the Pan Am strikers have had some shows of solidarity action from other unions, especially from the IAM Local 702 members at Eastern Airlines. Hundreds of Eastern workers have come out twice to join the TWU pickets in sidewalk demonstrations along Northwest 36 Street during lunch break. The IAM has called for these support actions on a weekly basis.

IAM officials also told the TWU that they have informed Eastern management that Eastern shops will do no work on Pan Am planes.

But pressure against the strike is rapidly

Continued on Page 4



TWU members and supporters picket Pan Am in Miami

Militant

Pan Am escalates campaign of lies

Pan American Airlines chairman, C. Edward Acker, sent out letters to all Pan Am workers March 1. On March 5 company management bought big newspaper ads in papers throughout the country. The purpose was to pressure TWU members to turn against the strike. Among other things the company claims it was offering a 21 percent increase in wages over 36 months, immediate cash bonuses ranging from \$900 to \$1,200, and "job security for all employees who might be affected by the work-rule changes."

Transport Workers Union Local 504, representing the workers at Pan Am's main base at Kennedy airport in New York, responded to this "deliberate misinformation" spread by the company. They pointed out that the "21 percent pay raise" is based on the existing 14 percent pay cut, so that the real proposal is for a 1 percent a year pay raise over the period from 1981 to

1987.

They also explain that the "reality of the bonus money is less than workers would receive as retroactive pay under a normal contract." They also show that the "job security" is a promise with strings attached. "The day of the strike, Acker sent in a nonunion crew to dismantle the commissary. Acker sold off all the kitchen equipment and the airline's port steward trucks to a nonunion contractor. In the 1981 negotiations the company promised lifetime jobs to the 900 commissary and port steward workers.

"Acker lied then, and lies now." Although the union literature has not been emphasizing the point, probably the worst provisions in the company contract proposal are for the use of part-time, nonunion workers in all job categories, and a two-tier wage scale that will create two classes of workers side by side on the same job. —L.L.

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

That way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the bipartisan U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the employer offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the

news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

Enclosed is: \$3 for 12 weeks \$15 for 6 months
 \$24 for 1 year A contribution

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014



The Militant

Closing news date: March 13, 1985

Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Andrea González, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Tom Leonard, Karen Newton, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

British miners forced to call off strike — vow to fight on

BY PAT GROGAN

"The battle is lost, but the war continues," is the slogan today of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Since March 3, when the miners were forced to end their year-long strike, the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has not let up in its drive to destroy the NUM, which has vowed to continue the fight against mine shutdowns and layoffs.

The NUM's fight for amnesty and to defend the union against continuing victimizations and firings of strikers is now on the front burner.

During the strike some 700 miners were fired. Some miners were fired because they were accused of stealing bits of coal to heat their homes. Others were targeted because of their militant roles on the picket lines during the strike. Still others were picked at random.

The question of reinstatement was left up to area directors by the National Coal Board, which runs Britain's government-

owned coal industry. The Coal Board bosses have been uneven and arbitrary in their actions.

In South Wales, all those who were fired were reinstated.

In Scotland, not a single fired miner has been allowed back.

While some reinstatements have occurred, new firings continue and the NUM estimates that there are now as many as 1,000 miners who have not been permitted to return to work. And it is clear that union militants are being singled out. At Bilston Glen and Monkton Hall in Scotland, 70 percent of those fired are NUM branch officials.

'Political prisoners'

On Saturday, March 9, the Women Against Pit Closures organized a 10,000-strong rally in North Derbyshire to mark International Women's Day and to demonstrate continuing support for the miners' struggle.

NUM president Arthur Scargill told the



Miners in South Wales return to work. Lack of effective solidarity, particularly by Britain's Labor Party and trade unions, forced miners back to work.

rally that in addition to 1,000 miners who have not been permitted to return to work, some 2,500 are still facing court proceedings on strike-related charges. "These people are not criminals," Scargill said. "They are political prisoners."

The NUM has set up a fund to aid the fired miners and at the end of a month a special membership ballot will take place to authorize a levy of 50 pence per miner (about 55 cents).

Working people in the United States and throughout the world were inspired and learned from the struggle of the British miners. Many unionists from the United States traveled to Britain, and organized solidarity and financial help for the strikers. This included coal miners who brought back the lessons of the strike to the United Mine Workers of America and other unions in this country fighting takebacks and union-busting.

It is urgent that solidarity and support for the NUM continue as it fights to defend the union and oppose mine shutdowns and layoffs.

Miners forced to end strike

The British ruling class was determined to defeat the NUM even if it had to pay a high price. They were set on teaching a lesson, not just to the unions, but to Blacks, farmers, women — to anyone who resisted the drive against the living standards and rights of Britain's working people.

Faced with the refusal of the national labor federation's top officialdom to stand behind the NUM, and a relentless barrage from the big-business media, many miners — who had withstood the hardships of the strike for almost a year — began to return to work.

It became clear that to stop the bleeding of the union, it was necessary to go back together, regroup, and prepare a fresh battle against mine closures.

The decision to end the strike was made on Sunday, March 3, at a special delegates' conference of the NUM in London. The miners voted to return to work without an

Continued on Page 11

N.C. cops' political break-in exposed

BY RICH GORDON

GREENSBORO, N.C. — A small corner of the veil of secrecy covering the political spy operations of U.S. police agencies has been lifted for working people in North Carolina.

Page one newspaper articles and radio and wire service stories have been reporting the recent exposure of an internal FBI memo written in 1982. The memo details a break-in of a Winston-Salem house in the spring of 1980.

But this was no ordinary break-in. It was carried out by two detectives from the Winston-Salem police department. And the house was the home of four members of the Socialist Workers Party.

A copy of the memo was obtained by attorneys for survivors of the racist Ku Klux Klan and Nazi shooting of demonstrators at an anti-Klan rally here on Nov. 3, 1979. Five members of the Communist Workers Party were killed in the attack. Survivors of the shooting filed a \$48 million civil lawsuit against federal, state, and local officials charging a conspiracy between these officials and the Klan and Nazis who carried out the killings. The case is scheduled to come to trial in Winston-Salem March 11.

At two earlier criminal trials stemming from the shootings, all-white juries acquitted the Klan and Nazi members of murder, rioting, and conspiracy to violate the victims' civil rights.

Lawyers for the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund, representing the plaintiffs in the civil suit, turned the memo over to the North Carolina Socialist Workers Party.

The FBI memo was written in 1982. During the FBI's questioning of Fulton Dukes, an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), he told them of the 1980 break-in of the socialists' house by the Winston-Salem cops.

But instead of filing charges and prosecuting the cops for trespassing and violating the socialists' rights, the FBI covered up the crime.

The memo explains why: "Because of pending civil litigation in U.S. District Court in which the Socialist Workers Party is a plaintiff, no further investigation is being conducted. . . ."

The litigation referred to is the lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in 1973 against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies which have for decades worked to disrupt the SWP and YSA — and other socialist, labor, and radical organizations — using illegal methods including break-ins like the one in Winston-Salem.

The FBI realized that letting the facts of this break-in come to light would hurt their side in the SWP and YSA lawsuit.

On March 5 Winston-Salem police chief, Joseph Masten, announced he was beginning an internal investigation in the police department into the break-in to "determine if there was any wrongdoing."

Two days later at a widely covered news conference in Greensboro, Meryl Lynn Farber, one of the victims of the break-in and the SWP candidate for Congress in 1984, answered Masten. "We demand that all files relating to this break-in be opened to full public view and not be kept behind the closed doors of the so-called internal investigation. We have no confidence in the police department investigating itself. . . . The public has a right to know what is in these files and what their tax money is used for when it finances the spy operations of the police, FBI, BATF, and other agencies."

"We are confident," she continued, "that when the secret police files are opened to

the public it will be clear that it is the police agencies themselves that are the real law-breakers in North Carolina."

Farber demanded the full prosecution of those responsible for the break-in and the cover-up.

One of the cops who illegally entered the socialists' house admitted that he had "no lawful reason" to do so. According to the memo, the cops took phone numbers and names and photographed documents, records, and communications while in the house.

At the time of the break-in Farber was a participant in an organizing drive by the Teamsters union in North Carolina. North Carolina is the least unionized state in the country and the companies work hand in hand with police agencies and professional union busters to keep it that way.

Farber explained that one of the questions raised by this break-in is what com-

Continued on Page 13

Selma: leaders hit racism, meet Gov. Wallace

BY ANDY ROSE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A spirited march through downtown Montgomery and a rally at the state capitol steps climaxed the 20th anniversary Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march. More than 100 activists who walked the full 50 miles were joined March 7 by thousands of Montgomery residents, who came into the streets as the march proceeded through town. In addition, bus loads of students from Black colleges in central and southern Alabama traveled here for the wrap-up rally.

The week's events were more than a commemoration of the 1965 battles that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act. They also gave a boost to the public defense campaign urgently needed today for three civil rights leaders from Marion, Alabama. The Marion Three — Albert Turner, Evelyn Turner, and Spencer Hogue, Jr. — will go to trial soon on federal charges of "vote fraud." Albert Turner was a central organizer of the 1965 voting-rights protests. He has continued to this day as a leader of efforts to aid Black farmers and to register Blacks to vote in Perry County and throughout Alabama.

"This case is not a criminal case. It is political to its roots," Albert Turner told the *Militant*.

Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), pledged a "moral offensive" in support of the Marion Three.

At a rally here on the evening of March 6, Geraldine Thompson, executive director of the Voter Education Project (VEP),

called the indictments an example of the barriers Blacks still face in trying to register and vote.

The Turners and Hogue face jail, she said, not because they have done anything wrong, but "because they work so hard to try to get Black people registered to vote, to educate them on the issues, and then get them out to vote."

The big business news media generally falsified the significance of the anniversary march, claiming it showed how much progress Blacks have made and how good "race relations" are in Alabama today. State troopers were invariably described as "smiling" and "helpful" — in contrast to 1965, when they clubbed, tear-gassed, and killed voting-rights marchers.

But what prompted so many Black Alabamians to join the march was the reality of continuing racist discrimination in education, housing, jobs, and every facet of life.

At the many rallies held during the five-day march, the lack of real social and economic progress was cited by many SCLC and VEP leaders and by Democratic Party elected officials who are Black.

No plans were put forward, however, for mass protest campaigns around such issues as affirmative action, police brutality, defense of school desegregation, or opposition to U.S. aid to South Africa and war in Central America. The strategy put forward by the civil rights leaders is to use the ballot box to support and elect more Democratic Party politicians. The goal is to strengthen their influence and power within the

framework of the capitalist two-party system. Even voter registration is seen from that vantage point.

It is thus no surprise that the news media gave big play to a meeting held after the capitol rally between Alabama governor George Wallace and several of the civil rights leaders who had joined the march. According to press reports, SCLC President Lowery described the meeting as "very, very warm," and John Lewis, former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and now an Atlanta city councilman, praised Wallace as "on the right side of the issues."

Wallace's candidacy for governor in 1982 had the support of most civil rights leaders and Black Democratic elected officials in Alabama, who saw him as "lesser evil" to the Republican candidate.

Wallace, like other capitalist politicians, has had to modify his overt racism of the 1960s to stay in office.

The 20th anniversary march has aroused interest among many working people, especially young Afro-Americans, in studying the history of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. They will find that victories were won through massive struggles in the streets, against opposition from both the Democratic and Republican parties. Those struggles repeatedly gave rise to efforts by militant Blacks to organize an independent political movement — efforts being continued today by the National Black Independent Political Party. Those who are determined to defend Black rights will no doubt find valuable lessons for the battles that lie ahead.

FBI spy scare aimed at antiwar fighters

BY HARRY RING

"We have more people charged with espionage right now than ever before in our history."

That satisfied claim was made by FBI chief William Webster as 1984 drew to a close.

No idle boast. Of the 22 people arrested on spy charges during the past five years, nine were in the past year alone.

The December 20 *New York Times* ran an article giving its view on why so many "spy trials" are going on. It quoted a "security executive" at a California war plant who insisted on anonymity:

"A lot of the people we're getting now were in college during the Vietnam era, when it was O.K. to be disloyal to your government."

Piling the mud on a bit thicker, the *Times* adds: "The malcontent, the adventurer, the alcoholic or the drug abuser who passes the generally superficial background security check the Government conducts before allowing them access to classified documents can quickly discover that a few sheets of paper can be traded to Soviet agents for a stack of \$100 bills."

With its crude, right-wing venom, the *Times* article is itself a good example of the purpose behind these well-publicized spy-charge arrests.

Spy scares have traditionally been used to promote anticommunist and prowar propaganda. They are used to curb political dissent and to restrict democratic rights.

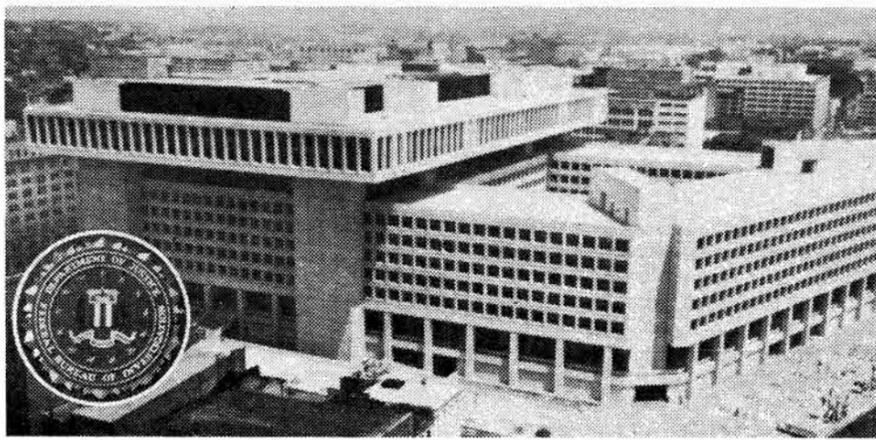
The idea is being promoted today, through these arrests, that the United States is overrun with "communist spies." Our "national security" is threatened, we're told.

By hammering at this theme, the ruling class aims at making people think twice about voicing opposition to the escalating U.S. war in Central America. You don't think GIs should kill and be killed to stop "communism"? You too may be "disloyal," maybe even a "spy."

The rulers want to convince us that U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, the massive Pentagon "conventional" and nuclear arms build-up, is okay because, after all, there really is a threat from the "Soviet bloc."

And the spy scare is also seen as an added weapon in the escalating employer-government attack on the democratic rights of working people in this country.

It's worth noting, in this regard, the complaint in the *Times* article about "superficial" security clearance checks at plants with government contracts. For thousands



FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. FBI activities organized out of this complex include spying on union meetings and Black organizations.

who work in plants producing weapons and other war materiel, such clearances are a condition of employment.

These undemocratic "security clearance" provisions weaken the labor movement and give the bosses, in collaboration with the political police, greater leverage to single out militant workers for harassment and firing and to restrict union say over workers' rights and conditions on the job.

In the name of this alleged security, union meetings have been spied on. Militant unionists and Black-rights fighters have been threatened with investigation. Socialist workers have been fired as "risks" without even the pretense that spying is involved.

Tighter security checks simply translate into greater intimidation and victimization of workers and attacks on their unions. The recent wave of spy-charge arrests have also been used to chip away at constitutional rights.

In several of these cases people are being held without bail.

In one case, the government is trying to breach the long-established right of husband and wife to refuse to testify against one another.

In another case, a man is being charged with espionage despite the fact that the alleged offense has literally nothing to do with spying.

The fact that many of those accused of spying are not U.S. citizens is no accident — the U.S. rulers want to intensify prejudice against foreign-born people.

In New York, Karl and Hana Koecher, Czech émigrés, have been held without bail since last November. He is charged with being a Soviet spy and she is being

held as a material witness.

Government attorneys have demanded that Hana Koecher be compelled to testify against her husband despite the marital privilege not to.

A case with an invidious legal twist is that of Samuel Morison. He worked at a naval intelligence center in Maryland evaluating Soviet ships and naval weapons systems.

He too is charged with violating the espionage statute. How? By providing classified satellite photos of Soviet shipbuilding operations to a London military magazine, *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

Naval officials knew that Morison moonlighted as a part-time editor for *Jane's* and had given their approval.

Morison's case is legally similar to the Pentagon Papers case of 1971. That case, which ended in a mistrial, was based on espionage charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo for providing classified Pentagon Vietnam documents to the *New York Times*. Now, in the first such prosecution since that case, Morison is being charged, in effect, with being a "spy" for *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

Perhaps the most glaring example of how the spy scare is being used to undercut the right to bail involves the case of Penyu B. Kostadinov, a Bulgarian trade official stationed in New York. He is charged with assertedly paying a graduate student \$300 for a classified document.

Despite his right to diplomatic immunity, Kostadinov was jailed in September 1983 and denied bail.

When the government gets around to trying him, he faces a life sentence if convicted.

Militant Labor Bookstore opens in Morgantown

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — A grand opening of the new Militant Labor Bookstore and Forum Hall was held here February 9-10. The new socialist headquarters, centrally located in this coal town, provides an attractive place for miners, other workers, and young people to gather for discussions and to check out the well-stocked selection of political books.

Members of the United Mine Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers', United Steelworkers, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers unions — from Pittsburgh, Charleston, and Morgantown — attended the grand opening. They also participated in a two-day socialist educational conference.

Fred Feldman, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, gave several classes on the history and background of the founding of the SWP in 1938. Cindy Jaquith, staff writer for the

Militant, was the featured speaker at a public forum. She took up the current political situation in the United States and the opportunities the April 20 demonstration for Peace, Jobs, and Justice presents for those in the labor movement who are seeking to get their unions involved in protesting U.S. intervention in Central America.

Members and friends of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance spent a month painting and decorating the new bookstore. Already the bookstore is beginning to develop regular customers.

The new location is close to a nearby high school. Over a dozen high-school students have stopped in the bookstore. They leave with copies of the *Young Socialist*, buttons saying "U.S. out of Central America," or pamphlets. Several are interested in attending a meeting to find out about the YSA and the April 20 antiwar demonstration.



Socialists in West Virginia opened new, well-stocked bookstore on February 9.

Latest 'New International' impresses readers in Ghana

BY DON DAVIS

The last issue of *New International* "left an indelible imprint on us" wrote a group of political activists in Ghana who copied the speech by Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge printed in that issue to circulate among factory workers.

Inmates at a prison in Menard, Illinois, wrote for a copy to use in their study of the Nicaraguan revolution. And groups of socialist workers in cities across the United States, Canada, and elsewhere have organized educational programs based on the article on the workers and farmers government by Mary-Alice Waters.

Revolutionary-minded activists like these will also want to get the new Spring 1985 issue of *New International*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory. It features the political resolution recently adopted by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Entitled "Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States," the 90-page article focuses on the party's experience since its 1978 decision to base its political work in the industrial unions.

The resolution explores the evolution of the bipartisan offensive being waged by the capitalist ruling class against U.S. workers and farmers over the past decade. It stresses the political continuity of the SWP, as part of the Fourth International, with the communist program fought for by the leadership of the Soviet Union under Lenin. And it discusses the escalating

U.S.-engineered war in the Caribbean and Central America, and the political significance of the revolutionary leaderships of socialist Cuba and the Nicaraguan workers and peasants government.

The resolution has been translated into Spanish and published in the *Militant's* sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. Socialists have begun discussing how to get this special issue of *PM* into the hands of Spanish-speakers who are interested in socialist ideas.

The new issue of *New International* also contains articles by SWP leaders Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness on the crisis facing working farmers in this country, and the strategy for building an alliance between workers and farmers.

Cuba provides the best example in history of the construction of such a fighting alliance of the exploited producers. The current issue prints two of Fidel Castro's speeches on the subject, along with a resolution of the Cuban Communist Party that has never before appeared in English.

A special effort is being made to encourage leaders of the rapidly growing farm protest movement to read these articles.

Send \$4.00 for the current issue of *New International*, or \$12.00 for a subscription of four issues, to *New International*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014. Copies of the first three issues are also available at \$4 apiece.

Pressure mounts in Pan Am strike

Continued from Page 2

stepping up. At the urging of a federal mediator, the company agreed to resume negotiations with the TWU on March 13. The company has already announced that they will stop paying premiums on medical insurance for the strikers as of March 15. For the strikers to try to pay the premiums themselves would be especially difficult, since the TWU provides no strike benefits.

The company also sent out recall notices to the flight attendants who are honoring the picket lines. If they go on strike themselves April 1, the attendants will have some legal protection as official strikers. But the company says they will permanently fire flight attendants who refuse to return to work before they go on strike.

Pan Am has been openly recruiting and

training scabs to replace the flight attendants. The federal government has been cooperating by organizing a test flight attendants must pass in order to be certified to fly. And county police and airport security have been escorting busloads of scabs into the Pan Am offices and hangars at the Miami airport.

The union has generally complied with police regulations, limiting pickets to only two in carefully designated places at each gate and terminal entrance. There have been no efforts to try to stop the busloads of scabs from entering. And there has been no effort to involve the Eastern workers or other unionists at the airport in protest actions against Pan Am's continuing scab operation.

A broad coalition of peace and civil rights organizations and several trade unions have called for protests in Washington, D.C., April 19-22, highlighted by a mass march and rally on April 20. Actions will also be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities.

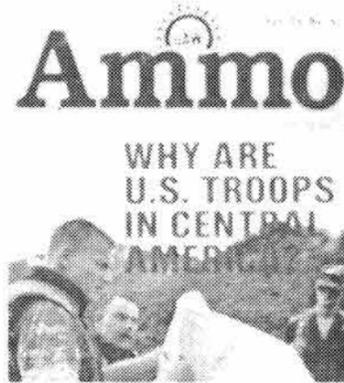
The demands of the protests are: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America; oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home; freeze and reverse the arms race; create jobs, cut the military budget.

The *Militant* is starting this column as a regular feature to encourage *Militant* readers to build the April actions.

To contact the national coalition, write or call: April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Box 2598, Washington, D.C. 20013-2598; (202) 667-9485.

oppose 'US military and economic assistance to the oppressive regime of El Salvador and ... oppose covert or overt aid to overthrow the government of Nicaragua'; and

"WHEREAS The UAW has urged its members to organize 'meetings, demonstrations and other activities' to protest US government and corporate support for



Cover of UAW "AMMO" issue on U.S. war in Central America.

the 'racist system' of apartheid in South Africa; and

"WHEREAS The United States government has steadily increased its attacks on the rights and living standards of working people in this country, while threatening to involve us in a Vietnam-type war in Central America; THEREFORE BE IT

"RESOLVED That Local 1200 UAW endorses and supports the April 20 demonstration in Washington DC for Jobs, Peace and Justice; and BE IT FURTHER

"RESOLVED That Local 1200 urges its members to participate in

a Local 1200 contingent at April 20."

The Detroit Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice has scheduled a rally for Saturday, March 30 to build the national march.

Scheduled speakers are: Joe Madison, national voter education director of the NAACP; Frank Hammer, plant chairman, UAW Local 909; Maryanne Mahaffey, Detroit City Council; Salvadoran refugees Valeria and Raúl González; and Akua Buda, TransAfrica.

The rally will be at 7:30 p.m. at Barth Hall in St. Paul's Cathedral, which is located at Woodward and Warren.

To contact the coalition call the Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze at (313) 577-5053; Detroit Central America Solidarity Committee at (313) 961-7620; or write to: Detroit Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice, P.O. Box 915, Detroit, Mich. 48231.

meeting, Bob Pesek, a leader of the Toledo Area Committee on Central America and the Interfaith Justice and Peace Center, reported on his "Witness for Peace" trip to Nicaragua. He condemned Reagan's recent call for the overthrow of Nicaragua's government.

John Burkett, an executive board member of the Ohio Family Farm Movement (FFM), endorsed the April 20 demonstration and spoke about the crisis facing family farmers. Burkett has been pointing out to farmers that the government shells out billions for weapons while it allows family farmers to go under.

Former Toledo NAACP president Rev. Floyd Rose linked the fight against apartheid to April 20. Rose has been leading a successful campaign to get products made in South Africa removed from Toledo stores.

Local endorsers for April 20 include: United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 12 (Toddco Unit); Bill White, president, UAW Local 12 (Acklin Unit); Interfaith Peace and Justice Center; Ohio Education Association; Baldemar Velasquez, president, Farm Labor Organizing Committee; Dan Thomas, vice-president, AFSCME Local 544; Toledo National Organization for Women; N.W. Ohio Freeze Campaign; Seamus Metress, chair, Clan na Gael; the Bowling Green Peace Coalition; and Hussein Shousher, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

The April 20 Coalition can be reached at 2017 Kensington, Toledo, Ohio 43607.

N.J. CLUW backs April 20, 14 buses reserved

BY ZENA McFADDEN

NEWARK — The New Jersey Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice was formed at a February 27 meeting held at the United Auto Workers (UAW) headquarters in Cranford. The meeting was initiated by the N.J. Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE).

Among the 27 endorsements the coalition has already gathered for April 20 are: New Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women; Council of N.J. State College Locals of the N.J. Federation of Teachers; New Jersey Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Progressive Rainbow Alliance — North Jersey Organizing Committee; New Brunswick Democratic Socialists of America; Socialist Workers Party; and the Central Jersey Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

More than 14 New Jersey buses have been chartered to go to Washington so far.

The coalition's phone number and address are N.J. SANE, 324 Bloomfield Ave., Montclair, N.J. 07042; (201) 744-3263.

Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

Mich. UAW local sets up committee to build action

BY HELEN MEYERS

DETROIT — United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1200 at the General Dynamics Tank plant in Warren, Michigan, passed a resolution supporting April 20 at its March 3 membership meeting.

A copy of the resolution was distributed in the plant and a committee with 10 volunteers was set up to build the action in the plant.

The resolution said: "WHEREAS The 1983 National UAW Convention voted to

Ohio farm leader hits U.S. gov't arms spending

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — Answering a call to action signed by leaders of local trade unions and civil rights, peace, and women's rights organizations, an April 20 coalition has been formed encompassing north-west Ohio.

The initial meeting was held at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District 8 hall.

At this February 23 organizing

Farmer appeals for workers' support at N.Y. forum

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — Leland Fanning, a dairy farmer from the Syracuse area of New York State, appealed for support from working people at a well-attended Militant Labor Forum here March 8 entitled, "The Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Working Farmers?" Also speaking was Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City.

"There's a real crisis out there affecting a lot of farmers," explained Fanning. "Some say you still can make a small fortune in farming. The only thing is that you got to start out with a big one."

"They [the banks and U.S. government] want you to get bigger so they loan you more money and then end up by taking away your land," said Fanning. "If they don't want us to farm anymore, how are we going to go out and look for work when there are already more than seven million people out of work? It should be your own decision if you want to farm or not."

Several days earlier, Fanning attended a national farm protest action in Washington, D.C., called by the American Agriculture Movement. He also testified before a Congressional subcommittee on agriculture. "The Congressmen didn't even think of New York as being a farm state," stated Fanning. "I don't know what our representatives are doing there."

Fanning's plight is typical of that facing working farmers in New York State and throughout the country. To start farming, he borrowed \$50,000. Today, with the same size farm, he has a debt of \$300,000. Taxes take a big bite out of working farmers' income even when they lose money. "Last year we had a \$6,000 negative income," explained Fanning. "I still paid \$40,000 in taxes on the milk and land even though I didn't have any income."

Andrea González focused her remarks on why working people should support family farmers in their fight against the bankers, giant processing companies, and the U.S. government.

"Ninety-five percent of all vegetables and their canned and frozen byproducts are produced by small farmers," said González. "You could say that the farmer feeds the world, while the bankers, feed and seed

companies, railroads, and agricultural-machinery and grain companies feed off the farmer — like pigs at the trough."

Farmers are being squeezed dry. Prices they receive on their products continue to fall, while their expenses are skyrocketing. "It's a squeeze workers know, although its form is different," said González. "It's like the squeeze you feel when your wages are slashed while your rent, mortgage payments, electric bills, and interest on your car loan continue to rise."

González explained that farmers don't cause high food prices. They simply want a price to meet their cost of production.

González took up the myth that imports are responsible for farmers' problems. "It's a worldwide crisis of producers," said González. "Two million farmers in the

U.S. owe as much debt as three nations — Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina. Workers and farmers there can't pay, just like farmers here can't pay. It's the giant, U.S.-based, multinational grain corporations like Cargill that milk all of us and pit us against each other."

González hailed the profarmer policies being taken by the revolutionary governments of Cuba and Nicaragua. "In the U.S., farmers are being driven off the land, while in Nicaragua, farmers are being given land. And in Nicaragua cheap credit is available to all farmers."

González called for a fighting alliance of producers of the countryside and city as the way forward to counter the profit-gouging policies of the banks, giant corporations, and their government in Washington. "We

must build a political fighting instrument — a labor party — that can lead a massive social upheaval to take political power out of the hands of the exploiting minority and replace it with a government of our own — a workers and farmers government."

González pointed to the upcoming April 20 national demonstration for peace, jobs, and justice as an important step forward. "By protesting the U.S. government's war policy in Central America and its support to apartheid in South Africa, we will be standing up on the side of workers and farmers all over the world. This demonstration offers us an opportunity to take one more step on the road to a fighting alliance of action — independent political action — by the producers to defend ourselves and our future."

200 rally for family farmers in Colorado

BY MIKE CHAMBERLAIN

DENVER — Farmers planted crosses on the Colorado State Capitol lawn as part of a protest rally here on February 14. The crosses symbolized the death of the family farm.

More than 200 farmers and their supporters from Colorado and surrounding states took part. The rally heard speakers representing farm and labor organizations. Also speaking were state politicians — U.S. Sen. Gary Hart and Lt. Gov. Nancy Dick.

State AFL-CIO president, Norm Pledger, also spoke, promising the aid of the labor movement for the farmers' cause. He advocated electing more capitalist politicians to office as a solution to the farm crisis. He also plugged the effort to pass the 1985 Farm Bill.

Corky Jones, American Agriculture Movement president, announced a tractorcade to Washington, D.C., on March 4. In an interview with the *Militant*, Jones described the nationwide upsurge in the farm movement. "There have been a lot of rallies," he said. "I've been to more than 60 meetings in 13 states over the last 10 weeks."

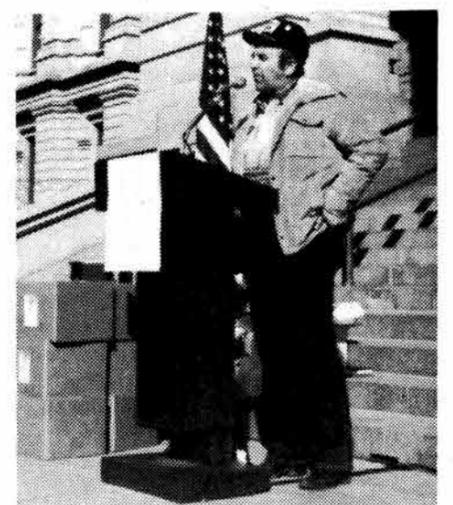
He called the claim that farmers were going out of business because of inefficiency "hot air and a myth. We're going out of business for one reason and one reason only — the farmer can no longer price his product. Prices are set and manipulated through the Chicago Board of Trade. . . . We're not wanting a handout. We want legislation that will allow us to make a profit."

"We have had parity pricing in the past at absolutely no tax-payer expense," he continued. "We could again if they so chose. The bottom line is prosperous agriculture means a prosperous nation."

Referring to the March 4 tractorcade, Jones said, "We've been reaching out for the past two years through alliances and speaking before meetings — educating the public. Now it's time to take the people to Washington."

Among the supporters at the rally was a contingent of striking Continental Airline pilots. The pilots brought a publicity van that urged people to boycott the airline.

A brochure distributed at the rally by opponents of the MX missile pointed out the connection between cuts in aid to farmers and the escalation of war spending. The estimated cost of one MX missile is \$60 mil-



Corky Jones, president of American Agriculture Movement.

lion. The brochure explained this amount would buy 100 L-3 Allis Chalmers gleaners; 200 Allis Chalmers 7045 tractors; 15,000 acres of irrigated land; 20,000 feeder calves at top-dollar prices — and still leave \$1,355,700 left over for pocket money.

U.S. gov't backs Israeli crackdown

Continued from front page
ian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in September 1982.

The Israeli imperialists succeeded in destroying the major base of operations of the PLO. While failing to completely crush the PLO, the Israeli drive, aided by the Syrian regime, pushed PLO guerrilla fighters out of Lebanon.

In addition, the Israeli rulers installed a proimperialist regime in Beirut, and inspired an intensified assault on Lebanese workers and peasants carried out by Lebanon's exploiting classes and their rightist militia.

But the regime of Lebanese president Amin Gemayel has proved to be far from stable. Gemayel's Phalange Party, an ultrarightist outfit based among privileged Lebanese who happen to be Christian, has faced continual opposition from Lebanese workers and peasants, the majority of whom are Shi'ite Muslims.

U.S. troops invade Lebanon

In 1983 the U.S. government directly intervened with some 14,000 troops to shore up the Gemayel regime when it was threatened with being ousted by the armed resistance of Muslim and other militia. The U.S. troops were joined by imperialist troops from France, Britain, and Italy. This multinational imperialist combat force sought to finish the job the Israeli regime began with its June 1982 invasion.

These troops, however, were withdrawn in March 1984 after failing to extend Gemayel's rule beyond Beirut. Lebanon was virtually partitioned, with the Israeli government controlling nearly 25 percent of the country's territory.

Gemayel's regime found little support among the Lebanese people. To remain in power Gemayel had to shift his stance away from support to the Israeli regime. In March 1984 he ripped up a 1983 "security" pact between the Israeli and Lebanese governments, and today tries to posture as an outspoken opponent of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon.

Workers and peasants in southern Lebanon have mounted increasing resistance to the Israeli occupation. The Israeli regime has been faced with a series of general strikes called by the Amal movement, which is largely based among the Shi'ite population. In a significant development, a layer of workers and peasants in the south's Christian communities have answered Amal's call to action against the Israeli occupation. For decades imperialist rulers have fostered conflict between Lebanon's Christian and Muslim populations to help ensure their domination of the country.

Even the Palestinian masses of the refu-

gee camps in southern Lebanon — who live in virtual imprisonment, surrounded by Israeli troops and their Lebanese puppets of the South Lebanon Army — have participated in the resistance. On January 2, for example, 7,000 Palestinians demonstrated at the Ain El Helweh refugee camp near Sidon. Carrying Palestinian and Lebanese flags and portraits of PLO chairman Yassir Arafat, they marked the 20th anniversary of the founding of Fatah, the major Palestinian guerrilla group, which is headed by Arafat.

Armed actions against the Israeli occupiers have also increased. Between Jan. 1, 1984, and Sept. 5, 1984, there were 334 armed attacks on Israeli forces. At least 26 Israeli soldiers were killed in these actions and another 140 wounded.

The Lebanese National Resistance Front, the main front organizing resistance in the south, reported that between Nov. 24, 1984, and Dec. 22, 1984, there were 71 attacks on the Israeli army and the South Lebanon Army, a force armed and financed by the Israeli regime.

Israeli pullout

The Israeli government — confronted with growing resistance to its occupation from Lebanese toilers, increasing opposition to its war among Israelis themselves, and the burdensome financial cost of its aggression — announced it was initiating a phased withdrawal of its 20,000 troops from Lebanon. On January 14 the Israeli cabinet approved the first phase of the pullout. In the first stage the Israeli regime relinquished about 200 square miles of territory.

As the Israeli troops evacuated the area, Lebanese workers and peasants poured into the streets and rejoiced, seeing the withdrawal as a victory for the Lebanese and Palestinian masses. It was the massive resistance that forced Israel to retreat. Everyone understood this, especially the Israelis.

Inspired by this victory, Lebanese liberation fighters in the still-occupied territory stepped up their armed actions against Israeli troops, soldiers in the South Lebanon Army, and other Lebanese collaborators with the Israeli regime.

The Lebanese National Resistance Front announced that it had carried out a record 110 military actions against Israeli forces in January. In the first 10 days of February alone, they reported 51 attacks. Israeli military officials admit that since mid-January, 27 Israeli soldiers have been killed and at least 104 wounded.

On February 21, following the killing of Col. Avraham Hido and two others in three separate attacks east of Tyre, Defense Minister Rabin launched what he called an



Fire fighters in Marakah, Lebanon, battle blaze caused by March 8 bombing attack against well-known opponent of Israeli occupation in southern Lebanon.

"iron fist" policy. Colonel Hido was among the four highest-ranking Israeli officers to die in Lebanon since the 1982 invasion.

Rabin's "iron fist" is a brutal crackdown on Lebanese and Palestinian workers and peasants in the Israeli-controlled areas. Hundreds of Israeli troops swept through Lebanese villages, making house-to-house searches, arresting scores of people, and bulldozing or dynamiting homes. Hundreds of Lebanese have been "deported" to the north by the Israeli occupiers.

Less than 30 hours after a large force of Israeli troops left the village of Marakah, a massive explosion rocked a Shi'ite religious and community center. Twelve people were killed, including Mohammed Saad and Khalil Jeradi, two leaders of a Lebanese resistance group. More than 40 people were injured in the March 4 attack.

Village residents say that Israeli operatives placed the explosives in the center during their occupation of the town, and later detonated the bomb by remote control when the two guerrilla leaders were there.

Several days later, on March 8, a powerful car bomb exploded just 10 yards away from the home of Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of the Party of God, a Shi'ite organization opposed to the Israeli occupation. At least 80 people were killed in the blast and 250 wounded. Fadlallah is reported to have escaped injury in the attack.

'Made in USA'

As with the Marakah bombing, Lebanese resistance fighters widely believe the Israeli government was behind the attack. More than two and a half years of Israeli occupation has turned Lebanon's Shi'ite population — many of whom hailed the arrival of the Israeli troops — into bitter opponents of the Israeli regime and its U.S. backers.

Following the March 8 bombing,

thousands of protesters filled the streets chanting slogans against the Israeli and Lebanese regimes. Banners reading "Made in USA" were hung outside buildings damaged by the bomb.

In a March 10 armed action, a suicide bomber slammed a carload of explosives into an Israeli army convoy in southern Lebanon, killing 12 soldiers and wounding 14.

In retaliation, the Israeli regime mounted a terror raid against the village of Zrariyah, which lies in the area supposedly evacuated by Israeli troops. Some 1,000 Israeli troops stormed this village of 8,000 people. They massacred at least 30 people in this attack, the fiercest of the current crackdown.

But the response in Israel itself was markedly different. The successful attack on the Israeli convoy sharpened the debate within Israel over the proposed pullout, strengthening demands to speed it up.

Several motions were presented in the Israeli parliament calling for a complete pullback to the international border instead of the phased withdrawal. Such a proposal was also made by one of Israel's major newspapers, *Haaretz*, which wrote, "Yesterday's [March 10] attack demonstrates the foolishness of a creeping withdrawal and calls for a firm, courageous decision: to withdraw the Israeli army to the international border in a rapid, one-stage thrust and without delay."

Three-stage withdrawal

But the Israeli government is still continuing with its three-stage withdrawal. On March 3 the Israeli cabinet approved plans for the second phase of the troop pullback. In this stage, Israeli troops will pull out of the Bekaa valley. Israeli officials claim it will take three months to complete this withdrawal. There will then be some 10,000 Israeli troops in southern Lebanon along a line roughly 10-15 miles north of the Israeli border.

The second stage of the withdrawal hasn't begun yet due to "logistical" difficulties, Israeli government officials assert.

In the third and final phase of the withdrawal, the Israeli regime is supposed to relinquish the remaining Lebanese territory.

However the Israeli pullback turns out, it doesn't change the blow Israel has suffered. Nor will it change the Israeli rulers' objective of maintaining their domination of the region. This goal, along with the inherently expansionist nature of the Israeli settler state, will mean new assaults against the Lebanese masses. Only the overthrow of the imperialist Israeli state can bring an end to this aggression.

The Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon can only inspire renewed resistance to the Israeli regime — a fact even some government figures admit. Abba Eban, a member of the Israeli parliament and former foreign minister, said that Lebanese hostility toward the Israeli government "arose as a result of the prolongation of our military presence, so everything done to curtail it is a contribution."

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime continues to occupy Lebanon, sparking an increasing revolt. "Now everybody is a member of the resistance," said one young Lebanese villager. "Now we have closed the schools because we don't want to learn from books. The only thing we want to learn is how to fight the Israelis."

Text of Castro's Nicaragua speech in 'IP'

In January Cuban president Fidel Castro made his second trip to Nicaragua since the workers and peasants overthrew the capitalist regime of Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

During his visit he spoke at the inauguration of the Victoria de Julio sugar mill. The full text of his speech there will appear for the first time in English in the April 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

The Victoria de Julio mill is actually a major agro-industrial complex and is the largest industrial project presently under construction in Nicaragua. Cuba has provided extensive aid for the mill, including a large loan. During his speech Castro announced that the Cuban government had decided to cancel the debt owed by Nicaragua.

In respect to Cuba's internationalist aid to other countries the Cuban leader stated, "that to be internationalist is to pay off our own debt, our fatherland's debt to humanity."

He emphasized that the government-owned mill "belongs to the Nicaraguan people. All that is produced, saved, and all profits are for the Nicaraguan people."

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

Enclosed is \$7.50 for 3 months. \$15 for 6 months. \$30 for 1 year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
imperialist

<p>Mideast Hussein-Arafat Accord Provokes New Debates</p> <p>New Caledonia Interviews With Independence Movement Leader</p> <p>Peru Regime Targets Indian Peasants In Drive Against Sendero Luminoso</p> <p>Brazil Workers Party Reaffirms Class Independence</p>	<p>Nicaragua Offers Peace Plan • Cuts Advisers, Freezes Weapons • Reagan Pushes Aid for Contras • Full Text of Ortega's Proposal</p>  <p>Speech by Fidel Castro 'We Have No Interest in Seeing Bloodshed of U.S. and Cuban People'</p>
---	--

Interview with Kanak leader

'Our people are determined to win their freedom'

The South Pacific island of New Caledonia and its indigenous Kanak population have suffered under French imperialist rule since 1853. The Kanak people, led by the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), a coalition of 10 organizations, are fighting for their independence. The FLNKS organized a successful boycott of the island's Territorial Assembly elections last fall, and on December 1 they announced they had set up the Provisional Government of Kanaky.

The following interview with Jean-Marie Tjibaou — leader of the FLNKS and president of the provisional government — was conducted in France by Anne-Marie Contant and was printed in the February 11 issue of *Afrique-Asie*, a biweekly magazine published in Paris. It appeared in the March 18, 1985, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The translation from French and the footnotes are by IP.

Question. Why, in spite of the death of Eloi Machoro¹ and the buildup of French troops on the island, have you chosen to continue to negotiate?



Kanak independence fighters

Fourth International statement supports independence for Kanaks

The following is a declaration from the World Congress of the Fourth International in support of the struggle of the Kanak people of the Pacific island of New Caledonia for independence from French imperialism. The Fourth International is a world organization of revolutionary Marxists. Its World Congress, which was held in January, brought together representatives from revolutionary parties in 38 countries to discuss and debate questions of working class program and strategy.

The Kanak people's struggle for independence has speeded up greatly in the last few years. The founding congress of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front [FLNKS] in 1984 was, in this context, a further step forward in the radicalization of the struggle of the oppressed Kanak masses. The electoral boycott of November 18 last year then demonstrated a new relationship of forces on the ground and at first forced the French imperialist government of François Mitterrand to make certain verbal concessions. However, this latter is still committed to finding a neo-colonial solution that would deny the Kanak people's rights to self-determination and guarantee the preservation of the interests of French imperialism and the white settlers.

It is in this perspective that the Pisani plan was developed. This desire of French imperialism has led it to increase repressive

Answer. Because in 1985 discussion is what the FLNKS has to do. Since November 18² we have carried out actions that led the government to agree to move forward the date of this discussion, which was originally projected for 1989.

Starting from there, we have a bit of a moral obligation to proceed with these negotiations we fought for. But in another connection, it is true, we are quite boxed in by Pisani's proposal.³ Admittedly the plan is relatively open on independence, but the conditions for gaining it lead us to say that there is too much of France in it.

Concerning the referendum, it also presents a problem because as now projected, the electoral relationship of forces is not favorable to us. Self-determination at the end of January would be suicide. On the other hand, our activity over the next six months could reverse the balance.

At any rate, we are walking on a real tightrope. Our margin for maneuvering is very narrow. In a position of weakness for negotiating with Pisani, we cannot bring the pressure in the field to bear on the negotiations. To act in that manner would condemn in advance the objective that has been set; that is, that the majority of voters come out in favor of independence in the projected referendum.

Q. However, from the field itself there are reports of violent actions by Kanaks, who apparently would not share your opinion.

A. The two attitudes are part of the perspectives discussed by the Kanaks. The current that favors breaking off the negotiations exists because anger is high everywhere, although it is usually controlled anger.

1. Eloi Machoro, at 38, was shot to death by French police in New Caledonia on January 12. Leader of the Caledonian Union (UC), one of the groups making up the FLNKS, Machoro was also minister of internal security in the Provisional Government of Kanaky set up by pro-independence forces on Dec. 1, 1984.

2. The FLNKS organized a highly successful boycott of Kanaks of voting in the Nov. 18, 1984, elections for New Caledonia's Territorial Assembly.

3. Edgard Pisani is French president François Mitterrand's special envoy to New Caledonia. Under Pisani's proposal, France would give up formal sovereignty over New Caledonia, but would retain control over the country's internal and external security.

actions against the Kanak population and the activists of the FLNKS (the murder of Eloi Machoro and of Marcel Nonarro, disarming the Kanaks, house-to-house searches among the tribes). This stepping up of brutal colonial repression has also been signalled by the installation of a state of emergency, the application of which is in general oriented to stopping the mobilizations of the Kanak independence forces and sending new military reinforcements.

International solidarity is more than ever an important factor in achieving a change in the relationship of forces in favor of the Kanak people.

The Fourth International calls for the building of a mass movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Kanak people for independence. Many activities can be undertaken: petitions; delegations to French embassies; united demonstrations; official statements of the workers' and democratic movements; a campaign to denounce French colonial and military policy in the Pacific. . . .

We call for the immediate withdrawal of French occupation forces and support for the FLNKS demand for complete and immediate independence of the Kanaks.

No to the continuing colonial war!

Stop the repression!

Victory to the Kanak people!

International solidarity with the struggle of the FLNKS and the Kanak people for independence!

Q. Spontaneously controlled by each person?

A. No, usually group discipline functions. But the recent events also reflect our difficulties in coordination. Among us, information does not get around. The local media do not favor us, and you cannot even demand that they be objective. Furthermore, in our command posts the telephone is constantly monitored.

That is why we have given autonomy to our local committees, while sending them this watchword: we hold to the course of negotiations with Pisani; it is a stage that we won through our struggle. We must hold to this until the text comes out of the National Assembly. Only then will we see what new strategy to adopt.

Q. Does Pisani seem to you to be a sincere, trustworthy negotiator? Some FLNKS leaders say he is a hostage to the right.

A. We are also hostages [laughter]. Sincere, I don't know, trustworthy yes, and effective certainly. Moreover, this is a man who has complete authority and who, I am sure, has the scope of a statesman.

He knows what he wants, and he will make the decisions that are needed. Therefore, we have an interest in going as far as possible in the discussions with him so he will understand our demands. Having said that, our relationship remains a relationship of force in the sense that his mission is to ensure France's presence in the Pacific, and ours is to obtain sovereignty.

Q. In the event of a failure of the negotiations, could you move to a phase three, the stage of guerrilla war?

A. At present we do not have the weapons, so the hypothesis of a phase three is therefore foolhardy. The adversary's military strength, in terms of firepower, logistics, and training is clearly superior.

But for us, we have our cause, for which there have already been deaths, and perhaps there will be more of them. Our people are determined to win their freedom. To use an image, we are in the situation of someone in prison; it's always up to the prisoner to imagine possible ways out. It is up to him to become more intelligent than the adversary to win.

Q. How are you organized in the field?

A. Our organization into local committees has no objective other than the security of the villages. In the territory today, for every 25 people there is one member of the [French] security forces, meaning one armed man, and it is hard to know who these weapons are aimed against.

The committees have also begun to reorganize joint labor in the fields. The economic situation is hard: we must eat and enliven the community. What is beginning is the green mobilization. It is the fabric of the development plan we are beginning to work out. But, for the present, its sole objective is to ensure our survival.

All this is very unpleasant for our members because the leader discusses, discusses, discusses — but the members themselves are still in prison. The dead have been buried and no action has been authorized, not even a demonstration to allow the bitterness to be expressed. It is a weight that the people bear in their hearts.

Q. Are the majority of the Front's members new to politics?

A. There are two groups — the old timers and those who are younger. But our

4. The Federation of Kanak and Exploited Workers Unions (USTKE).

5. Of New Caledonia's 145,000 people, 42.6 percent are Kanaks, the original Melanesian inhabitants of the island; 37.1 percent are Europeans; and the remainder are immigrants from other French colonies in the Pacific and from Asia. The 12,000 immigrants from the French Pacific colony of Wallis and Futuna make up the next largest group on the island.



Jean-Marie Tjibaou

tradition of resistance to the colonial reality is such that most of our troops are made up of old-time members. People who did not become aware of the situation until November 18 form only the fringe of the movement. Of course, as everywhere, there are sheep who have little idea of what is taking place. But as a whole the people are very motivated, especially since the death of Eloi Machoro, which again tipped more than one.

Q. Through the trade union,⁴ are you in the process of creating solidarity with the other ethnic groups, for example the Wallisians?⁵

A. You find Wallisians in this union, and they are also in the other parties that make up the Front. They are, however in a minority among the Wallisians, as is the case among the Asians and the Europeans.

The problem is that they become the object of pressures and threats. Some have had their apartments ransacked, their cars dynamited. They have been subjected to gunfire.

Death threats were even addressed to the lawyer who defends our members in prison. Happily, we have the opportunity to also take advantage of the service of lawyers from here [France] who belong to the League of the Rights of Man or the International Association of Democratic Jurists.

Q. After independence Kanaky will be socialist. What does socialism mean to the Front?

A. Our socialism is not written down. We are in the process of writing it. It does not refer back to anyone, to any existing political doctrine. To define it negatively, it is the rejection of the exploitation of our patrimony by a handful of colonial settlers.

Q. Once sovereignty is reestablished, how would that sovereignty be expressed in concrete terms?

A. The new state will begin by feeding its people. It will have to support any initiative likely to create implements of labor. We also have the idea of a national service for youth in which they would devote a year of their lives to putting these implements in place. We do not want wage workers, but rather people who take responsibility for their activities.

We are a small country, and priority must be given to the small and medium-sized enterprises. Of course it will be necessary to keep the nickel, but our first objective is to create an economic fabric throughout the territory that makes the country increasingly autonomous. We will be able to sell our products in the big market of the Pacific. And then we can also count on tourism.

Q. However, for a decade the Kanaks have burned down many hotels.

A. Because we want a tourism that conforms to our traditions of welcome and is adapted to our idea of first developing small enterprises of the rural-inn type, tourism in the resident's home.

Q. You want to be autonomous. Will you have the means to do it?

Continued on Page 11

70,000 celebrate fifth anniversary of Nicaragua's People's Militia

BY ROBERTA SCHERR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Under the slogan, "The people in arms guarantee victory," as many as 70,000 Nicaraguan militia members gathered here at the Plaza of the Revolution February 26. The demonstration marked the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista People's Militias (MPS).

The militia was founded to help defend the political power of Nicaragua's workers

and peasants, who overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979 and established their own government. As Washington has escalated its military attacks on Nicaragua, the ranks of both Nicaragua's standing army and its militias have swelled, drawing in tens of thousands determined to defend the sovereignty of their country and their revolutionary government.

There are over 250,000 Nicaraguan civilians in the militias today, of whom 35 percent are women. These volunteer fighters carry out their military training after work hours every week. Many have already served in battle against U.S.-organized mercenary invaders, called *contras*.

At the rally here, militia units representing various neighborhoods, factories, and

peasant brigades from throughout the country filed into the plaza, one group at a time. The crowd roared with applause for each unit.

Baseball players, miners, artists

Armed contingents arrived from the Sandinista Workers Federation, the main union of industrial workers, and from the gold mines of Northern Zelaya province. There were Black militia members from the Atlantic Coast and baseball players in caps and uniforms, hoisting their rifles. Also there were militia members who were artists, office workers, and professionals.

While waiting for the official program to begin, militiamen began building human pyramids of three and four decks, with one young man perched on top raising his rifle high in the air. Women militia members took up the challenge, constructing their own pyramids to cheers from the crowd.

The demonstration, a massive sea of rifles and red-and-black flags, was a resounding affirmation that Nicaraguans in and out of uniform are ready and prepared to defend their country from U.S.-backed mercenaries or a direct U.S. invasion.

Civil defense drills

The demonstration had been preceded by a week of civil defense drills in communities throughout the country.

Along with several other North American supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution, this correspondent observed a practice drill in Ciudad Sandino, a working-class town on the outskirts of Managua. To simulate a military attack, Ciudad Sandino residents set off explosions in an abandoned car and house.

Led by neighborhood women, the entire community assumed military positions in preparation for what they assume will some day be a real attack. They put out fires, rushed old people, children and the disabled to safety shelters, and "captured" several people acting the role of counter-

Frontline combat units will include militias

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — At a press conference here on February 12, Commander Hugo Torres, head of the Political Directorate of the Nicaraguan army, explained the importance of the Sandinista People's Militias in defending Nicaragua from the escalating U.S. war.

The militias constitute an "essential link in the defense, bearing a high percentage of the weight of this war," he explained, and "will become a first-order force of the active resistance of the people" in the event of a direct U.S. invasion. The militias, he continued, will fight the U.S. troops and will "bog them down throughout the length and breadth of the territory where they land."

Torres pointed out that during 1984 alone, the militia units had wiped out 22 leaders of CIA-trained mercenary units and had helped frustrate several strategic plans of the counterrevolutionaries, like the attempts to prevent the elections held here last November.

He said the militia members had participated in "thousands of heroic actions in the north and south of the country, including in Special Zone I [Northern Zelaya Province] as Miskito soldiers integrated into the defense."

Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, in a February 7 speech, announced that new militia training programs will be initiated, which every member will have completed by June. Some of the units, he said, will also be called to participate in "campaign courses" of up to 40 days in the field, including in combat zones.

Leadership of the militias will also be strengthened. "We must choose as officers and squadron chiefs," Ortega said, "the most decisive, the most disciplined, the most efficient, the most capable." These people, men and women, will be trained in national schools, as well as through part-time courses and study groups.

Mobilizations bring in coffee crop

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua is now completing a successful national mobilization to bring in this year's coffee harvest, despite efforts by U.S.-paid mercenaries to prevent the crop from being picked.

Coffee is Nicaragua's most important cash crop, accounting for about U.S.\$130 million of this country's U.S.\$400 million in yearly foreign exchange earnings. The harvest is concentrated in the mountainous north-central part of the country. CIA-trained terrorists are active in many coffee zones.

Thousands of Nicaraguan volunteers have gone on brigades to the coffee zones, many of them government employees organized by the National Union of Employees. Also participating were factory workers organized by the Sandinista Workers Federation; peasants organized by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers; and small vendors from Managua's Eastern Market, organized by the Sandinista Defense Committee.

To guarantee the safety of the pickers, it was necessary to mobilize thousands of troops from the army and militia. Most of the militia members came from the coffee-growing areas themselves. Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, in a speech here January 30, explained, "In some cases, comrades who are coffee producers, and in many cases, thousands of comrades who are traditional coffee pickers, peasants from these zones, have been mobilized to attend to the task that is above all others — the defense of the homeland."

Ortega was speaking to government employees as they were preparing to leave for the coffee harvest. In his talk, the Nicaraguan president explained the importance of a successful harvest and why government workers were being asked to make a special effort to assure the crop was brought in.

The over 300 government workers listening to him were an initial contingent from the Ministry of Culture, Nicaraguan Institute of Surveys and Censuses, Nicaraguan Institute of Territorial Studies, Nicaraguan Institute of Natural Resources, and several other government offices. These departments were being shut down completely so that their staffs could join the coffee harvest.

The temporary closing of several government departments dramatized the high price the U.S. war is costing the people of Nicaragua. And the decision of thousands of government employees to volunteer for the harvest underscored their willingness to sacrifice to help advance the Nicaraguan revolution.

Originally, some 20,000 student volunteers from the Managua area had been scheduled to take part in the coffee harvest. "But when the coffee harvesters were about to begin mobilizing, that crisis provoked by the lies of the U.S. government took place," Ortega explained, referring to U.S. military threats and provocations against Nicaragua last November. "This led us, in those first days of November, to suspend the mobilization of thousands of youth who were organized in the Student Production Battalions, so that those young people

could remain in Managua to strengthen the city's defenses," said Ortega.

"Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock put it well at the time: it was preferable for the coffee to fall, but that the homeland should not fall."

"And we are sure," continued Ortega, "that this decision on the part of the Nicaraguan people to defend peace to the end has been the main factor that has contained the U.S. government in its desire to invade Nicaragua, because they know that this would not be easy, that they would be met here by the organized resistance of the people, by the combativity of the people."

As the harvest began, U.S.-financed counterrevolutionary bands began setting fire to state, private, and cooperative farms, murdering peasants and coffee pickers.

"The strategy was clear," said Ortega. "It was to terrorize the private producers so that they wouldn't harvest the coffee. But above all it was to terrorize the pickers, the traditional pickers and the volunteer pickers, so that there wouldn't be sufficient labor to get in the coffee."

"That would have been a tremendous blow, both politically and economically, to the country. It would have given the U.S. administration arguments to tell Congress that the mercenary forces are effective."

"And prevention of the coffee harvest would have meant the moral defeat of the Nicaraguan people."

Despite the CIA attacks, the Sandinista leader reported, the harvest was being gathered successfully. "We are making a maximum effort in the final stage of the harvest to get as close as possible to the goals we had set for ourselves. In that way, the victory will be greater."

"Every coffee bean that we succeed in picking — in the face of the aggression of the mercenary forces, the CIA, and imperialism — is a coffee bean that goes to the benefit of the people's work, the people's health, the Nicaraguan people's future."

Ortega explained that the material resources necessary to keep the government apparatus going "does not come from the efforts of state workers. It comes from the efforts of the toilers of the countryside."

"It is the peasants, the agricultural workers — with their efforts to produce coffee, produce cotton, produce sugar cane, produce basic grains — who give life to the administrative apparatus."

"Thus, to temporarily close some institutions, some ministries, to close all the ministries for two or three months doesn't mean liquidating the life of the country. But to shut down production does mean to shut down the life of the country."

CIA terror in Nicaragua exposed

Continued from front page

wallet, they "came and cut the throats of the people who stayed on the truck," reported Briones. "When they were finished, they set the truck on fire. From where I was lying, I could hear the groans and the screams of those who were being burned alive."

In that one incident, 21 civilians — ranging in age from five to 60 — were killed; eight were wounded; and one kidnapped.

Digna Barreda de Ubeda, 29, described what happened to her and her husband when they were kidnapped by contras in the same area. Barreda didn't try to hide the fact that she supports the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which led the 1979 revolution.

Referring to her captors, Barreda explained, "There were 50 or 60 of them in the group, and over five days they took turns raping me until each had had his chance." Meanwhile, she reported, others stabbed her with bayonets. At times, they would make her husband — who they had beaten severely — watch.

Barreda also described what happened to a peasant who had been kidnapped by the same group. "They asked him if he loved the revolution," she recalled. "He said, 'Yes, I love the revolution, because it has given me land, which is more than Somoza ever did.'"

"So they started to gouge out his eyes with a spoon," she said. "Then they bayoneted him through the neck" and finished him off with a burst of machine-gun fire."

According to the Americas Watch report, the contras systematically execute their prisoners, including wounded govern-

ment soldiers.

Robert Goldman, a lawyer who helped prepare the report, explained, "What we have found time and time again is that, with indiscriminate mortar attacks, the contras treat whole civilian locales as if it were a legitimate military target."

Americas Watch also pointed out that "the United States has aided and abetted the contras in committing abuses by organizing, training, supplying and financing them."

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's response to the reports was to call into question their accuracy — without even pretending to provide any facts that would disprove a single one of the reported incidents.

Another senior State Department official simply shrugged off the reports of atrocities, saying, "You can't have a major foreign policy initiative without glitches and problems." He added that, "There were U.S. atrocities during World War II and Vietnam."

BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:
Barricada Internacional
Apdo. No. 576
Managua, Nicaragua



State employees mobilize to pick coffee

revolutionary invaders.

Drills like these were repeated throughout the country. The February 26 rally was a national celebration of the success of these drills.

The rally was called to order as fighter planes flew overhead, followed by two Nicaraguan helicopters dropping confetti on the crowd. The thousands of armed citizens thrust their guns in the air and cheered as the aircraft zoomed overhead.

A proud and combative spirit showed on the faces of participants, from the oldest woman to the smallest child.

International support

Many international supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution were present. We were welcomed with comradery and fraternity. There were many North Americans who had worked on coffee harvest brigades, as well as members of tour groups sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc.

This correspondent met several international delegations, including a group of young Polish farmers who had come to help with the coffee harvest. There were brigade volunteers from Australia, Germany, Costa Rica, Panama, Chile, and Spain.

Humberto Ortega, Nicaraguan minister of defense, gave the keynote speech at the rally.

Stressing that Nicaraguans would never accept a return to life as it was under Somoza, Ortega pointed to the need to further consolidate the militias and speed up their combat training.

U.S. military maneuvers

He noted that the militia rally was taking place as thousands of U.S. troops were carrying out military maneuvers in Honduras and the U.S. government was preparing steps to escalate its mercenary war against Nicaragua. Despite the fact that the U.S.-paid contras have suffered big blows from Sandinista troops and militia members, Ortega said, Washington still hopes to use these terrorists to establish a "provisional government" on Nicaraguan soil to lay the basis for a bigger counterrevolutionary intervention.

Ortega reaffirmed that the Nicaraguan government will continue to probe every possible diplomatic opportunity to force Washington to negotiate and end its war. At the same time, he emphasized, the militias will not neglect for a moment their mil-



Young militia members celebrate fifth anniversary

Militant/Michael Pennock

itary preparations in defense of their revolution.

"Are we going to limp in front of the powerful maneuvers of the war makers? Are we going to get down on our knees?" he asked. The militias responded with a resounding "No!"

"We only get down on our knees to sow seeds in the ground or to aim our rifle at the enemy," said Ortega. The crowd chanted for several minutes: "Here — there — the yankees will die!"

After singing the Sandinista hymn, which marked the end of the rally, the Na-

tional Palace lit up from the numerous rounds of fireworks launched from its rooftop. Five stars that had been placed on the roof of the palace were ignited — one for each year of the MPS.

The crowd broke into festivities as several bands struck up well-known songs. At one end of the plaza a big circle dance began where young couples of armed militia men and women took turns dancing in the middle, using the guns to complement their graceful steps.

Paper bulls were ignited as young men lifted them over their heads, teasing the

crowd by "charging" with their flaming decorations.

A final cheer was raised as about 50 peasant militiamen on horseback galloped into the plaza and rode through the crowd. They were members of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers.

The militia units left the plaza, unit by unit, when it began to get dark. At the head of one unit was a 13-year-old girl from a Managua neighborhood who told this correspondent, "Go back to the United States and tell the young people that we want peace here in Nicaragua, but we are not afraid, we will be ready if they come."

Fourth International World Congress

The World Congress of the Fourth International was held in January. The Fourth International is an international organization of revolutionary Marxists which was founded in 1938.

The declaration printed below was issued by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on February 18.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sent a delegation of 28 fraternal delegates and observers to the congress. Due to reactionary U.S. laws, the SWP is prevented from being the U.S. section of the Fourth International.

The 12th World Congress of the Fourth International took place during January. It brought together 200 delegates, fraternal delegates, observers, and invited guests.

Six resolutions were on the congress' agenda:

- A resolution on the world situation, focusing on the effects and the developments of the crisis in the different sectors of the world revolution — with special attention to the struggle against austerity and militarization — and focusing on the priorities for activities and campaigns of the International and its sections.

- A resolution on the lessons and the perspectives of the revolution in Central America, which pays special attention to drawing the strategic lessons of the Nicaraguan revolution and to defining the present context of the campaign of solidarity against the imperialist intervention and the campaign of solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

The discussion dealt with, among other things, the character of the Sandinista government, its economic policy, and the present situation of the revolution in El Salvador.

- A resolution entitled "Political Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland," which deals with the biggest experience of a mass uprising against the bureaucracy, the gains of Solidarity, and the tasks of the resistance under General Jaruzelski's regime.

In addition to these three documents dealing with the principal questions of international current events, two other documents took up programmatic questions of a more general nature:

- The first, on the relevance of the theory of the permanent revolution and the notion of a workers and farmers government, reaffirms the validity and the relevance of the general programmatic framework of the formation of the Fourth International in light of the main events taking place in the class struggle.

- The second, entitled "Socialist Democracy and Dictatorship of the Proletariat," continues and concludes a discussion that began at the previous world congress. It summarizes what the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers states and the antibureaucratic struggles have taught us on the question of the relationship between the revolutionary government and democracy (the relationship between parties, unions, and states after the revolution, guarantee of democratic rights, pluralism, functional character of democracy from the vantage point of economic planning, etc.).

- Finally, a written and oral report on "The Present Stage of Building the Fourth International" laid out the perspectives and tasks for the years to come, and deals with the question of relations between the Inter-

national and its sections and other revolutionary currents, the question of the social transformation of the sections and their becoming rooted in the key industrial sectors and popular movements, the question of the functioning and leadership structures of the International as such.

All these resolutions were the subject of reports and counterreports presented either by declared international tendencies (of which there were two), or by delegates representing the majority in their respective sections.

The documents presented by the outgoing majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International won a big majority, ranging from 66 percent to 80 percent of the votes depending on the subject. They will be issued in a special publication.

The congress also received written organizational reports from the outgoing leadership on its activity as a whole and on the policy of educating cadres.

A significant part of the work of the congress involved meetings and reports of commissions on the situation of certain sections. On the basis of the report from the credentials commission, five new sections of the Fourth International were recognized (Brazil, Uruguay, Ecuador, Senegal, Iceland), as well as new sympathizing groups in several countries. In total, the International is today present in some 50 countries.

At the conclusion of its work, the congress elected a new International Executive Committee (IEC), with a smaller membership than the outgoing body in order to improve its functioning and the regularity of its meetings. The IEC in turn elected a Secretariat.

The International Executive Committee, comprised of members from 27 different sections, and the Secretariat, comprised at this point of members from 12 different sections (it is reelected by each IEC), are in charge of leading the International until the next world congress.

Having opened with a tribute to the members who died since the last world congress, the 12th World Congress closed with a declaration of solidarity with all the activists and fighters in the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and antibureaucratic struggle throughout the world.

In addition to the general orientation resolutions, the congress adopted a series of motions in solidarity with the British miners, the upcoming antiwar demonstrations on April 20 in the United States, the liberation struggle of the Irish people, the political prisoners in Syria, and our imprisoned comrades in Japan.



Fed up with Reagan's lies about Nicaragua? — Come see Nicaragua for yourself!

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., provides an opportunity to view the accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution.

You will visit factories and agricultural communities; meet with activists from the unions, women's and youth organizations; learn about economic planning, health care, education, and the arts. You will see firsthand the effects of the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua and the efforts the people are making to defend their country.

Eight-day tours visit cities on the Pacific Coast. Fifteen-day tours include a visit to the Atlantic Coast at Bluefields.

May Day Tour April 28-May 5 or April 28-May 12
6th Anniversary Tour July 17-31 (15 days only)

Tour Cost \$700 8 days from Miami
\$950 15 days from Miami

A \$150 deposit reserves a space with full payment due 30 days prior to departure. Space is limited to 20 people. Participants must have a passport valid for at least 6 months after the date of entry into Nicaragua. Write to: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., 410 West St., New York, NY 10014 (212) 929-8994.

Pedro J. González — lifelong fighter tells his story

BY HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN

SAN YSIDRO, Calif. — At a modest house in a working-class neighborhood of this predominantly Chicano and Mexican community, Pedro J. González lives with María Salcido, his life-long companion. In fact, their home is located just three blocks away from where, last July, one of the worst one-man massacres in U.S. history took place at a McDonald's restaurant. Most of the victims of that racist shoot-out were people just like Pedro J. González and his family: Chicanos and Mexicanos.

I met Pedro and María while visiting San Ysidro during a California-wide tour in my fight against deportation and to help build the April 20 demonstrations against the U.S. war in Central America.

Getting to know them was a tremendous source of inspiration for me, as it has been for a good number of people in the area and around the country who are learning of their lifelong revolutionary struggle. They were the subject of a recent documentary film, "Ballad of an Unsung Hero."

Throughout his fight against social injustice and racist oppression, González has had many exciting experiences and more than a few problems with government repression, including almost being executed by a firing squad, frame-up and imprisonment, and one deportation.

To this day he is still fighting with the same commitment as ever.

On April 28 he will be 90 years old.

A legendary and heroic life

Pedro J. González has recently become a popular figure. Reviews on the documentary have appeared in newspapers from the *New York Times* to the *Los Angeles Times*; a book is being written about him; a monument in his honor will be built in Culver City, near Los Angeles; and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley issued a proclamation declaring Dec. 22, 1984, "Pedro G. González Day."

González' revolutionary life began in 1910 at the outset of the Mexican revolution, in which at least one million peasants gave their lives fighting for "land and freedom" to overthrow the despotic dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and to defend Mexico's national sovereignty against its northern neighbor. Two giant peasant revolutionary armies under the leaderships of Francisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata initiated the struggle and were the main rebel military contingents.

In 1910, González was a young telegrapher, 14 years old, at Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Then he decided to join Francisco Villa's forces, and soon he became Villa's personal telegrapher.

Although he came from a middle-class family, González was shocked by the brutal exploitation and miserable living conditions to which the peasants were subjected.

"I was a privileged one, but I saw the differences in social conditions and wanted to do something to change the situation," he said. He proved to be a courageous fighter.

He was a participant in such important battles as those of Zacatecas, Torreon, and Zelaya.

In 1914, at the Sierra Madre in Chihuahua, he was shot through the abdomen, but he survived. On another occasion, he was hit in the chest by a bullet. "Look," he said, showing his scar. "It didn't kill me because it hit me on an angle. Even General Villa thought I was dead. But I wasn't!"

In 1916, as Villa's forces were being attacked by the army led by Venustiano Carranza — who later became president of Mexico — González was arrested and sentenced to death.

However, as he was facing the firing squad after the order to shoot had been given, a group of young women got in between him and the soldiers. That act succeeded in halting the execution. Soon after, he was released on condition that he leave the country.

He came to the North.

One of the women who saved his life was María Salcido, to whom he has been married for 64 years.

Mexican migration to the U.S.

As a result of the lengthy civil war, the Mexican economy was in crisis. Also, the revolution had removed some of the restraints on the poor Mexicans. Freed from peonage, they were increasingly being hired to work in the large U.S. agricultural fields and on the Southern Pacific and Sante Fe railroads.

One of these immigrants was González, who went to Los Angeles, where he became a longshoreman.

There he experienced the racist discrimination fostered by the ruling class to divide working people.

Union misleaders echoed the racist and chauvinist campaign of the rulers that was particularly intense during World War I.

"There was an organized union where I worked, but I couldn't be a member because I wasn't a citizen," González recalled.

In the early 1920s he decided to establish a radio program, the first one in Spanish in the United States. He used it to fight against racist discrimination and deportation of Mexicans. Pedro broadcast an early morning wake-up show geared to Spanish-speaking workers heading to the fields and factories in the Southern California area and far beyond. The program made him very popular among Mexicans and Chicanos.

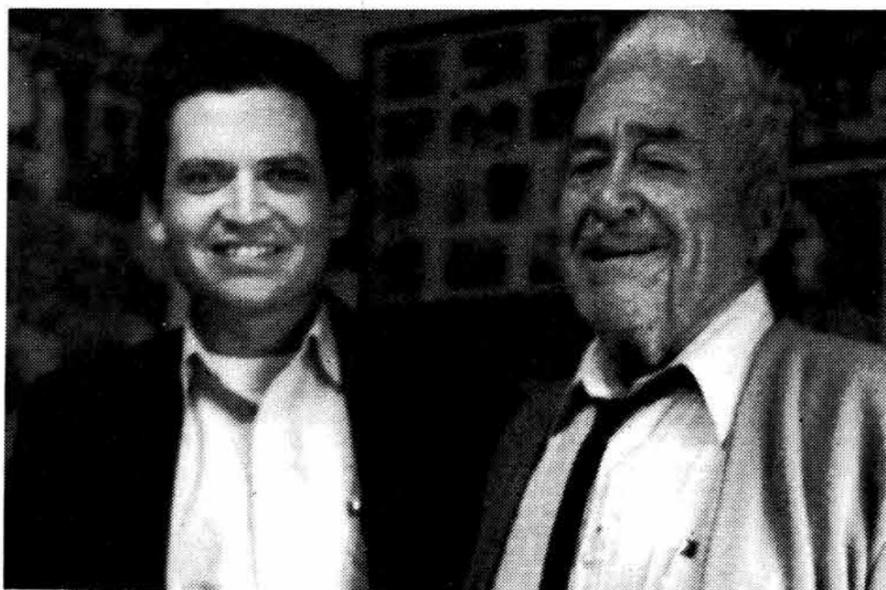
The Great Depression and deportations

With the Great Depression of the 1930s, immigrant workers were increasingly used as scapegoats by the ruling class. The media, orchestrating a racist campaign, called for a curb on Mexican immigration.

A deportation campaign was launched between the years 1931-1934. An estimated one-half million people of Mexican descent were deported. These included tens of thousands of Chicanos, as well as first-generation Mexican immigrants.

With his radio program, González was in the forefront of the opposition to this racist campaign.

Because of his tremendous popularity, the government decided to attack him. In 1934, he was framed up on a charge of



Militant/Araceli Martínez

Pedro J. González (right) with Héctor Marroquín in San Ysidro. The inspiring story of González' life was recently made known through a TV documentary, "Ballad of an Unsung Hero."

rape. The woman who had made the accusation soon withdrew it, declaring that she had been forced into it by the cops.

Prison and a hunger strike

Yet in 1936, González was sentenced to 50 years in prison. He spent six years at hard labor in San Quentin.

"They treated us like dogs," he said. "Beans was the food every day. People the prison authorities didn't like were put in extremely unhealthy and dangerous work situations. Many just died."

Several friends of his were sent to the hospital, supposedly "sick." They didn't come out alive.

Yet González continued to speak out against prison injustice. "I was called 'the defender' in San Quentin because I always stood up for *la Raza* [Chicano nationality]," he told me. "A number of times they placed me in solitary confinement for that reason."

González could not be broken. He helped organize a hunger strike that involved almost all the 10,000 prison inmates — most of whom were Latino or Black.

Meanwhile, María was organizing a huge defense effort that won the support of many Latino and labor activists from around the country. In Mexico, his supporters included two presidents who issued their protests to U.S. government authorities.

The defense campaign eventually won his release from prison. But he was deported back to Mexico after living in the "land of the free and home of the brave" for a quarter of a century.

Meanwhile, several of his sons were being sent to fight in the second imperialist world war to defend "democracy."

Back in Tijuana, González continued his radio program. Eventually he was able to come back to live in the United States with his wife and family — 96 people, including children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

Since his return, U.S. authorities have treated him with kid gloves, he says. "They even granted me citizenship."

Today he is also a member of the Mexican Confederation of Veterans of the Revolution.

Learning from his experiences

At his home, González has turned one of the rooms into a little museum where one gets a feeling for his rich experiences. Prominently displayed are pictures of Francisco "Pancho" Villa and Emiliano Zapata, the two central leaders of the Mexican revolution.

González and María Salcido now find themselves busy with a growing number of visitors, admirers, and friends.

To this day, González continues to speak out against deportations and racist discrimination. "When I see anyone from *la Raza* being harassed by the police, I get involved right away in defending them," he says, with an angry look on his face.

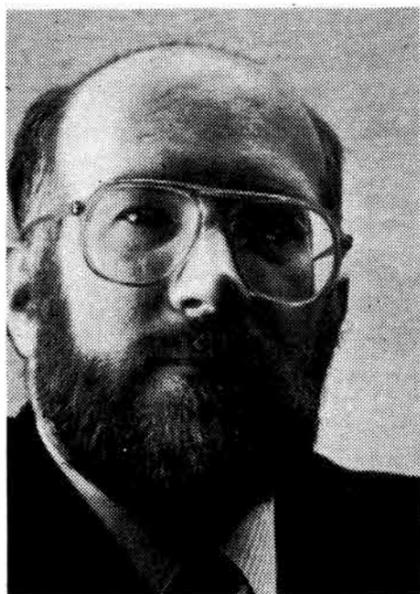
Marroquín is an undocumented worker from Mexico who has waged a seven-year fight against deportation. He is demanding that the Immigration and Naturalization Service grant him permanent residency status.

St. Louis socialist wins spot on ballot

BY HILDE EDLER

ST. LOUIS — Bruce Kimball, a coal miner running for mayor of St. Louis, won ballot status on January 29 after filing petitions with 4,300 signatures.

In the April 2 general election, Kimball will be facing the current mayor, Vincent Schoemehl, who won the March 5 Democratic primary; and Curtis Crawford, a



Bruce Kimball

Black attorney who filed at the last moment as the Republican candidate.

Since gaining ballot status, the Socialist Workers campaign has been invited to several candidates forums. Most of these forums were held in the Black community prior to the Democratic primary election in which four candidates opposed Schoemehl.

The largest campaign event was a debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters and broadcast live on radio and TV. Kimball's responses drew many rounds of applause from the 350 people who attended the debate. Most of those in the audience were supporters of Freeman Bosley, a Black alderman running for mayor in the Democratic Party primary.

Bosley's candidacy had been a major topic of discussion, since many Blacks in this majority-Black city thought it was time for a Black mayor. Bosley was supported by Progressives United, a coalition of Black activists, many of whom had been part of Jesse Jackson's Democratic presidential campaign. Their campaign called for unity among Blacks around a single candidate and featured "dump Schoemehl" rallies.

During the debate, Kimball drew the best response when he hit the racist policies of the Schoemehl administration. He condemned the police as an occupation force in the Black community and cited the 1983 police killing of Marilyn Banks, a young Black woman, as an example.

"Instead of promoting anticrime campaigns," Kimball said, "the mayor should take his number-one campaign contributor — Anheuser-Busch — and throw them in jail for their highly publicized practice of racial discrimination in hiring."

Kimball blasted the mayor's boycott of the debate as racist.

Following the debate, one local TV station reported that Kimball called for abolishing the police force and taxes. This was heard by many of Kimball's coworkers and provided more opportunities to discuss the role of the police as an antilabor and anti-Black occupation force.

While the Black community has provided several opportunities for the socialist campaign to be heard, the major media in St. Louis has been less open. Since the March 5 Democratic primary, neither of the daily newspapers has included Kimball as a candidate running against Schoemehl.

Campaign supporters have distributed brochures in the mine where Kimball works, as well as at area auto plants. Socialist campaigners have also attended weekly anti-apartheid protests and biweekly vigils against the U.S. war in Central America.

The Socialist Workers' candidate and many supporters of his campaign participated in a rice sale at parity prices by the American Agriculture Movement in St. Louis' Black community on February 23. Kimball issued a statement supporting the action.

British miners forced to call off strike



British miners have gone back, but continue fight for jobs. Union is demanding amnesty for members victimized during strike and since it ended.

Continued from Page 3

agreement. They did not agree to the Coal Board's plans to shut down "uneconomic" mines.

As NUM president Arthur Scargill explained when he announced the decision of the delegates to return to work, "The dispute goes on. We will continue to fight pit [mine] closures and job losses. This union will continue to fight, and if that means that we have to consider taking action again, then we shall do so."

"We faced not an employer, but a government aided and abetted by the judiciary, the police, and you people in the media," Scargill told the press. "At the end of this time, our people have suffered tremendous hardship."

362 days on strike

The strike is the longest major strike in British history and one that saw the largest and most sustained mobilization of police.

It was sparked by the decision of the Coal Board on March 6, 1984, to shut down mines that didn't make enough profit — "uneconomic pits."

The Coal Board announced that it would reduce output by 4 million tons, closing down around 20 mines and throwing some 20,000 miners out of work. Within 12 days, 150,000 of Britain's 180,000 coal miners were out on strike.

From the beginning the union took the stand that mines should only be closed down when they were exhausted or unsafe to work. The NUM challenged the right of the Coal Board to shut down productive mines — ones that provided high-grade coal and thousands of jobs — just because they didn't make enough profit. According to Prime Minister Thatcher, this was an "impossible demand."

But as Scargill said, "Our struggle is based on the most basic tenets of trade unionism, which include a responsibility to protect the jobs of today for the workers of tomorrow. The principles involved are ones we will not surrender."

From the very beginning, a significant section of the NUM based in the highly productive coalfields of Nottinghamshire refused to join the strike. The "Notts" miners were more highly paid and faced no threats of layoffs. They have historically constituted a right-wing base within the NUM. They formed the Nottinghamshire "Working Miners Committee" and worked against the strike.

But for the majority of the NUM — from Yorkshire, Kent, Scotland, and South Wales, the strike saw an unprecedented level of solidarity and courage. Not only from miners, but miners' wives, children, and particularly the other working people in the coal-mining communities.

Mass pickets stood off police attacks of a scope and ferocity previously unknown in British labor history. The wives of miners participated in the political and organizational life of the strike on a day-to-day basis. Without strike benefits, it was only this kind of unity and solidarity that enabled the miners to hold out as long as they did.

And despite denials by the government and the media, the strike was having a big impact on the economy. The miners' strike will probably cost the British ruling class more than £3 billion (\$3.2 billion). It was a price the employers were willing to pay to try to housebreak the NUM, historically the country's most militant labor union.

In the end, it was the refusal of the Trades Union Congress — TUC, the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO — and the British Labor Party to back up the NUM that forced the miners to return to work.

NUM stood alone

Scargill placed the blame squarely on the leaders of organized labor in Britain for the miners' isolation. "The trade union movement in Britain, with a few notable exceptions, has left this union isolated," he said. "They have not carried out the Trades Union Congress decisions, to their eternal shame."

Although the TUC had passed a resolution promising "total support" to the miners' strike, it remained a paper resolution. Nationally organized support came only from the rail unions and the seamen, with some rail workers refusing to haul scab coal.

The crucial support that was needed from the steelworkers, power workers, transport workers, dockers, electricians and the rest of organized labor never came. Heavily guarded truck convoys continued to bring scab coal into the steel mills. The power-workers' unions didn't stop the flow of fuel into the power stations.

And top Labor Party leaders, including Neil Kinnock, and TUC officials worked to undercut the NUM politically at every turn.

"When history comes to examine this dispute," Scargill said, "there will be a glaring omission — the fact that trade unionists have been standing on the sidelines."

Turning point

A decisive turning point in the strike came in mid-February when the TUC officialdom negotiated a sell-out with the Coal Board and the government.

The NUM had authorized the TUC to negotiate, since the government refused to deal directly with the NUM leadership.

But once behind closed doors, the TUC officials capitulated.

In a series of meetings with the Coal Board and the government, the TUC leaders worked out an agreement that — as Scargill pointed out — was worse than the original Coal Board pit-closure plan that had sparked the strike a year earlier.

Behind the backs of the NUM, the TUC officials gave in on the key issue of the strike. The TUC misleaders conceded to the Coal Board the right to close mines on the grounds that they were "uneconomic" — the issue at the very heart of the strike!

TUC general secretary Norman Willis and a delegation of TUC officials went so far as to meet with Prime Minister Thatcher to assure her that they could prevail on the

NUM to be reasonable and accept the deal.

It was the first time Thatcher had agreed to meet with trade union officials since the strike began. Until then, she claimed the government would not get involved.

The NUM unanimously rejected the Thatcher-backed TUC deal. Scargill said the NUM would never agree to any settlement that would make the union complicit in the closings of mines and the layoff of miners.

"The Board has made it absolutely clear that it wants more than the pit-closure program of 6 March 1984," Scargill said of the deal. "The Government wants to prove to the British trade union movement that it is useless and senseless to resist unemployment, the destruction of industries, the erosion of health and social services. The Government is bent on snuffing out trade unionism itself."

The big-business media blared that the NUM was unreasonable and irresponsible in rejecting an agreement that the entire organized trade union movement supported. They urged open rebellion against Scargill.

The government and the Coal Board took a hard line and refused to negotiate with the NUM except on the basis of the deal with the TUC.

The TUC officials were able to roll their eyes and wash their hands of the strike, claiming they had done their best to bring about a reasonable settlement and could do no more.

The *Daily Telegraph* editorialized that the miners could "look no further for gestures of support from TUC or labor leadership. . . . He [Scargill] is really on his own."

Added pressure came when on March 2 the government said no pay increases would be considered until all miners were back at work and after the NUM called off its 25-month national ban on overtime.

This was followed by the decision of the Notts miners to call off their overtime ban. Up to this point, the Notts miners had abided by this NUM decision, even while continuing to work.

It was in this context that the special delegates' conference was held on March 3 to decide a course of action. The question by this time was not so much whether or not to go back, but under what conditions.

The effect of the TUC officials' sellout had not been lost on the striking miners themselves.

Many miners had already gone back to work, driven by the hardships and worn down by the length of the strike.

Now, miners who had hung tough for almost 12 months began to go back, sensing that their chances for victory had been sold out by the TUC. On the Friday preceding the delegates' conference, more miners returned to work than on any single day since the strike began.

In Yorkshire, a stronghold of the strike, 1,014 miners went back that day, for example. While the NUM disputed this and many other Coal Board figures on the return to work, they acknowledged a sizable drift back to work was occurring.

The delegates faced a number of alternatives: sign the TUC agreement — a posi-

tion with not a shred of support; return to work without an agreement and seek to continue the fight by other means; or stay out until the issue of amnesty and other issues were settled.

The motion that was passed came from the South Wales area — one of the most solid throughout the strike. The motion recognized that there was now a "drift back of members to work in all areas and that it had now become clear that the Coal Board have no intentions whatsoever to have any discussions with the union . . ." short of an ultimatum to accept the TUC deal.

The motion passed narrowly by a vote of 98 to 91 over a motion from Yorkshire — the largest coalfield. The defeated Yorkshire motion called on the union to continue the strike until amnesty for all victimized miners was won, and the future of mines marked for closure was assured, as well as assurances for the miners who had been on strike in areas where strikers were in the minority such as in Nottinghamshire.

Sentiment to stay out for amnesty was strong, as reflected in the close vote. Miners from Scotland and the Kent coalfield — which had been one of the most militant centers of the strike — voted to stay out until amnesty was won even after the rest of the union went back. In Scotland the miners stayed out for a few days and in Kent for a week over the amnesty issue, but are now also back at work.

The final decision of the miners reflected their judgment that it was better to go back to work together at that point, rather than allow the drift back to work to bleed the union's strength.

They recognized that the rock-hard intransigence of the ruling class could only be broken with a major show of solidarity from the rest of the labor movement — and that was clearly not forthcoming.

Go back to work with heads high

On March 5 most miners went back to work, marching behind union banners with fists clenched and shouting union slogans. They marched in the thousands behind brass bands and bagpipers, wearing badges that said, "I backed my union, I didn't scab."

At Mardy Colliery in South Wales, a mine solid to a man throughout the strike, miners' wives handed out carnations as the chant went up, "Mardy miners have not come back on their knees."

Scenes like these were repeated throughout Britain when the miners returned.

"Our people are walking back with pride," Arthur Scargill said. "The battle goes on until the threat of unemployment is lifted from our communities."

In a year-long battle, an entire generation of British miners has been given a class-struggle education.

In the miners' wives, a new battalion has come forward to join the struggle.

The British miners have vowed to continue their fight. As the NUM points out, although a big battle has been lost, the war is not over.

Interview with Kanak leader Tjibaou

Continued from Page 7

A. Within the Pacific, our country is the one with the greatest potential in terms of agricultural, forest, mining resources, etc. Around us there are important markets: Japan, Singapore, Australia. We have advantages.

In addition, in our discussions with France on the passage to independence, we can negotiate our strategic position. Whether we opt for neutrality or we sign very narrowly focused military intervention pacts in the region with other countries, all this is up for discussion.

Q. Are you ready to sign a military agreement with France if, in return, France provides you some assistance?

A. This will be the subject of discussions, but only, of course, after the referendum.

Q. Do you think you are ready to allow the Europeans to remain after independence?

A. I think that those who killed our

brothers in Hienghène cannot remain.⁶ They will not be able to live in peace. Our looks alone will make them feel they are not welcome.

Q. Will they leave on their own?

A. I do not know. In any event, those from Tiendanite left on their own.

Q. What do you think about the multiracial society that Pisani talks about?

A. I don't know what that means. The multiracial society is a concept linked to the colonial situation of New Caledonia.

Does anyone talk about a multiracial society and a pact between communities for French society? No. Yet when you travel in the subway, you note that few cars don't have some color in them.

Ultimately, in my view, a multiracial society is a yoke you force people into to live

6. Ten Kanaks, including two brothers of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, were murdered in an ambush near the town of Hienghène on December 5.

together. Because it remains to be seen how you would organize the economic, cultural space in such a society. All this has a smell of racism. For me, a country can exist with a consensus on which you set up a development program. And in this perspective, people must not line up on the basis of race, but as national citizens or workers with an interest in the country.

Q. One last question. What has been your impression of the solidarity in France?

A. Extraordinary! Sincerely, the meeting organized in Paris warmed my heart. The solidarity is important, especially for the Europeans in New Caledonia who support us and are, therefore, classified as traitors.

In addition, if the Caldoches [European settlers] feel that there is a strong movement in France in favor of independence, a segment of them will perhaps more readily decide to vote "yes." We have already said that independence is the sole solution for those who want to remain in our territory to be able to live there in peace.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Movement for a Free United Ireland. Speakers: Eamonn Boyle, chairman, Phoenix Irish Northern Aid; Scott Egan, Tucson Irish Northern Aid; Elen Lauper, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell #3. Donation: \$2. For more information call (602) 272-4062.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Farmers in Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Julius Anderson, Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

Freedom Struggle Benefit. Featuring jazz singers, entertainers, and poets. The Ojeda Penn Experience, Alice Lovelace, Woodie Neal Parsons, and Lee Heuermann. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. Atlanta Junior College Auditorium, 1360 Stewart Ave. Tickets: \$4 in advance, \$5 at the door. Children free. Ausp: National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

No More Vietnams in Central America and Caribbean! Down With Apartheid in South Africa! Join NBIPP on April 20 in going to Washington, D.C., for the march against war and oppression. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

An Evening in Defense of the Sanctuary Movement. The plight of Central American Refugees. Speakers: Maria Elena, Salvadoran refugee in sanctuary in Louisville. "Frontline" video on sanctuary movement. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Revolution in Africa: Burkina Faso. Speaker: Mélégué Traoré, chargé d'affaires for embassy of Burkina Faso. Sat., March 16, 7:30 p.m.

2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Farmers and the Fight for Peace: Report Back from Nicaragua. Speakers: Wagner Rios, leader of North American farmers' tour to Nicaragua; Dick Wood, Maine farmer and longtime farmer activist, toured Nicaragua; Jon Hillson, member Socialist Workers Party and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, worked in agricultural center in Nicaragua. Sun., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Freedom Struggle in South Africa. A panel discussion. Speakers: Kjati Sathekge, member African National Congress of South Africa; Bill Hackett, Midwest Coalition Against Apartheid; Kibwe Diarra, member Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 1200. Sun., March 17, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

The Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Farmers? A panel discussion. Sun., March 24, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Toxic Waste Time Bomb: Who Is Responsible, Who Should Pay? Speakers: Madelyn Hoffman, chair, Grassroots Environmental Organization; Frank Forrester, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 22. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (cor. Raymond, one block from Broad). Donation: dinner, \$3; forum \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

North American activists tour Ghana

Continued from front page

for the Sovereignty and Independence of Ghana, was to oppose similar imperialist efforts to intervene against the current process in Ghana.

Other speakers addressed similar themes and answered questions from the Ghanaian journalists about the Black, human rights, and labor movements in the United States. Speaking to the reporters were Elombe Brath, a long-time supporter of Pan Africanism and a founder of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Lotsu Anenuvor, also of the Solidarity Committee for the Sovereignty and Independence of Ghana; Margaret Burnham, a representative of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the former defense lawyer for Angela Davis; Alfie Roberts, a Black-rights activist in Montreal, Canada, who is originally from St. Vincent in the Caribbean; and myself, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

The news conference was briefly covered on the radio and television news programs that night, as well as in the next

day's *Ghanaian Times*, which featured it as the main front-page story.

Throughout the delegation's tour, it received a considerable amount of attention. Besides various news articles in the press, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation taped a half hour panel discussion with Elombe Brath, Margaret Burnham, and Alfie Roberts on the theme of "Pan Africanism and Ghana's Independence."

On March 9, at a rally to mark the opening of the National Secretariat of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, two members of the delegation, Elombe Brath and Margaret Burnham, gave greetings.

"We count ourselves among the friends of Ghana," Burnham told the crowd, "and we know that Ghana has millions of friends across the globe. We also know that Ghana has enemies. Those enemies are imperialism, neocolonialism, and the Pretoria [South Africa] regime. . . . We count ourselves also among those around the world who are determined to expose and fight against the enemies of this great nation, wherever they may rise up."

NEW YORK

Manhattan

In Defense of Women's Abortion Rights. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Kampuchea: Victories Against Pol Pot. Speaker: Craig McKissic, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Puerto Rico: Struggle Against U.S. Colonialism. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York and Militant staff writer. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

UTAH

Price

Eyewitness Report and Slideshow on British Miners' Strike. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, member United Mine Workers Local 2176 and Lady Miners of Utah. Sat., March 23, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

The Famine in Ethiopia: Who is Responsible? A panel discussion. Sat., March 16, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Representative of African National Congress of South Africa Speaks Out. Neo Mnumzana, ANC representative to the United Nations. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. Pigott Auditorium (12th and Columbia), Seattle University. Ausp: Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Forum: "U.S. Politics Today: Labor's Stake in the Fight Against War." Sat., March 23, 3 p.m. Classes: "The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party." Sun., March 24, 10:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2 per session (\$6 total). Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

The Crisis Facing Working Farmers. Film showing of *Dairy Queens*. Discussion to follow. Sat., March 23, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

U.S. Agriculture in Crisis: What Can Be Done? Speakers: Charles Smith, Minnesota farmer recently returned from farmers' tour of Nicaragua, member of Young Socialist Alliance; representative of Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Commemorate anniversary of Grenada revolution Showings of Cuban film 'Maurice'

A documentary on the Grenada revolution and the life of murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Discussion to follow film. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

San Jose

Sun., March 17, 6 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

FLORIDA

Miami

Grand opening of Pathfinder Bookstore with showing of film *Maurice*. Sat., March 16. Open house all day. Film, 8 p.m. 137 NE 54 St. Donation for film: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

\$3. Ausp: Grenada Solidarity Committee. For more information call (617) 442-0588.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Discussion to follow film. Sun., March 17, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 646-6325.

OREGON

Portland

Commentary to follow film. Speaker: Marklyn Wilson, representative Socialist Workers Party and member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 128. Sat., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Dallas

Sun., March 24, 7 p.m. 132 N Beckley. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Houston

Translation of film to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 381073. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-1018.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Road, Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Psychodrama — "The CIA officers involved in the *contra* program were enthusiastic and sometimes eccentric. One, a retired



Harry Ring

Army major who wrote a controversial CIA manual on psychological warfare, liked to dress entirely in black and called himself 'the Priest of Death.'" — *The Wall Street Journal* on the U.S.-

organized invasion of Nicaragua.

The benefits of hard work — "Layoffs at GE-Gainesville — Approximately 165 employees at the Battery Business Department were laid off in January because of a slowdown in customer orders. In 1984, this department reached record highs in the production and shipment of batteries." — *Headlines*, company paper at the GE plant in Lynn, Mass.

Grow hair on a billiard ball — The feds snatched \$2.4 million of unapproved medical products from a warehouse of Robertson-Taylor, a biggie in the mail-order "health" field. The inventory in-

cluded a pill promoted as a muscle builder and body shaper, one for impotence, another to stimulate mental alertness, and, most intriguing, an oral tanning tablet.

Maybe it was — New York's attorney general is suing a mail-order medical laboratory for fraud. The lab offers to test blood samples for food allergies and advise you which ones to skip. Fee \$350. Sent a blood sample from a dead cow, the lab responded the donor was allergic to milk, cottage cheese and yogurt.

Calorietown, USA — Check into the Hershey Lodge in Hersheytown, Pa., any weekend and

you're entitled to a free ice cream soda at the Hershey Drug Store. With the deluxe accommodations, you get a 1-lb. Hershey Golden Almond Bar. And, for the upcoming Bavarian beer bust, it's free suds, plus both the ice cream soda and the 1-lb. Hershey bar.

Sure, so's bloodsucking — An ad for New York's College of Human Services advises: "Banking is a human service."

Humane service — A riddle joke reported making the rounds of Midwest farming communities: Q: What's the difference between a dead skunk on the road and a dead loan officer? A: There are skid marks by the skunk.

007 — CCS-Communications Control of London offers a briefcase with bulletproof fabric, a bomb sniffer, an Eavesdropper Nullifier to erase tape recordings being secretly made of your conversations, and other like features. No price listed, but for 30 pounds (approximately \$31.50) they'll send a report on how to deal with industrial spies.

Tsk — A plane carrying 52 new or soon-to-be Air Force brigadier generals made a forced landing in Colorado after blowing a tire on takeoff. There were no injuries. A military spokesperson described the passengers as representing "the future of the Western World."

N.Y. labor meeting blasts apartheid, backs April 20

Continued from back page

we could use the trade unions to fight for our goals. The trade unions are a way we can involve everybody, because everybody is a worker." Through union struggles, Mogane added, "We have been able to show our people that there is no difference between politics and the trade unions."

In a workshop on building solidarity with the Black trade union movement, Mashinini made the point that "the strike is the most important weapon of the workers." In response to a question about the role of women in the struggle, Mashinini replied that "most of the Black unions in South Africa have women in their top leadership."

Mashinini also pointed out that the entire Black union movement is on the verge of achieving unification.

According to South African law, advocacy of divestment from South Africa constitutes "subversion" and is punishable by up to 20 years in prison. One related issue that was dealt with by the three unionists was the "Sullivan guidelines" for so-called "responsible investment" in South Africa. These guidelines, supposedly providing for nondiscriminatory treatment of Black and white workers, were authored by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a member of the board of directors of General Motors. Some 122 of the 350 U.S. corporations operating in South Africa have accepted these guidelines.

Mashinini explained that the Sullivan guidelines "have not done anything for us," and noted that when Sullivan made a trip to South Africa several years ago, "the workers didn't welcome him, they demonstrated against him!"

The connection between the struggle of workers in this country and that of South African workers was brought out in a speech by Henry Nicholas, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. He noted that it can be popular and politically expedient for unions to oppose apartheid to a certain extent, but that the stakes will grow, because "This movement impacts upon the economic foundations of our form of government." Nicholas emphasized the need for unions to be ready to "go all the way" in carrying through the struggle against the

U.S. government's support to apartheid.

The interests of U.S. workers in opposing apartheid was spelled out by John Banovic, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers union, by using the example of U.S. mine workers. The Fluor Corporation, a California-based multinational, builds coal-to-oil conversion plants for the South African government and is a big supporter of the apartheid system. This same company is a co-owner of the A.T. Massey Coal Co., the sixth largest U.S. coal producer, which is currently in a union-busting assault against the United Mine Workers union.

Banovic also noted that South African coal, produced by companies under slave-labor conditions supported by companies like Fluor, is being imported into the United States. Then U.S. mining corporations use the pretext of competition from imports to try to force concessions from the mine workers. The coal operators' drive for more profits leads to tragedies like the fire in the Wilberg mine in Utah, "where 27 miners still lay deep inside that mountain," he said.

If we try to "compete" with the South African workers, Banovic said, it will mean giving up all we have gained over the years. The only answer, he noted, is for us to help the South African workers to fight to bring themselves up to the living standards U.S. workers have reached.

John Hudson, co-coordinator of the Labor Committee Against Apartheid, said that AFL-CIO officials and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had been invited to send messages, but had failed to do so.

The official position of the AFL-CIO is to oppose any new investments in South Africa, but not to support total divestment. At a January 10-12 conference on South Africa sponsored by the AFL-CIO, one of the invited speakers was Leon Sullivan.

Representatives of the American Labor Education Center who recently toured South Africa found much suspicion by Black trade unionists toward the AFL-CIO officialdom because of the behavior of an AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa in 1982. The report from the American Labor Education Center representatives — which

was distributed at the conference — quoted a Black union official in Port Elizabeth as saying, "the AFL-CIO delegation said they were here to offer our unions several million dollars."

"We said, 'What are the conditions?'" "They said, 'We are offering you millions of dollars, but you must be doing only trade union work, not political work.'

"They began lecturing us about how the real job of unions is to settle problems in the plants and not to get involved in politics."

"We said we were sorry, but that nobody could tell us how to run our unions."

"They became very angry. I don't think they expected us to say no to the money."

The March 1 and 2 conference represented a big step forward in educating and giving confidence and inspiration to the growing wing of the U.S. labor movement that wants to seriously pursue the anti-apartheid struggle.

Caroline Lund is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25.

Antiabortion terrorists torch Dallas clinic

BY BEVERLEY ANDALORA

DALLAS — On February 22 antiabortion terrorists torched an abortion clinic in the Dallas-area suburb of Mesquite. The fire completely destroyed the Women's Clinic of Mesquite, as well as several other small businesses in the office complex, causing over \$1.5 million in damage.

Fire officials have determined that the blaze was deliberately set in the abortion clinic by an arsonist who ignited gasoline poured onto the clinic floor. Yet investigators for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms refuse to acknowledge that this was an attack directed at the Women's Clinic and carried out by abortion foes. "It's too early to say it was aimed at the clinic for certain. . . . We can't jump the gun and say who might have done this," an ATF agent stated.

This is not the first such attack on a

women's clinic in the Dallas area. A few years ago an abortion clinic in nearby Fort Worth was burned to the ground.

Supporters of abortion rights are concerned for the safety of other Dallas-area abortion clinics and their staffs and clients. Dallas police and the ATF refuse to provide full protection to the clinics, saying that they do not have the staff or time to "baby-sit those places."

Antiabortionists have picketed the Mesquite and several Dallas clinics over the past months, harassing staff, clients, and even passersby. They say they will now target other clinics for increased harassment.

The attack on the Women's Clinic comes on the heels of the recent announcement of a serious legal attack in Texas on the right of a woman to control her body. A new law proposed to the Texas state legislature would severely limit the ability of

women to get a safe, legal abortion. The proposed law would make it mandatory that most abortions be performed in hospitals and only after approval by a hospital board. The law has a great deal of support in the legislature and stands a good chance of passage.

John Daniel, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Dallas, is the only candidate in the city council elections to condemn the terrorist act and voice his unconditional support for a woman's right to abortion on demand.

Daniel went to the site of the burnt-out abortion clinic on February 25 and denounced the attack on women's rights.

"Our campaign demands that the Dallas City Council protect all abortion clinics in Dallas," Daniel said in a television interview at the clinic site.

Daniel pointed out that Mayor Starke Taylor had not denounced the arson attack;

Taylor does not support a woman's right to choose.

"By its silence, the city council condones and encourages this kind of sexist terrorism," Daniel said. "The socialist campaign demands full and free protection be provided by the city for all Dallas abortion clinics, that the city council actively support efforts to overturn the federal Hyde Amendment which denies poor women the use of Medicare funds for abortion, and that the council oppose the proposed law now before the state legislature which would severely restrict access to safe, legal abortions."

Daniel called on all fighters for the rights of the oppressed and exploited — unionists, Blacks, Latinos, supporters of women's rights — to join together to mobilize and educate around the issue of abortion rights. "An attack on the rights of one is an attack on the rights of all," he said.

Vermont socialist wins reelection in Burlington

Bernard Sanders, an independent candidate widely known as a socialist, defeated six other candidates to win a third two-year term as mayor of Burlington, Vermont, on March 5. Burlington is Vermont's major city.

Sanders, 43, received 5,429 votes, or 55 percent of all votes cast. His chief opponent, Democrat Brian Burns, received only 3,095.

During his first mayoral campaign, in 1981, Sanders defeated the Democratic Party incumbent by a margin of 12 votes. It was the first time a Democratic incumbent had lost an election in Burlington in twenty-three years.

It also appeared that the candidates for alderman supported by Sanders would win a majority on the 13-member Board of Aldermen.

Cops' political break-in exposed

Continued from Page 3

plicity there might have been between the cops and the companies working to break the union organizing drive.

One of the cops also said he carried out the break-in because he felt it was his "obligation to obtain as much information as possible concerning these types of groups in case of future problems."

Farber said that this type of mentality is fostered by all levels of government as evidenced by a directive issued recently by the North Carolina Board of Elections declaring that since the Socialist Workers Party had failed to receive at least 10 percent of the vote in the last election they have "ceased to be a legal party."

In her statement to the press Farber said, "We regard this dangerously ambiguous wording as an attempt to relegate all political parties other than the Democrats and

Republicans to second-class status.

"Declaring that a party 'has ceased to be a legal party' opens the door to abuses of civil liberties of these parties as can be seen by the 1980 break-in."

The exposure of the 1980 break-in is raising many questions in the minds of working people in this state. How did the cops know that the SWP members lived in that house? Were the two cops acting on their own as the police chief maintains? How did Agent Dukes of the BATF know about the break-in? And how many more memos, break-ins, disruption operations are being hidden?

The North Carolina Socialist Workers Party is working together with supporters of political liberties to answer these questions and further lift the secrecy hiding the criminal methods of city, state, and federal police agencies.

Why 'contras' are losing the war

The recently retired commander of U.S. military forces in Central America has confirmed what the *Militant* has been saying for quite some time now about the nature, progress, and goals of the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua.

Gen. Paul Gorman, echoing President Reagan, told the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 27 that the purpose of the CIA-organized war against Nicaragua is to overthrow the workers and peasants government there.

Gorman dismissed out of hand one of Washington's major justifications for its war — that Nicaragua intends to invade neighboring countries in Central America. "We do not believe the Nicaraguans would make such a move," declared Gorman.

However, Gorman also explained, the U.S.-funded mercenaries — known as *contras* in Spanish — are not strong enough to overthrow the popular government of Nicaragua.

"I don't think overthrow is feasible in the near future," Gorman told the assembled Democrats and Republicans. Referring to the blue-uniformed soldiers of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) — the main contra grouping — Gorman said, "I don't see any immediate prospect that these guys in blue suits in the hills are going to march into Managua," Nicaragua's capital city.

Gorman should know — he was part of the Central Intelligence Agency's original oversight group for the contra operation.

Questioned after the hearing, Gorman elaborated further: "I don't see how you could imagine that a force of 16,000 is going to overthrow a government that has under its control 10 times that number of people in their army."

Nonetheless, said Gorman, the contras have accomplished something. The U.S. war has "drawn off the energies of the Sandinistas and has diverted one heck of a lot of money," enthused the general. "Whatever you were investing in these 16,000 fighters," he told the senators, "you got more than your money's worth."

To keep up the maximum economic and political pressures on the Sandinistas — to "bring the Sandinistas to a reckoning," as Gorman arrogantly put it — it's necessary, he said, for Congress to grant the \$14 million in "covert" aid for the contras that the Reagan administration is asking for.

The fact that Washington has not been able to transform its mercenary war of terror against Nicaragua into a civil war that could bring down the Sandinista government doesn't mean that Washington has abandoned its goal of overthrowing workers and peasants power there.

At a recent news conference, FDN central leader Enrique Bermúdez — who used to be an officer in the Somoza dictatorship's National Guard — explained that the contras want to capture and hold a piece of territory within Nicaragua on which they could establish an alternative "government" that Washington could formally

recognize and openly aid. This would open the door to direct U.S. military intervention to defend such a "government" against Nicaragua's armed workers and peasants.

Why is it that the contras, with massive aid from the Pentagon, can't win a war against tiny Nicaragua — or even establish a foothold in that country?

Nicaragua's president Daniel Ortega clearly answered this question in an "Op-Ed" column he wrote in the March 13 *New York Times*.

"In more than four years of fighting, and despite more than \$100 million in American aid, the contras have failed to capture or hold any Nicaraguan territory. There is only one explanation: they have no popular support. As an artificially maintained force, they would cease to exist the moment Washington ended its support," explained Ortega.

Why haven't the contras been able to win the hearts and minds of the Nicaraguan people?

The atrocities suffered by Nicaragua's workers and peasants at the hands of these terrorists (see news story page 1) are a big part of the answer.

As Ortega explained in the *Times*, "This war is directed against Nicaraguan civilians, not our military. The 'contras' penetrate our territory from bases in Honduras and Costa Rica to murder, torture, mutilate, kidnap and abuse defenseless women, men and children. They burn down and blow up farms, health centers, food depots and schools. Thousands of civilians have perished and the damage to our economy is in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

"Mr. Reagan calls these terrorists 'freedom fighters.' His Administration tries to cover up their atrocities, dismissing these as 'Sandinista propaganda.' But reports of contra atrocities by American human rights organizations, published last week, reveal the full, horrible truth to the American people, who are literally financing these crimes.

"The contras are led by ex-officers of the hated National Guard, the main prop of the Somoza dictatorship that brutally oppressed our people for more than four decades until our Sandinista revolution threw them out on July 19, 1979."

Ortega also answered Washington's argument that Nicaragua's army is larger than it should be. Of course it is, he explained, because Washington is waging a full-scale war against tiny Nicaragua.

"If President Reagan really wants us to reduce the size of our army, stop acquiring arms and send home foreign military advisers, he should end his covert war and his unprecedented military buildup in Honduras. If there were no war against us, we would enthusiastically divert manpower and resources, now consumed by defense requirements, to economic and social development," declared Ortega.

As for Washington's announced goal of making the Sandinistas cry "uncle" or bringing them "to a reckoning," Ortega replied, "This only stiffens our resistance. We know only one cry — the cry for peace with dignity."

Behind Israel's permanent war against Arab people

The following are excerpts from an article by Will Reissner that appears in the pamphlet *Israel's War Against the Palestinian People*. The pamphlet, published by Pathfinder Press, is co-authored by David Frankel.

Reissner explains why the Israeli state has been constantly at war against the Palestinians and other Arab peoples. The booklet, which costs \$1.25, can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

In 1982 the Middle East was once again thrown into war. Israeli troops occupied most of Lebanon. Israeli jets bombed Beirut. Large areas of that city were reduced to rubble. Thousands of people were killed. Hundreds of thousands were left homeless.

For years, Israeli representatives were remarkably successful in convincing many — especially in Western Europe and the United States — that Israel was the innocent victim of Arab aggression.

But over the years there has been a drastic shift in the way that Israel is seen. The brutal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967, and the sight of Israeli

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

troops regularly gunning down young, unarmed Palestinian demonstrators, has helped to expose the real character of the Zionist state and to focus world attention on the plight of the Palestinians.

Moreover, Israel's role as a bulwark of reaction all over the world has also begun to have a bigger and bigger impact. The Zionist government, which backed the French colonial war against the freedom struggle in Algeria and the U.S. war in Vietnam, is today providing arms for the most brutal dictatorships in the world.

In El Salvador, for example, it was Israel that supplied most of the arms to the Romero dictatorship, which was overthrown in October 1979. That regime was so brutal that Washington preferred not to be openly identified with it. The Zionist regime has also played the same role in Guatemala. And when Washington cut off arms sales to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1978, the Israeli government stepped into the breach, providing Somoza with 98 percent of his weapons.

Tel Aviv has also developed a close relationship with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

There are therefore good reasons why more governments today have relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) than with the state of Israel.

Most people in the world have recognized that the real source of continuing conflict in the Middle East is not Arab fanaticism, but rather the colonial settlement of Arab lands by Europeans and expulsion of the Palestinian population.

The Zionists always claimed that the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland in the 1948 war that established the Israeli state was an unfortunate and unplanned side effect of a just struggle.

But the brutal occupation of Arab territories seized in the 1967 war, as well as the formal annexation of the Golan Heights, the continued Zionist colonization of the West Bank, and the most recent of many invasions of Lebanon have made it clear that the 1948 expulsion of the Palestinians was not an aberration, but an essential element of Zionist policy.

The new state of Israel, founded on the basis of expulsion of the Palestinians, could not help but be a tiny enclave cut off from the rest of the Middle East. This fact had tremendous implications.

This enclave could never hope to survive without developing a close military and political alliance with imperialism, agreeing to protect imperialist interests in the region in return for military and economic support.

There can be no permanent solution in the Middle East until Israeli Jews reject their role as oppressors of the Palestinians and as counterrevolutionary shock troops for Washington.

The era of colonial-settler states is coming to a close. The French settlers no longer control Algeria. British settlers in Rhodesia must now adjust to being Zimbabweans. Someday South Africa will be ruled by its Black majority.

And someday, too, Israel must again become Palestine. The Palestinian refugees will eventually win their struggle to return to their homeland. How long their struggle takes, and what forms it takes, is dependent on both the pace of the revolution in the Arab world and the development of the class struggle inside Israel.

But one thing is certain. Until the Zionist state is dismantled and a Palestinian state of Arabs and Jews is established, there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East.

20 million in U.S. hungry — Why?

There are more than 20 million working people going hungry in this country.

That's the finding of the Physicians' Task Force on Hunger in America. The committee is composed of nationally prominent medical figures.

They describe U.S. hunger as "a public health epidemic," and warn that the problem "is getting worse, not better."

A 700 percent increase in breadlines over the past five years confirms that.

And the fact that 35 million working people are living in poverty — that's according to the federal yardstick — means that the figure of 20 million hungry is no exaggeration.

True, not all 20 million suffer daily hunger. For some, researchers found, it's "two to 10 days" a month.

Those include working people dependent on scandalously low food-stamp allotments. The task force found that 5 million people regularly run out of stamps before the end of the month.

Hunger, of course, causes death as well as suffering, even though few in this country are listed as dying of hunger.

"It's extremely difficult to actually starve," one of the task force doctors observed. "You die first from pneumonia, meningitis, and other diseases."

In the face of this desperate need for food, the government has moved cold-bloodedly, step by step, to cut away at aid programs.

In the past three years alone, more than \$12 billion has been cut from food-stamp and child-nutrition programs.

That's not just the handiwork of a brutally callous Reagan administration. At each stage of the game, congressional Democrats have been complicit in putting through the food cutbacks while they vote ever more billions for weapons of death.

The epidemic of hunger is both irrational and cruel. "Clearly, lack of food is not the cause of hunger in America," the doctors tersely declare.

For sure. The silos bulging with "surplus" grain are testimony to that. So are the thousands of family farmers being forced off their farms today who want nothing more than to be able to continue producing food and fiber.

No, the hunger has nothing to do with a lack of food or the ability to produce more food. It's the product of the social system we live under. The wall between available food and hungry human beings is the insatiable capitalist greed for profit.

The way to feed hungry working people is to throw out the ruling families' government and replace it with a government run by workers and working farmers.

This will require a social revolution as occurred in Cuba in 1959.

When the Cuban people lived under capitalism, and U.S. imperialist domination, hunger was worse than it is here.

Today the Cuban people are among the best-fed and healthiest in all of Latin America. *There is no hunger in Cuba*. That despite a heritage of underdevelopment and a relentless, 25-year U.S. economic blockade.

How did the Cuban people do it?

With their revolution, they established workers and peasants power. The new government made land available to all who wished to work it. Family farmers joined with newly organized cooperatives and state farms to diversify and boost farm production.

In the cities the key means of production were taken out of the hands of capitalist owners and made the collective property of the people. Increasingly, the factories are managed by the workers. Production is planned nationally. The planning criteria is human need, not profit.

With this rational, humane socialist system unemployment has been eliminated along with the problems of landless farmers.

In the United States, the richest nation on earth, 10 percent of the people suffer hunger. In Cuba today, that would be inconceivable.

The fight to defend affirmative action continues

Last week, Clarence Pendleton, chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, told his boss that the Commission had succeeded in "putting the nail in the coffin" of affirmative action programs.

"We've pushed the argument to the point where quotas are a dead issue and we're working on a colorblind society that has opportunities for all and guarantees success for none," Pendleton bragged to Ronald Reagan.

But Pendleton is wrong. The fight for affirmative action is not over. Women, Blacks, and other oppressed na-

others, have been pushed back into low-paying, dead-end jobs.

Patty Turnell is a 41-year-old woman who supports her three children. She worked at U.S. Steel's Clairton works and made \$12 an hour. After being laid off, the best job she could find was as a waitress at Pizza Hut, where she makes \$2.11 an hour. Being a waitress "is just as hard, just as taxing as working in the mill," Turnell says. "The big difference is that you get a lot less pay and a lot less respect."

Five years ago, some 14,500 women were working in the steel mills. The USWA's Civil Rights Department estimates that few of the women hired under the Consent Decree are still working in basic steel. There are today less than 3,000 women employed by the steel industry.

Until 1973, there was no such thing as a woman underground coal miner in this country. Today, more than half of the 4,000 women who fought their way into coal mines have lost their jobs, as have about two-thirds of women oil-production and refinery workers.

In the auto industry, female membership in the United Auto Workers has fallen by one-third to 130,000.

So, there's no question that there have been some big blows.

But being pushed back is not the same as being pushed out. As new hiring and callbacks take place, women are fighting their way back into the plants.

The bosses have not been able to turn back the clock. They have not won the political battle that would allow them to hang a "No women need apply" sign at the gate. And they can't go back to the "good old days," when Blacks and Latinos were kept only in the lowest-paying,

hardest jobs.

It took the massive political battles of the civil rights movement to win affirmative action. And, inspired by the civil rights struggle and fueled by the 40 million women who entered the work force by the mid-1960s, the women's liberation movement arose and joined the fight against discrimination.

In the unions, Black workers led the fight to end years of discrimination in hiring and in working conditions. Joined by women and Latino workers, they had to fight to win the unions to support affirmative action in hiring.

In general, they succeeded. While few programs included strict quotas or goals, the result was the hiring of more women, Blacks, and Latinos in industry and in better-paying and more skilled jobs.

In the landmark *Weber* case, when the USWA's affirmative action program came under attack as "reverse racism," the AFL-CIO and virtually the entire labor movement, as well as Black and women's rights organizations, came to the defense of affirmative action. This remains the official position of the AFL-CIO and reflects the profound impact of the struggle for civil rights and women's equality in the unions.

That's why it will not be easy to overturn affirmative action programs. The issue of affirmative action is not dead, as Clarence Pendleton hopes.

While the unions were won to support affirmative action in hiring, they were never won to altering seniority so that the gains of affirmative action would not be wiped out in times of layoffs. This has weakened the unions' unity and ability to wage a real fight against the employers' offensive.

The trade unions must champion affirmative action — both in hiring and in times of layoffs — in order to be able to fight the union-busting offensive against working people.



WOMEN IN REVOLT Pat Grogan

tional minorities have suffered some blows and setbacks, but have not been defeated in the fight for equal rights.

On March 8, I saw a short videotape, *Women of Steel*. It is available from the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). It tells the story of three women steelworkers who were hired into the steel mills under the Consent Decree, a 1974 affirmative action program that established hiring quotas for women in the basic steel industry. In addition, it had other provisions ending discriminatory practices against Black, Latino, and women steelworkers.

Because of massive layoffs in the steel industry and their low seniority, these three women, like thousands of

St. Louis auto workers discuss how to fight back

BY JON TEITELBAUM

Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 282 in St. Louis are confronted with questions of contracts and union power. This comes in the wake of our settlement with Moog Automotive on January 27 and the subsequent layoff of nearly half the work force.

Moog Automotive is a major producer of automotive replacement parts. It has had 15 consecutive years of growing profits and was unaffected by recent downturns in the automobile industry.

UAW Local 282 won a modest 2 percent wage increase and beat back company takeover demands

by comparison. They agreed with the union leadership that the union couldn't mobilize a big struggle against the proposal this time around.

In 1981 Moog workers did organize such a fight against harsh takeback demands. That fight included a six-month work slowdown and important community solidarity.

Four days after the contract was ratified Moog informed 264 of its 570 employees in St. Louis that they would be indefinitely laid off the next week. Shock, anger, and a sense of betrayal greeted the company's claims that both they and their suppliers had huge stockpiles in anticipation of any labor action.

Over the last week most of us did little work and the company held almost daily meetings to cajole us and harass us to keep up production. Instead, we sat around and talked trying to figure out what hit us. While many tried to calculate how to keep paying for the new cars and other things we bought with our relatively good wages, there were opportunities to discuss broader issues.

Faced with the very real possibility that Moog will close down its unionized operations in St. Louis in favor of newer facilities in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Mexico, I found a real interest and understanding of the need for our union to organize the unorganized in the South and strengthen the unions internationally so that the company would have no place to run.

I was also able to point out the need for a broader struggle than just a trade union one. We have a relatively strong and militant local and we won a good contract, yet this good trade union fight did not and could not prevent the Moog from laying us off.

That will take a political fight, up to and including fighting to take the government out of the hands of Moog and its ilk and getting it into our hands — a creation of a workers and farmers government.

As part of this fight, I explained, we'll organize the South and we'll be able to get more than 2 percent wage increases out of a company that has made ever larger profits.

But it will be more than just a union fight. It will include more reaching out to other unions and to the community, and solidarizing with others in struggle.

As an example I pointed to the April 20 march for peace, jobs, and justice to protest the U.S. war on Central America and U.S. policy of support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Members of UAW Local 282 are confronting these issues, whether we're out on the street scrambling for other jobs or still working with 12 years of seniority effectively wiped out.

Jon Teitelbaum worked at Moog Automotive for eight months and is a laid-off member of Local 282.

UNION TALK

on benefits and cost of living. Most importantly, the company's demands for greater flexibility in assigning work were beaten back. While a pre-bidding system has been introduced, the priority of seniority rights has been maintained.

Twenty percent of the membership voted against the contract, many pointing to Moog's huge profits and thinking more could be won.

The rest viewed this contract in relation to other contracts in the area and nationally and saw it as fairly good

LETTERS

Postal workers contract

Andrea González' article of January 11, "Postal contract sets up two-tier wage system," was a good summary of the facts of the newly arbitrated postal workers contract.

What she didn't mention is that the sharply reduced wages for new hires comes on top of another deep economic division among postal workers. For years the U.S. Postal Service has hired all new workers as "part-time flexibles" (PTFs), with no guaranteed work hours each week. Only attrition combined with seniority permits a worker to be promoted to "regular" with a guaranteed 40-hour workweek. In effect, the PTFs, although earning the same hourly wage as regulars, were already subject to a two-tier type wage system.

Contrary to the popular myth, some postal workers are earning wages below the poverty level. For example, one of my coworkers was guaranteed only 4 hours work each week but was expected to be "on call" every day — making it impossible to hold a second part-time job.

As a former postal worker I can attest to the fierce competition among workers this situation creates. Workers in my unit madly scrambled for every work hour and fought for overtime to compensate for short weeks. The new contract intensifies this process.

Going into this contract, postal workers were especially vulnerable to the takebacks drive. Besides the existing divisions within the work force, postal workers were painfully aware of the smashing of PATCO strikers by the Reagan administration. Official government bulletins reminded us that in previous contract fights, hundreds of militant postal workers permanently lost their jobs for allegedly violating the federal "no strike" pledge.

On top of that, the contract expired at a time when a number of other, large industrial unions signed takeback contracts under the guise of saving jobs by saving company profits. Since the U.S. Postal Service is a monopoly with a big annual profit, takebacks couldn't be rammed through based on that reasoning. Instead Congress neatly passed a law that fed-

eral government workers' wages must be "competitive" with private industry. This was the argument used to justify takebacks in a booming business.

Now postage rates have increased and postal workers will be falsely blamed for the price hike. In fact, the rate increase was based on a takebacks contract. The increase is, in reality, an additional tax on working people used to subsidize the bulk mail, junk commercials of big business.
*Louise Armstrong
New York, New York*

Marroquín still fighting

I met Héctor Marroquín in December 1983. He was giving a talk in West Virginia about his fight to prevent the INS from deporting him. Marroquín also spoke about the situation in Central America and how the people of that region suffer from U.S. imperialism.

It was good to see in the February 22 *Militant* that Marroquín has continued his struggle to receive his justly due U.S. residency visa. If Marroquín is deported, it will only let the INS know that it is open season on Latinos and others

opposed to Reagan's war in Central America!

*Bruce J. Edmonds III
Star City, West Virginia*

Keep on keeping on!

I've been receiving the paper for about four years now and I've come to understand the real struggle of the people the *Militant* represents. The *Militant* has been printing the truth that things aren't getting better. The situation concerning the farmers and the situation in Central America are but a couple of heavy points that lead to a declining standard of living for all American people.

The *Militant* has the interests of the working and poor people of all races at heart. Keep on keeping on!

*A prisoner
Joliet, Illinois*

Korea

Pat Grogan's article on Korea in the March 1, 1985, *Militant* lacks balance. Nothing at all is said about the lack of democracy in North Korea or its repressive government.

*A reader
New York, New York*

Correction

Last week's *Militant* article, "How socialist workers build April 20," had two errors. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local that endorsed the April 20 action is Local 1-547, not Local 1-549; and Jack Foley is the director of OCAW District 1, which includes Southern California.

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

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

Labor meeting blasts S. Africa

Unionists in N.Y. plan anti-apartheid actions, back April 20 march

BY CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK — More than 400 trade unionists gathered here at a March 1 and 2 conference to hear three central leaders of the Black trade unions of South Africa. Participants mapped out inspiring plans for a stepped-up campaign of solidarity with our Black trade union brothers and sisters.

The conference also called on unionists to get involved in building the April 20 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., which is demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and a halt to U.S. support to South Africa's apartheid regime.

The conference was held at the headquarters of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and was organized by the New York-area Labor Committee Against Apartheid. This committee was formed in June 1983 at the initiative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Additional sponsors included William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers; Marc Stepp, vice-president of the United Auto Workers; among others. Also prominent in building the conference was Edgar Romney, general manager of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and other ILGWU staff members.

It was reported to conference-goers that the New York City Council had issued a proclamation honoring the three unionists invited to the conference: Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union; Edward Mogane, president of the Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union,



Graphic is part of leaflet distributed by United Mine Workers union, which participated in New York anti-apartheid conference. Fluor Corp. is co-owner of A.T. Massey Coal Co., which is currently waging a union-busting campaign against UMW. Miners have been on strike against Massey since October.

which is an affiliate of the 130,000-strong Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA); and Nelson Mthombeni, president of the National Union of Textile Workers, an affiliate of the 110,000-member Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

Shortly before the conference opened, the New York City Council adopted a bill prohibiting the city from doing business with companies involved in South Africa. Nationally, five states and 20 cities have adopted similar legislation. American investment in South Africa totals some \$14

billion, concentrated in strategic sectors of the economy.

The impetus behind these local and state government actions has been the upsurge of anti-apartheid protest by U.S. working people and, above all, the powerful explosion of struggles and organization of Black workers in South Africa.

The mushrooming of independent Black unions in South Africa dates largely from 1979 when — in response to a spate of militant, "illegal" strikes by Black workers — the government enacted the Wiehan reforms, legalizing Black unions for the first

time. Legal status still depends, however, upon registration with the government and government approval; strikes are still illegal unless the union has gone through a complex "conciliation" procedure of 12-18 months.

William Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and secretary-treasurer of AFSCME, summarized in the opening session of the conference the brutal and degrading conditions that Blacks face in South Africa. "South Africa," he said, "is the only country in the world that operates on the principle of white genetic superiority." Instead of killing their victims as the Nazis did, he noted, the South African regime keeps the Black population enslaved through exploitation.

Although Africans comprise over 72 percent of the population, they cannot vote and cannot enter any white areas without a pass. Whites control 87 percent of the land area. Opponents of government policies can be arrested and held incommunicado indefinitely, with no charges against them.

In this situation of political disenfranchisement, the unions have become powerful, organized instruments of the Black freedom struggle.

Edward Mogane in his address to the conference described his own development into a union leader. He said that prior to the Wiehan reform legalizing Black unions, he had been part of the anti-apartheid struggle, but, "I considered the trade unions to be nothing, nonsense." He pointed to Emma Mashinini as one of the leaders who had fought for the right of the illegal Black unions to exist in that period.

But following the legalization, Black trade unions rapidly gained in numbers and momentum. "That was when I realized that

Continued on Page 13

New Orleans Black party commemorates Malcolm X

BY ALLYSON BEST

NEW ORLEANS — A majority-Black audience of close to 100 people gathered in the Pharmacy Auditorium at Xavier University on February 23 to commemorate Malcolm X at a National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) sponsored program entitled "Malcolm X Remembered."

Malcolm X was one of this country's greatest revolutionaries. He explained that the capitalist system was responsible for racial discrimination, and called on Black people to organize independent of the capitalist two-party system — the Democrats and the Republicans — neither of which serves the interests of Blacks and other working people. As a result of his ideas and ability to attract the Black masses, he was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965.

"The National Black Independent Political Party was formed not only to organize Black people, but also to educate them about the alternatives to the two-party system," said Paula Riley, the NBIPP speaker at the February 23 meeting. She also urged Blacks in the audience to join the party and to stop casting their votes for the lesser of two evils (the Democrats or the Republicans) at every election. "We must fight racism here and abroad. We cannot do so as Democrats because the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, and the nature of such a party is to oppress minorities," said Riley.

Margaret Clemments, the 64-year-old member of the family of 11 that was beaten up by two sheriff's deputies in their home over an unpaid court fee in May 1984, said, "I am here tonight to tell you that this can happen to you, too, because you are Black."

Clemments and two of her daughters have had charges brought against them by

the cops, even though it was they and not the deputies who were brutally beaten.

Clemments called on the audience to support the case by signing endorsement cards and attending the Justice Committee meetings.

Pule Shoba, a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) who is currently visiting this country, addressed the crowd.

The film, *Malcolm X Speaks*, was shown. It followed the life of Malcolm X from his days as a Nation of Islam leader to when he changed his politics and evolved as an internationalist, and then was gunned down in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. The audience applauded Malcolm's formulation of ideas and his understanding of the

status of Blacks in the United States.

Promoting the progressive traditions of African and African-American culture is another goal slated by the NBIPP. The cultural tone of the February 23 program was set by members of Kumbuka (a dance troop), who drummed up rhythms on congas as the auditorium filled. Chakula Cha Jua read poetry selections about life in the Calliope Project and the roles Black actors are offered. LaBertha McCormick, who received a standing ovation at the conclusion of her recitations, read poems about Malcolm X and several other selections on the Black woman. McCormick was introduced by two of her daughters who recited Langston Hughes' *Mother to Son*.

Several people bought copies of the

NBIPP charter and newsletter and signed cards for more information.

The New Orleans NBIPP Local Organizing Committee has been actively working with the Justice for the Clemments Family Committee and the Free South Africa Coalition. Members have also been selling NBIPP literature at various cultural and political events in the city. Recently, NBIPP representatives have spoken at a Militant Forum on Malcolm X, at a Clemments family fund-raiser, and at a panel discussion sponsored by the New Orleans Committee Against Apartheid.

Allyson Best is a member of the New Orleans NBIPP Local Organizing Committee.

Mississippi teachers strike for better wages

BY BILL ANDERSON

NEW ORLEANS — Widespread support for striking Mississippi teachers forced Judge Paul B. Anderson on March 11 to back away from a restraining order against the teachers' three-week-old wildcat strike. The court order, which was issued earlier, not only banned the strike, but called for the firing of all striking teachers. It has been generally ignored as more and more teachers vote to join the strike.

The depth of support for the teachers was seen Saturday, March 9, when thousands of teachers and supporters formed a human chain that stretched along miles of the Gulf Coast highway.

The teachers, who are striking against the state government — which controls the

education system — have also won support from many local school board officials.

Top officials of this "right to work" state have reacted with surprise and anger at the solid community support won by the teachers. These officials have called for the arrest of striking teachers and the outlawing of their union. State Attorney Gen. Ed Pittman has threatened legal and financial retaliation against any school board official who supports the strike.

The Mississippi educational system is the worst in the country. Its teachers are the lowest paid in the nation, and they do not even receive basic benefits such as health insurance.

The striking teachers, who are members of the Mississippi Association of

Educators, an affiliate of the National Education Association, are demanding salaries at least equal to those paid teachers in the other Southern states. These salaries are below the average for teachers nationally.

At a March 11 union meeting of 1,000 in Jackson, Gov. Bill Allain repeated the state's offer of a 10 percent wage increase over the next two years. Such an increase would still leave Mississippi teachers' wages well below the average regional salary.

Despite the legal injunctions, threats of firings, and arrests, the strike remains solid and continues to grow. Last weekend, teachers in Columbia, Mississippi, voted to join the strike, bringing the number of school districts on strike to 44, out of a total of 154 districts in the state.